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# Raise Higher the Banner of Lenin and Stalin!

## On the Tenth Anniversary of Lenin's Death

By S. Gopner

The only correct definition of Leninism was given by our great scholar, Comrade Stalin, who has continued Lenin's work. He declared that:—

"Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. To be more exact: Leninism is the theory and tactics of proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."—(Stalin: "Problems of Leninism.")

The power of the name Lenin, as that of the name Marx, consists in the fact that the development of events during their lives and after their death fully confirmed their teachings. The power of the name Lenin, as that of the name Marx, consists in the correctness of the way pointed out by them to the proletariat in its struggle for final liberation. Lenin was a Marxist genius, and above all, and for that very reason, he became the great leader of the world proletarian revolution. He provided the correct estimation of the epoch through which we are living, the epoch of imperialism. Applying in a masterful manner the Marxist method in his study of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, Lenin emphasised its unequal development and pointed out that:

"The epoch of capitalist imperialism is the epoch of ripe and over-ripe capitalism on the eve of its ruin, so over-ripe that it is giving way to Socialism."—(Lenin, vol. 19, page 6, Russian edition.)

On this estimation Lenin based all his programme, as well as his tactical and organisational conclusions. Lenin was a great theoretician, strategist and organiser of the international proletarian revolution.

The imperialist war of 1914, and the February and October revolutions, born in the throes of this war, and the subsequent

revolutionary crisis in almost all the countries of Europe, brilliantly confirm the Marxist prophecies of Lenin.

Lenin died when capitalism was beginning to recover temporarily from the severe shock it had undergone during the period of the first round of wars and revolutions and was entering the period of temporary stabilisation. Only ten years have passed, but the world is again at the threshold of a new round of wars and revolutions.

In spite of the unequal and erratic development of capitalism (which was repeatedly emphasised by Lenin), and in spite of the advancing and receding of the general capitalist crisis brought about by the war—the main line of this development remains that which Lenin pointed out. Capitalist stabilisation turned out to be temporary. It was replaced by an unprecedented world economic crisis, which has now been raging for over four years. As each day goes by the contradictions of capitalism become more acute, and its solidity is being undermined by its growing contradictions. The curve of capitalism is proceeding downward. The forces of the proletarian revolution are steadily growing. Particularly indicative of the growth in the contradictions of capitalism is the development of two opposite poles—on the one hand, the Soviet Union, which is building socialism, and the Soviet revolution which is winning in China, and, on the other hand, the growth of fascism.

In the Soviet Union socialism is proceeding from victory to victory. The Soviet Union is the open path for the exploited and oppressed of all countries to follow. In the capitalist and colonial countries the exploitation of the masses is increasing and their discontent is growing. The democratic illusions of the masses are being dispelled like smoke. The social democrats, who are the

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chief social supports of the bourgeoisie, are disintegrating and passing through a crisis which reflects the crisis of bourgeois dictatorship. The bourgeoisie sees no way out of the crisis except through war. Among the masses there is a growing consciousness of the impossibility of any other way out of the crisis than the revolutionary way out. The resistance of the masses is growing. The objective preliminary conditions of a revolutionary crisis are maturing. The horror of the exploiting classes at the spectre of Communism is increasing. Their resistance to world Bolshevism is becoming stronger. The bourgeoisie is adopting a more and more openly counter-revolutionary form of rule, the form of fascist dictatorship.

The ten years which have passed since the day Lenin died have been characterised by the struggle of the two worlds, the rivalry of two systems: the capitalist system, incurably wounded by the October Revolution, and shaken by a general crisis, and the new-born and vigorously-growing socialist system, the cornerstone of which was laid while Lenin was still alive, under his direct guidance.

How the relationship of forces between these two competing systems has changed in the course of these ten years! Lenin died when the country of the Soviets was only just beginning to recover from the devastation caused by imperialist and civil war. After beginning to build socialism on the basis of the N.E.P., the working class, organised in the government, was faced with gigantic difficulties which history had placed in the way of its fulfilment of the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the establishment of a socialist society. The two most outstanding difficulties were: the agrarian character of the country, in which the working class represented only a small minority, while the petty bourgeoisie in the towns constituted the overwhelming majority; and, secondly, the fact that the country of the Soviets was surrounded by capitalist countries, which constituted a continual threat of armed attack, and invariably served as a support of counter-revolutionary forces within the country.

Lenin and his Party recognised these difficulties with great clearness. With equally great iron determination, and pursuing a firm course, they set about overcoming these difficulties, and, in spite of them, accomplishing the great task of the October Revolution, namely, the building of socialism.

With regard to these difficulties Lenin said:—

"As long as we live in a country of small peasant farms. Russia represents a more solid economic base for capitalism than for Communism. This must be always kept in mind. Every one who makes a careful study of life in the rural districts, as compared to life in the towns, knows very well that we have not uprooted capitalism or undermined the foundation, the basis of our internal enemy. This enemy is clinging to small-scale farming, and there is only one way to root out this enemy, namely, to place the economic life of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production. . . .

" . . . Only when the country is electrified and when industry and agriculture and transportation are placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale industry can we ultimately triumph." (Lenin, vol. 26, pp. 46, 47, 3rd Russian edition.)

The difficulties arising from this capitalist environment are expressed in the following words of Lenin:—

"The revolution brought Russia within a few months to the position of the most advanced countries in its political structure. But this is very little. War is inexorable. It brings up the question with ruthless sharpness: either go under or catch up to the most advanced countries and go beyond them economically as well. . . .

"Go under, or else go ahead full steam. This is the problem with which history confronts us."—(Lenin, vol. 21, p. 191, 3rd Russian edition.)

Comrade Stalin, in his historic report to the January Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C. of the C.P. U.S.S.R. (1933), in speaking of the results of the First Five-Year Plan, and quoting the above words of Lenin, declared:—

"It was this situation which prompted the Party to work out the Five-Year Plan and to determine the basic tasks involved in the Five-Year Plan."—(Stalin.)

And, further:—

" . . . In order to carry out such a Plan, it is necessary

first of all to find the basic link, for only by finding the basic link, and seizing upon it, can the other links of the Plan be drawn along."—(Stalin.)

With exhaustive clarity Lenin described this link in the following manner:—

"The salvation of Russia consists not only in a good harvest for the peasants—this is very little, and not only in a good state of light industry, providing the peasants with articles of prime necessity—this also is very little. We also have to have heavy industry."—(Lenin, vol. 27, p. 349, 3rd Russian edition.)

In his letter to the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions on September 18, 1922, Lenin wrote:—

"Our situation is particularly difficult because we have not got what is necessary to rehabilitate our basic capital, namely, machines, equipment, buildings, etc. But it is this industry, so-called 'heavy' industry, which is the fundamental basis of socialism."—(Lenin, vol. 27, p. 303, 2nd Russian edition.)

Thus the task of industrialisation of the country was the last great wish of Lenin.

The Leninist plan of the building of socialism was the basis of the First Five-Year Plan. In Lenin's last speech to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in November, 1922 Lenin reported on the results of the first stage of the N.E.P., and pointed out as a great achievement the fact that up to that moment:—

"Our commercial activity has already brought us in some capital—a very modest sum to be sure, a little over twenty million gold roubles. In any case the foundation has been laid; our trade provides us with funds which we can utilise to strengthen the position of heavy industry. At the present time our heavy industry is still in a very difficult state . . . we must cut down our government apparatus and economise just as much as we possibly can. We must even economise on schools."—(Lenin, vol. 27, pp. 348-349, 2nd Russian edition.)

Now that we know the results of the First Five-Year Plan and about the tens of billions of roubles appropriated for new construction for 1934 alone, the second year of the Second Five-Year Plan, when we read about these first twenty million roubles for heavy industry, we are once more struck by the tremendous difficulties that lay in the way of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, and by the splendid achievements attained during these ten years.

The First Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years. As a result of this Plan a solid economic foundation for socialism was built. The appearance of the country has changed to such an extent that it can hardly be recognised. From an agrarian country it has been transformed into a first-class industrial country. It has been transformed from a backward and uncultured country into an advanced country. As a result of the Five-Year Plan the technical and economic independence of the Soviet Union in relation to capitalist countries has grown tremendously, and the basic task has been solved, namely, preparing the country for self-defence, which means great progress in overcoming the second of the two difficulties mentioned above as the chief obstacles arising from the capitalist environment of the country.

The most important result of the First Five-Year Plan is the industrialisation of agriculture, which was a decisive factor in bringing the masses in the rural districts over to the side of collectivisation and in winning decisive victories on the front of socialist transformation of agriculture. Thus the most difficult problem of the proletarian revolution has been solved.

The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan and the stupendous tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan mark the triumph of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism, put into effect under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

These tremendous achievements within the country have made it possible for the Soviet Union to carry on a genuine peace policy, which again and again has broken through the united front of the imperialists and upset their plans against the Soviet Union in spite of their incessant preparations for intervention and in spite of their repeated provocations. The peace policy of the Soviet government, which was one of Lenin's parting wishes, stressing, as he did, the tremendous importance of "a breathing space," has spread this "breathing space" over a far longer period than Lenin had expected.



This proletarian foreign policy of the Soviet government, which is an integral part of the struggle for the triumph for the Soviet Union, is at the same time one of the chief factors in the proletarian world revolution, for, while this peace policy is successfully warding off military attack on the Soviet Union and the outbreak of war between the imperialists by skilfully upsetting their plans, socialist construction is going forward, with each new success arousing the revolutionary energy and militancy of the workers all over the world, while the revolutionary proletariat in the capitalist countries is being given a little more time, which is so necessary for its preparations for decisive struggles.

The peace policy of the Soviet government is an inseparable part of Lenin's plan for the building of socialism. Its successes are the triumph of Leninism.

The contrast which characterises the development of the Soviet Union on the one hand and the capitalist countries on the other is most striking. In the Soviet Union we see a rapid growth in industry and agriculture, and a cultural revolution; in the capitalist countries we see a rapid decline in industry, the ruination of agriculture and pauperisation of the rural districts, and the growth of cultural reaction.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is successfully carrying out its socialist plan from year to year. It has overcome the danger of crisis and has abolished unemployment for ever. The completion of the First Five-Year Plan and the success of the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan (particularly the decisive advances made in agriculture in 1933) mark a triumph over tremendous difficulties and have established a solid basis for conquering the inevitable difficulties which will arise in the years to come.

In contrast to this, how do the "programmes" appear which have been submitted to the masses as "socialist" measures and put forward to save the suffering capitalist system?

Would it have been possible to overcome such tremendous difficulties under conditions of capitalism? Never!

Would the bourgeoisie be equal to such tasks, whatever form it might adopt for its dictatorship—a fascist or a "democratic" form? Never! And nowhere! Only the proletariat, by taking over power, can set itself such tasks and succeed in carrying them out.

All the measures which are being carried out in capitalist countries, in the name of "crisis rationalisation" (Hitler's "Provision of Work Programme," Roosevelt's "National Recovery Act") have brought about a number of changes in the course of development of the present world economic crisis. In some cases we find signs of revival in a few branches of industry. The social democrats have hastened to characterise "crisis rationalisation" as a "step to socialism."

However, even a superficial study of the changes which have taken place is sufficient to reveal that:—

(1) This revival is taking place mainly in certain industries as a result of war preparations and the introduction of inflation.

(2) All measures of crisis rationalisation are directed at supporting the financial oligarchy.

(3) The provision of work for some of the unemployed, in the form of capitalist compulsory labour camps, labour service, is primarily necessary for war. (Repairing of barracks and hospitals, the building of new roads and the repairing of old roads and bridges, barrack drill and the instilling of chauvinist sentiments into the workers and the unemployed, especially the youth.)

Inasmuch as all this "crisis rationalisation" does not solve the basic problem—the problem of home markets—it does not fulfil its main task, it does not do away with the crisis. As a result of this "rationalisation," the purchasing power of the starving population is very much reduced, and the internal market is being cut down more and more. Capitalism is incapable of extending its home market or of adapting itself to its restricted market.

The Soviet Government alone is faced with unlimited prospects in its home market, owing to the fact that the prosperity of the masses is continually growing, while the continual raising of the cultural, technical, and political level of the masses ensures a continued increase in their requirements. The vast possibilities and general effort of the population to satisfy all their material demands and to live cleaner and more cultured lives are the best guarantee against any reduction in the home market of the Soviet

Union, and also a guarantee that unemployment is abolished for ever. As for the foreign market, the Soviet Union can make use of it when and as it likes, but its destiny no longer depends upon it.

Such prospects cannot exist for any country as long as it remains under capitalism.

The chief condition for the success of the socialist plan in the Soviet Union was the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, the expropriation of the expropriators, and the inroads of the dictatorship of the proletariat on property relations, i.e., the destruction of the economic basis of capitalism.

To this must be added the second condition—the inexhaustible revolutionary creative enthusiasm of the masses. In the Soviet Union we see continuous growth in the initiative of the masses and the release of their creative activities and initiative, and the flourishing of genuine proletarian democracy, the democracy of millions of workers. In the capitalist countries we see a wave of political reaction, the growth of fascism, the organisation of a new capitalist slavery under the slogan, "labour service," but in the form of forced labour, and the threat of the complete abolishment of all the achievements of the working class, gained at the price of bitter sacrifices and long years of struggle by generations of workers. Is it possible that the bourgeoisie expects the chains of the new slavery of the workers and peasants to produce enthusiasm in carrying out "crisis rationalisation"? Here again the efforts of the social democrats are of little avail when the only hope of the workers is the coming revolution, the conquest of Soviet power in every country.

The present situation is quite different from the situation prevailing in the unforgotten days of Lenin's death, if only for the one fact that the Soviets are triumphant not only in the country of the October Revolution. The Soviet movement is triumphant in China. It has established Soviets over vast regions, covering more territory and with a larger population than Germany, with two years of successful struggle by the Chinese Red Army, which has warded off the sixth campaign of the armed forces of the Kuomintang, backed by British, Japanese, and American imperialism. This is the best memorial to Lenin. This is a historic victory of world Bolshevism and a tremendous factor in the world proletarian revolution. The Chinese Soviets again emphasise the international character of the October Revolution and the words of Lenin, who said that the Soviet form is a "pattern for all."

The steady growth of socialism in the Soviet Union and the unprecedented growth of its importance in the world arena, together with the victorious advance of the Soviet Revolution in China—these two facts alone, to say nothing of the growing indignation of the masses in all capitalist countries and the growing influence of Communism, knock the ground from under the feet of the social democrats, completely refuting their theory that the moment Hitler came to power a whole epoch of counter-revolution and fascism had set in. These facts, to say nothing of others, clearly show that we are living not in an epoch of fascism but in an epoch of the development of proletarian world revolution.

The social democratic theory regarding the beginning of a whole epoch of counter-revolution, a theory which has even infected certain vacillating elements in the Communist movement (Remmele and Neumann) was built up for the purpose of weakening the revolutionary resistance now being put up against fascism by the working class in all countries, above all in Germany. The same purpose is served by another theory of the social democrats—their characterisation of fascism as the "petty bourgeois counter-revolution and as Bonapartism" (Trotsky's and Thalheimer's characterisation of fascism) or as the "dictatorship of the lumpen proletariat" (Otto Bauer).

These theories are aimed at side-tracking the struggle of the working class from struggle against the capitalist system, first of all against monopoly capital, the faithful servant of which is fascism. The growth of fascism does not mean the consolidation of the positions of the bourgeoisie, as is maintained by the social democrats and Trotsky. This growth of fascism is in itself a sign of the tremendous far-reaching process of disintegration of the whole basis of the capitalist system.

Fascism, which calls forth the hatred and resistance of the masses; fascism, the first striking example of violation of bourgeois legality; fascism, tearing the mask from social democracy and bourgeois democracy in general, is at the same time a symp-

tom and a factor of the acceleration in the breakdown of the capitalist system.

Another indication of this rapidity of the development of events is the imminence of a new imperialist war, which is approaching with irresistible force and which the imperialists are endeavouring to transform into a war against the Soviet Union. This war is to have a twofold purpose—it is to destroy the proletarian revolution and solve the problem of foreign markets.

As Lenin repeatedly pointed out, the imperialist war which was fought in 1914-1918 failed to abolish the causes which brought it about (struggle for markets and for redivision of the world). The imperialist war gave a new lease of life to the dying capitalist system, but it produced a further restriction of markets, drew new boundaries and produced new oppression, new antagonisms and new reasons for military clashes. It did not abolish or even alleviate the capitalist contradictions which had become extremely sharp, but, through the establishment of the Versailles system, it multiplied the causes for these contradictions. But, most important of all, it resulted in the October Revolution, which dealt the world rule of capitalism a blow from which it could never recover.

The fact that, in spite of these lessons of the last war, the imperialists are feverishly preparing for a new and still more bloody war shows the hopelessness with which they look upon all other so-called "normal" ways and means of finding a way out of the crisis of capitalism.

The end of capitalist stabilisation means the defeat not only of the bourgeoisie but of its chief social support, the social democrats. The end of capitalist stabilisation was bound to produce a crisis in the Second International, the leaders of which had heralded this stabilisation and in connection with it had put forward a number of theories of "organised capitalism" and a new era of capitalist prosperity.

The "slogans" which they put forward of "industrial democracy" and "industrial peace" to dull the senses of the working class, with their songs about the peaceful democratic path to socialism, can now arouse only the greatest indignation and disgust among the workers.

No, it is not by peaceful methods that the proletariat can destroy capitalism and overthrow the bourgeoisie! Even the most backward worker now understands that "in order to overcome the crisis it is necessary to destroy capitalism" (Stalin). **The only way to victory is the Leninist way, the way of the October Revolution, through the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of power by the proletariat.**

The horrors of civil war during the proletarian revolution, which the social democrats are trying to impress upon the minds of the workers now does not scare them at all. As compared with the horrors and sufferings caused by the world economic crisis and fascism, which has come to power with the help of the social democrats and which is nothing more nor less than the declaration of civil war on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, all the past horrors, not only of civil war but of all the wars and revolutions known to man, pale into insignificance.

Even now, bourgeois statistics show that the material sacrifices called for by the capitalist system during the past four years or more of the crisis, exceed the material sacrifices called for by the imperialist war.

Whatever farce the fascist servants of capitalism can think of in the way of legal processes, such as the Leipzig trial, in order to prove that the Communists are starting uprisings and organising civil war by burning down buildings, it is clear to the masses of the workers throughout the world that the imperialists are kindling the fires of imperialist and civil war.

The workers in all countries are learning the lessons of the past war and are drawing the necessary conclusions. **The Leninist teachings on war will serve as their guiding light and will lead them to victory.** In January 1934, the splendid examples of struggle against war furnished by Lenin and the martyrs of the proletarian revolution, **Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg**, will serve as an inspiration to every conscious proletarian, every soldier in the capitalist armies.

The second round of wars and revolutions is developing under conditions quite different from those that existed during the first round.

As a heritage of the first round of wars and revolutions the international proletariat got not only the Soviet Union, but also

the Communist International, which was founded under the direct leadership of Lenin. During the ten years following Lenin's death the Communist International and its sections have been transformed into a powerful **united world Party of Communism**. As it approaches its fifteenth anniversary, the Communist International is rallying around its glorious banner in a united and militant army the proletariat of the Soviet Union, which is building socialism, and the revolutionary workers of the capitalist world, who are struggling for a Soviet government and revolting against imperialism, as well as the oppressed peoples in the colonies and semi-colonial countries.

The Comintern, which unites the best revolutionary workers in its ranks, is the only force capable of establishing the **unity of the working class**, which was broken up as a result of the treachery of the leaders of the Second International in the summer of 1914.

Struggling against fascism and war, against the whole capitalist system, and spurred on by the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, and headed by the Communist International, the general staff of the world revolution, the revolutionary proletariat of the world over is preparing for decisive battles. At the threshold of the second round of wars and revolutions the proletariat in the capitalist countries is not unarmed, as it was during the first round. In every country there is a Communist Party which is carrying on its work under the banner of the October Revolution and Soviet Power. In spite of its unequal development, the revolutionary advance is spreading through all countries. It is going steadily onward. The present world economic crisis is bound to grow into a revolutionary crisis. Under these conditions every Communist Party, even the weakest, inspires fear in the bourgeoisie and calls forth its bitter anger and class violence.

But neither by war nor by fascist terrorism can the bourgeoisie destroy the Communist vanguard of the working class. The historic experience of the Leninist C.P.S.U. is equipping the Communist Parties and developing their capacity for militant action. The heroic struggle of the **German Communist Party** testifies to this. Forced by the split of the working class to avoid a battle and go into the depths of illegality, at a time when a battle provoked by the bourgeoisie would merely serve the interests of fascism, the Communist Party is organising a united front of the proletariat, putting up a heroic resistance to fascism and is confidently preparing the hour of reckoning. And this resistance is already filling German fascism with savage fear. This resistance will grow from day to day as the social democratic workers come closer to the Communists and come over to their side as a result of the lessons for which they have paid dearly.

More than ever before the **experience of the Bolsheviks, the experience of the October Revolution and the banner of Marxism and Leninism** become transformed in the hands of the workers in the capitalist and colonial countries into a real weapon of victory.

The death of Lenin ten years ago was the starting point for the intensification of the struggle of the Communist International for the internationalisation of this experience and for the Bolshevisation of all Communist Parties. At the tenth anniversary of Lenin's death, and on the eve of the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International, a number of Communist Parties, which have been steeled in open class struggles, have been transformed into real Bolshevik Parties. This is true above all of the Communist Parties of **China, Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, and Japan**. But all the other sections of the Comintern have also made great progress along the road of Bolshevisation.

The Communist Parties of Japan and China, which were faced with tremendous responsibilities at the decisive moment of the Japanese attack on China, furnished splendid examples of the application of the Leninist slogan of transformation of imperialist war into civil war and proved themselves worthy standard-bearers of proletarian internationalism. During these past ten years the Communist Parties of France, Germany, and Poland and a number of other sections of the Comintern proved their capacity for putting into practice Lenin's tactics in the struggle against imperialist war.

On the anniversary of the death of their great teacher and leader, Comrade Lenin, the Communist Parties, in carrying out his last wishes and surveying the road already passed by them, will now concentrate their attention on the **tasks which have not yet been carried out**. The most important of these tasks is the **winning over of the majority of the working class as a necessary preliminary condition for successful struggle for power**.



The most outstanding lesson of the ten years which have passed is that the only way out of the crisis is the revolutionary way out along the path of Bolshevism. All the "cursed" questions—the question of struggle against the crisis and unemployment, the struggle for bread and for work, and against fascism and war more than ever before boil down to the problem of conquest of power and utilisation of this power in accordance with the examples set by the Bolsheviks.

The fascist ideology of zoological nationalism, this weapon in the hands of the imperialists in their struggle to rob other nations, is confronted by proletarian internationalism put forward by Leninism as a natural outcome of the Communist ideal and the international solidarity of the proletariat in its struggle against its exploiters.

Against the active preparations for imperialist war and the fascisation of bourgeois governments the conscious workers put forward their united front of Bolshevik struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois rule, whether openly fascist or in the guise of "democracy," and the struggle for the seizure of power by the proletariat and the struggle for defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets.

This united front will be built up against the will of the social democratic leaders, in a struggle against the Second International, which is primarily responsible for the split in the Labour movement and for the success of fascism.

The international proletariat is going forward to the second round of wars and revolutions without Lenin, without that great master of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action, whose name is so closely linked up with the great revolutionary battles with the first period of proletarian revolution.

But the banner of Lenin is being held aloft firmly by the Leninist C.P.S.U. and by the whole Communist International, headed by that great teacher of the world proletariat and champion of Leninism—Stalin.

Stalin not only inspired the masses with enthusiasm in putting into practice Lenin's plan for the building of socialism, but worked out the most important and difficult theoretical problems involved in this plan and has carried on a magnificent struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and Right opportunism, thus ensuring the carrying out of this plan.

Stalin not only protected Leninism from distortion, but added to the intellectual heritage of Lenin by new contributions to the treasure chest of Leninism, throwing a Marxist and Leninist light on the complicated problems of the period of temporary stabilisation of capitalism and the carrying out of the First and Second Socialist Five-Year Plans of the Soviet Union.

To Stalin we owe the correct Marxist and Leninist analysis of the causes, character, and perspectives of temporary capitalist stabilisation, the first stage of which called forth marked vacillations in the ranks of the Comintern. The end of capitalist stabilisation has brilliantly confirmed Stalin's analysis, made in 1925. This correct analysis was the guarantee of the correct general line of the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern and of the carrying out of this line.

In all the great upheavals which characterise the post-war epoch, and especially its third period, Comrade Stalin has come forward as the leader and great strategist of the proletarian revolution as a worthy successor to Lenin.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union, headed by Stalin, as the best Leninist, is marching ahead, triumphant over all difficulties, in order to announce to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. on the tenth anniversary of Lenin's death, new victories in the field of socialist labour, of mastery of technique, and of successful carrying out of the programme for the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The proletariat in all capitalist countries, preparing for serious class battles, is more than ever before rallying its ranks for the defence of the Soviet Union and of socialist construction, for the defence of the Chinese Soviets against the united forces of imperialism and the Kuomintang, and for solid international support of the heroic proletariat of Germany and of the German C.P. in their struggle against fascism and for the triumph of Soviet power throughout the world.

In preparation for the coming battles for power to be fought by the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, raise higher the banner of Lenin and Stalin, the banner of the Communist International!

## Politics

### French Answer to Germany—Benes Goes to Paris

By Viktor Stern (Prague)

The diplomatic preparatory work for the coming imperialist war is being conducted with increasing haste as the situation in Europe intensifies. Notes are being exchanged, declarations published, the highest civil and military authorities are dashing from capital to capital, and even Kings and Presidents are being compelled to pack their trucks and travel here and there in order to consolidate the alliances of their own countries and do their best to weaken or destroy those of their enemies.

One of the most important of these many journeys was that of the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, Dr. Benes, to Paris. Benes was in Paris immediately prior to the decision of the French Cabinet in the question of German arms and the publication of its memorandum to the German government on the 27th December. In fact, the French decision and the French memorandum may be considered to a certain extent as the result of the previous conversations between Benes and the leading politicians of France.

In a session of the French Cabinet which took place on the 27th December, imperialist France rejected the demands of Germany and decided against conducting any direct negotiations on the point with the German government. In the French memorandum, which was handed to the German government by the French Ambassador in Berlin, M. François Poncet, the French government declares that Germany's demand for the increase of the man-power of the Reichswehr to 300,000, without at the same time the dissolution of Germany's semi-military formations, is not compatible with the work of the Geneva Conference, that international security must be the actual basis for any recognition of the principle of equality in armaments, and that security can be obtained only within the framework of the League of Nations and along the lines of a reduction of armaments.

After this unambiguous refusal of the German demands, coupled with a refusal to enter into further negotiations until Germany returns to the League of Nations sessions and to the Disarmament Conference, the French government carries out a new manoeuvre in its memorandum by proposing to grant Germany an army of 200,000 men and France a home army of 200,000 men, and a colonial army of another 200,000 men, with the requisite equipment. After a period of permanent and mutual control Germany would then be given permission to equip itself with all classes of defensive weapons, whilst the other countries would then proceed to destroy their offensive weapons.

This clear veto of the French government against Germany's armament demands confirms completely the communiqué which was issued after the discussions with Benes in Paris. This communiqué declared that the discussions had revealed complete agreement between the parties and that they had unanimously come to the conclusion that the Disarmament Conference must be continued in Geneva and that it must conclude its work on Swiss soil. It also confirms the statements made by Paul Boncour in an interview given to journalists to the effect that all the efforts to maintain peace would come to nothing if the League of Nations were destroyed (although the League is already as good as finished) and that only the methods of the League might, and should be, altered.

Benes undertook his journey to Paris not merely as the diplomatic representative of Czechoslovakia, but, so to speak, as the Foreign Minister of the Little Entente as a whole. His journey to Paris was preceded by an important discussion with the Rumanian Foreign Minister, Titulescu, and by a visit to the Bulgarian royal family in Belgrade. His journey was also made immediately after the delivery of Italy's ultimatum to the League of Nations. It was clear that France would have to take decisive steps against the latest diplomatic drive of Germany and Italy, but that before doing so it would have to make absolutely sure of its allies.

How serious the situation is can be seen from a communication made by Benes to journalists, in which he declared that "in the spring" international diplomatic negotiations would take place which one might regard as "the second battle for the maintenance of our independence." The anxiety of the countries of the Little Entente at the demands of Germany and Italy and at the vacillat-



ing attitude of Great Britain also expresses itself in their endeavours to draw Bulgaria over to their side. Fairly solid promises must have been made to the King of Bulgaria or he would never have consented to go to Belgrade and would never have made the demonstrative gestures of friendship there which he did.

This anxiety on the part of the countries of the Little Entente is very understandable in view of Italy's efforts to compel the League of Nations to abandon the peace treaties and to diminish the influence of the little States, or to put it more clearly, to come to a compromise with France at the expense of the smaller countries. However, the journey of Benes to Paris and the publication of the French memorandum have not done much to allay this anxiety. After his return from Paris Benes did not even consider it necessary to calm the Czech patriots by exaggerating his successes in Paris. On the contrary, he declared that a new struggle for "independence" was about to take place. The meeting between Benes and Titulescu was also accompanied by a deal of sabre rattling. Titulescu declared that if war broke out Rumania would prove its loyalty to its alliances to the utmost. Any revision of the peace treaties must mean war, he declared. Rumania would be prepared to defend every inch of Czechoslovakian territory as though it were its own, etc. Whereupon Goemboes, the Prime Minister of Hungary, immediately announced that a refusal of revision would also mean war and that Hungary demanded revision only in order to avoid war.

Before the publication of the French memorandum the "Prague Presse," i.e., the mouthpiece of Benes himself, reprinted a very important statement of "L'Oeuvre" to the effect that Benes and Bonçour "had considered various political possibilities and various measures for the future" and that they had both expressed the opinion that the German demands should be rejected, an opinion which has in the meantime been acted upon. On the 21st January, the report continued, France would interrupt the disarmament negotiations by rejecting the German arms proposals and present material to the League of Nations on Germany's "delinquencies," and leave it to the League of Nations to draw its own conclusions, whilst itself joining with all countries sharing its opinions in order to take the consequences which would result from such a situation.

Whoever is not sufficiently enlightened by this report concerning the plans discussed in Paris and concerning the significance of the French memorandum, need only note that immediately after the Paris discussions the German social democratic Senator Jokel, speaking in the name of his fraction, brought forward in the Czechoslovakian Senate the sensational demand that sanctions should be imposed on Germany on account of the latter's violation of the peace treaties. In the present situation "sanctions" is only another word for the beginning of a preventive war of intervention. And it is certain that the main conclusion of the Paris discussions was to threaten the imposition of such sanctions.

Czechoslovakia and the Little Entente as a whole are urging this because they are naturally afraid of any compromises being made at their cost and of any loosening of the peace treaties. But France itself does not need much urging to take this course because it very correctly interprets the German and Italian proposals as a manoeuvre to intimidate France's allies and to gain time. Formulated as simply as possible, the situation is that Germany is arming feverishly and would like to be left in peace to continue its armaments as long as possible. France, on the other hand, fears nothing more than the passing of time. This situation must end in a collision unless at the last moment Hitler's main plan is realised—a joint attack on the Soviet Union, perhaps in connection with a Japanese attack in the Far East.

## The Murder of Prime Minister Duca

By M. M.

The parliamentary elections in Rumania have resulted, as usual, in a majority for the government in power. In place of a majority for the National Zaranist (Peasant) Party, a huge majority has now been obtained for the Liberals with the usual methods of political terrorism.

However, the Liberal Prime Minister Duca had not much time in which to enjoy his electoral victory. He has been murdered by the bullets of a fascist, a member of the so-called "Iron Guards," an anti-semitic organisation which was dissolved during the elections. After his arrest the murderer, the student Nikolaus Con-

stantinescu, declared that he had murdered the Prime Minister because the latter was a "freemason," because the policy of Duca was in the interests of "international freemasonry" and because it threatened to bring the Jews into power in Rumania.

Angelescu has been appointed Prime Minister in Duca's stead, and a session of the Cabinet decided to declare a state of martial law and to introduce a press censorship. The leader of the "Iron Guards," Velea Codreanu, and numerous other fascist leaders in Bucharest and in the provinces have been arrested.

The assassination of Duca is an incident which may have very serious consequences, and at the same time it is typical of the methods adopted by the fascists.

With the murder of Duca the Rumanian fascists got rid of the man who maintained the threatened unity of the Liberal Party when Georg Bratianu resigned from the party three years ago. The Liberal Party will quickly decline and go down to dissolution with the intensification of the efforts to establish fascism in Rumania, efforts which are facilitated by the policy of the Liberal government.

However, the development of fascism in Rumania is proceeding along the lines of a struggle between the old bourgeois parties and the new fascist organisations. The "Iron Guards" is a national socialist organisation which makes no secret of its sympathies with Hitler Germany. The methods adopted by this organisation in Rumania are the same as those adopted by the anti-semitic, anti-proletarian National Socialist Party of Germany. The "Iron Guards" carry on energetic agitation above all amongst the students against that section of the Rumanian bourgeoisie which is at present in power.

However, it must be particularly stressed that the fascist movement in Rumania has developed for many years with the encouragement and assistance of one government after the other.

The leader of the "Iron Guards," Codreanu, was responsible for the attempt on the life of the police president of Jassy. He was acquitted at his trial and presented to Rumania as a "national hero." The fascist tendencies have always been supported more or less openly by the government authorities. Referring to the fascist tendencies amongst the students, the Minister for Education, Angelescu, who has now become Prime Minister in Duca's stead, declared: "We are not prepared to do anything against our own children."

Whilst the Communist Party was compelled to work in the strictest illegality, whilst the revolutionary trade unions were prohibited, and whilst imprisonment, maltreatment and torture were the lot of all active revolutionary workers, the fascist movement in Rumania developed rapidly, particularly amongst the youth and above all amongst the students.

It is declared that the police were aware that an attack was to be made upon the life of Duca and other prominent politicians. Although the police were forewarned, they did not prevent the assassination. This indicates that the government has deliberately tolerated the presence of fascist elements in its police force.

Fascism in Rumania is being encouraged by the old bourgeois parties, including the Liberal Party itself. On account of its obligations towards French imperialism, the Liberal Party is compelled to maintain its hegemony in the country. There is no question of any conflict of methods or ideology in Rumania, but merely a rivalry of cliques. This rivalry is taking on dramatic forms, because some attempt must be made to solve the crisis at the expense of competing interests. But all the parties involved share the aim of repressing the working class, the peasantry, and the national minorities.

Martial law has been proclaimed. This has been done because there is an intense ferment amongst the working masses, because the revolutionary movement is rapidly growing in the conditions created by the crisis which oppresses the toiling masses and threatens them with starvation. In order to maintain its own hegemony and to consolidate its own fascist dictatorship, the old Rumanian bourgeoisie has called further generals into its government, although it already has two War Ministers.

There is no doubt that the assassination of Duca by a supporter of Hitler will increase the strained situation which exists in Europe and intensify the already acute danger of war. The consequences of the crime committed by the fascists in Rumania are already considerable, and they threaten all the toilers everywhere.

## The Lerroux Government—A Preliminary Stage of Fascism

By Vicente Arroyo (Madrid)

The new Spanish Government, headed by Lerroux, came before Parliament on 19th December. The apparent "Left" tendencies which characterised the former governments of the Republic have completely disappeared with this government. The majority of the Ministers belong to the Radical Party, and the places which are not occupied by Lerroux' friends are occupied by an agrarian, the representative of the big landowners, and a Liberal democrat who represents the big capitalist undertakings. It is therefore a government which is openly more reactionary than all its predecessors.

But the present government is characterised not only by its composition, but even more concretely by the support which all monarchist-fascist forces in the Chamber have declared themselves prepared to accord it, and by its own declaration.

From its declaration it is plainly to be seen that the government intends to revise the whole of the social legislation, to abolish or mutilate those laws which the Republican and socialist deputies, under the pressure of the masses, had to introduce in the first days of the revolution, and at the same time retain and render more rigorous all the reactionary laws of the former governments.

With regard to religious instruction, the government declared that it cannot do away with this within the period stipulated in the amendment Acts, as the State (after three years' existence of the Republic!) is not able to replace it by official secular teaching. The monarchists and fascists are offered the prospect of a new Concordat with Rome. The monarchist-fascist press naturally declares itself in agreement with these passages in Lerroux' speech, as well as with the prospect, likewise held out by him, of a revision of the Constitution.

The government's declaration also contains a reference to an amnesty. One of the strongest planks in the political platform of Lerroux when in opposition was the question of an amnesty. Whilst, however, when advocating an amnesty he had in mind the imprisoned monarchists and militarists, the anarchist leaders cherished the illusion that he would release the imprisoned anarchists, and rejected every mass action demanded by the Communist Party for the release of the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers. In the government declaration, however, Lerroux said that, in view of the recent revolutionary movements, the time was not appropriate for an amnesty.

The government could not, however, disregard the fact that some, even if only a few, monarchist-militarists are in prison, and therefore in the same government declaration which refused the revolutionary workers and peasants an amnesty, promised the monarchists and militarists a "conditional" amnesty.

The present government, therefore, represents a preliminary stage of outspoken fascism. It will govern so long as it pursues the policy demanded by the monarchist-fascist "Rights" who, as Gil Robles declared, are prepared to support all combinations of the Centre, but as soon as such combinations are no longer possible, will take over power in order to proceed to the establishment of fascism.

Whilst the monarchists and fascists are now carrying out their minimum programme through the medium of a Republican government and are preparing to carry out their maximum programme by means of a fascist government, the social fascists of Spain, with their 62 members of the Cortes, are playing at opposition, making use of a demagogic phraseology, even talking of social revolution should the "Rights" seize power.

It would be a big mistake to be deceived by this sham revolutionary phraseology of the social fascist leaders in Parliament and by their "fights" against the monarchists and not ruthlessly to expose the new treachery of the social fascist leaders.

The same social fascist, Prieto, who in the name of the socialist minority stated that the declaration of Gil Robles had opened a revolutionary period, and that the attempt at a coup de main would call forth a revolution, hastened to explain in the lobbies of Parliament that his words were meant not so much a threat as a warning. He added that the social fascist leaders have made every effort in order to hold back the masses who follow them, but that if the "Rights" should seize power, they would not be able to hold them back any longer.

The "oppositional" role of the social fascists therefore is quite clear. To a government which bows to the wishes of the monarchist fascist "Rights" and to the fascist elements who threaten to seize power, the social fascist leaders utter warning and threatening cries, but not against this fascist danger, but to remind the exploiting classes that this policy can so embitter and exasperate the working masses that they will no longer be able to hold them in check.

But the social fascist leaders of Spain will be just as little able with their hysterical cries to prevent the advance of fascism as they are with their manoeuvres to stay the revolutionary upsurge and the growing radicalisation of the working masses.

The intensification of the crisis and the radicalisation of the masses compel the Spanish bourgeoisie to seek a solution in the most brutal measures. The revolutionary proletariat of Spain and the starving masses of peasants know that it is impossible to defeat fascism on the basis of parliamentarism, but only in open fight, by mass actions.

Prieto was certainly right when he said that a new revolutionary period is opening, but not as a result of the declaration of Gil Robles, but through the whole of the economic and political situation, the whole period of disintegration of capitalism and by the revolutionary upsurge of the masses.

The most essential tasks of the C.P. of Spain consist in ruthlessly exposing the fresh treachery of the social fascist leaders, inducing the masses to abandon these leaders and organising the open fight against fascism, the fight for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

## The Struggle Against the Government's New Unemployment Bill in Great Britain

By B. McLennan

A widespread response has come from the ranks of the working class to the National Call to Action signed by prominent figures in the working-class movement.

District conferences have been held in nearly every part of Scotland, these conferences taking place on the widest united front basis, signatures for the conference being obtained from prominent trade unionists, and in some cases labour councillors signing the local manifestos. In Glasgow 112 delegates attended, representing 61 branches of organisations, including trade unions and co-operative guilds. A committee was appointed to carry on the work for the National Congress and March, and decided to hold a further conference on January 20, two days prior to the Scottish Marchers setting off for London.

Conferences have taken place in Derbyshire, again of a very representative character, 90 delegates representing 40 different branches of organisations.

In Durham County a conference has been organised; the signatories to the Call are largely officials of miners' lodges. Here the preparations for the National Congress and March are taking place amidst the activities around the fight for winter relief and against the government commissioners who are administering the Means Test in Durham County. A County March is being organised to Durham for the above demands.

In other parts of the country similar conferences are being arranged: in Wales, Yorkshire, and in six areas in London.

Never before has there been such a widespread response for a campaign of this character, indicating clearly the Leftward swing that is taking place among the workers, the increased will to struggle, and the desire for a real solid workers' united front against the capitalist offensive.

Side by side with these preparations there is proceeding the recruitment of representative marchers to take the road to London, arriving there on the 24th and 25th February, to coincide with the great National Congress which will unify the forces of employed and unemployed in their present struggles.

At the Congress the live issues confronting the workers in the main industries will be discussed: miners, railwaymen, cotton workers, dockers, seamen, bus, tram and road transport men will all be there fresh from the class struggle in their own locality, showing how by militant struggle we can stem the capitalist attack, how only a united struggle of employed and unemployed can defeat the new slave bill of the national government.

Marchers are being recruited now, finance is being raised, equipment is being prepared, and every indication shows that this



will be the biggest March that has yet taken place, the most representative and the most disciplined body of men that have, yet taken the road.

In London itself greater plans than ever before have been made for the whole activities during the National Congress and the stay of the marchers in London.

The united strength of the employed and the unemployed will demand that their united deputation should be heard before the bar of the House of Commons and before the Cabinet, in order to demand the withdrawal of this slave bill.

All the discussions in parliament are bringing out more clearly than ever the fascist character of this bill. In the appointment of permanent non-elected bodies locally and nationally to administer the whole scheme of unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance relief, in the proposals for hounding all unemployed, whether in receipt of standard benefit or not, whether insured or uninsured, into forced labour camps, the essential elements of fascism are being laid.

Sir Henry Betterton, the Minister of Labour, says in the "News Letter," the fortnightly publication of National Labour:—

"I think it can fairly be claimed that the bill is one of which a national government can be proud."

Capitalism is always "proud" when it can devise more cruel methods of exploitation, more vicious economies than ever before, "proud" to rivet the chains of fascism upon the working class.

That the ruling class is being scared by the growing spirit of resentment of the workers is clearly seen in the statement of Sir John Gilmour in the House of Commons on Thursday, 21st December, when he said in relation to the Congress and March:—

"He was sure there would be general agreement that these marches were not in the best interest of the unemployed, and that any person furnishing the means of concentration for these marches incurred grave responsibility."

Such threats and intimidation cannot stop the onward sweep of the employed and unemployed: this National Congress and March, based upon the widest mass support from every section of the working-class movement, based upon strong united front movements in every locality, will mark the greatest step forward taken by the working class since the general strike; a movement that will gather strength in every locality as a result of these mass actions, a movement that will not and cannot be betrayed by any reformist leadership; a movement which no police repression can stop.

## Belgian Social Democracy Offers the Bourgeoisie a Capitalist "Plan of Work"

By F. Coenen (Brussels)

On December 24 and 25, the Belgian Labour Party held a Party Conference, which was mainly devoted to the discussion and acceptance of a "plan of work" drawn up by Henri de Man, with the agreement of the members of the Trade Union Commission.

The reformist trade union bureaucrats, who are very much disturbed by the collapse of all Vandervelde's "Marxist" prophecies, by the development of the revolutionary spirit of the proletarians as a result of the capitalist crisis, by the victory of fascism in Germany, and the fascisation of a part of the Belgian bourgeoisie, are interested in drawing up a programme of class collaboration. For this purpose Vandervelde put forward as assistant of the trade union bureaucrats Henri de Man, who before 1919 was a pupil of Kautsky, later a Belgian volunteer in the world war, and after the war, during his stay in Germany, wrote a work: "On the Psychology of Marxism," in which he attempted a "scientific" revision of Marx. Returning from Germany, de Man opened a "Bureau for Social Studies," from which, among other things, emerged the "Plan of Work" adopted at this Party Congress.

At the Party Congress, after the introductory speech of the "psychological" politician, Henri de Man, the speeches of Vandervelde and of Mertens of the Trade Union Commission, there developed a discussion which was continued on the following day. The "Plan of Work" was finally adopted by 563,451 votes, with 8,500 abstentions.

Henri de Man did not reply to the "objections" on the part of the "Left," but only put the question of confidence in the Party leadership in regard to the carrying out of the "plan." He thereby won the game and got the plan accepted almost unanimously.

There is therefore no longer any "Rights" and "Lefts" in the

Belgian Labour Party, but unity and concord prevail on the basis of the "Plan of Work," which is also welcomed by the neo-socialist party of France as a summary of their own programme.

The "plan" can be summed up as follows: The crisis of the regime gives rise to the danger of capitalist hypertrophy; the capitalist monopolies are approaching ruin, and it is urgently necessary to defend them against themselves; a "just balance" must be restored between the monopolies and industry which still has the character of family property. The "middle classes" must thereby be saved from proletarianisation, from ruin and despair. First, there must take place the "nationalisation" of credit and even of some extractive industries. By this means it will be possible to revive the home market, recapture the foreign markets and abolish unemployment. All this is to be carried out in such a way that the State—the class state of the capitalists—shall receive the majority of the shares in the banks, the mines, power works and transport. In the "private sector" it will be necessary to promote increased productivity and profitability. Thus the "Plan of Work" is nothing else but State capitalism, under which the fundamental relations between the capitalists and the workers remain unchanged. This State capitalism will, by "nationalisation," ensure the profits of the mine owners and armament manufacturers.

The political means suggested are in accordance with these economic proposals. There is required a strong executive possessing full authority, whilst the legislative is to be restricted and placed under the tutelage of councils of experts. Social insurance is to be financed by adequate contributions from the insured workers and the employers. The taxation policy is to be directed towards lightening the immediate burdens on production and trade.

Of course the Party Congress of the Belgian Labour Party solemnly asserted that its "plan of work" is a platform of action for the "fight for the capture of power," adding at the same time that this fight would be carried out with all constitutional means, provided the bourgeoisie respected the law. The leaders of the Belgian Labour Party have undoubtedly drawn up a platform for the capitalist way out of the crisis, and are prepared to seek this way out if they are admitted into the government with all those who wish to take part in this salvage work. The fact that the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party see their own salvation in this sheet-anchor of capitalism, only confirms once again that social reformism lives only on capitalism, and that it will die with it.

## Japan

### A Glaring Example of Contradictions in Decaying Japanese Capitalism

By J. K.

It is the fate of capitalism, especially a decaying capitalism, that the ruling class is faced with many insoluble contradictions. The case of Japanese capitalism is no exception. The rulers of Japan, who long have "complained" and still continue to "complain" about a supposed lack of land for Japan's ever-growing population, and the consequent *shortage of rice*, the chief staple food; and who on this pretext annexed Formosa, Korea and now Manchuria—are now faced with the predicament of complaining that there is *too much rice* and that "rum" will follow unless something is done at once.

To the rulers of Japan, the fact that hundreds of thousands of children of the poor and middle peasants, as well as the sons and daughters of the workers and the city poor, go without even a handful of rice and faint from hunger in the school-rooms, the fact that (owing to drought) the peasants in the vast Kwanto district have practically nothing to harvest amid all the ballyhoo about an "unheard-of bumper crop"—means nothing at all. These rulers of Japan reason:—Bumper crop, lower price; lower price, lower profit for the speculators. Terrible! Something must be done! Of course, whatever is done for the speculators in rice, must be done under the false claim that it will "help the peasants." So they propose various schemes—none effective, including "control" of rice, such as control of rice import from Korea and Formosa, price fixing, and—finally—*reduction of acreage planted to rice!*

Reduction of acreage has already been tried in the United States—and proven a failure. It has failed to reduce even the total crop, failed to raise the price of wheat or cotton, and—of course—failed to improve the miserable poverty of the poor and middle farmers, though it has given a chance for various marketing



monopolies to gouge higher prices out of consumers. Further, even in such a country as America, where there has never been a complaint of the shortage of land as in Japan, the "ploughing under" of the crops is an insanity, an expression of the utter rottenness of the capitalist system.

But when such proposal comes from the mouths of the rulers of the land which, no further back than 1926, launched a gigantic plan to increase the rice supply by 8,200,000 koku (one koku is about five bushels) through stealing and developing the rice fields of Korea (spending 300,000,000 yen in 14 years and so far only fulfilling 50 per cent. of the plan despite the unusually good harvest in Korea this year, which is over 1,900,000 koku more than last year), then the gravity of the contradiction and the rottenness this *volte face* represents is more than one can grasp at first sight.

Let us listen to some statistics given by the Japanese government. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry estimates the consumption of rice for the coming year in Japan proper at 73,745,000 koku. Now the rice harvest of Japan proper this year will amount to 65,675,000 koku, which means 5,200,000 koku over last year. So far, then, we can see no surplus, but rather a shortage. However, the first forecast of the harvest in Korea gives prospect of over 18,250,000 koku, surpassing by 1,900,000 koku the previous year. The prospect of harvest in Formosa is, they say, also above normal.

In addition, it is said, the amount of rice carried over from last year is over 10,000,000 koku. Thus, considering, they say (we quote the Tokio "Nichi-Nichi" on this point), that Japan proper is to import the usual 8,500,000 koku from Korea (note that this is 40 per cent. of the Korean crop), 4,000,000 from Formosa, 700,000 koku from foreign countries, in addition to the 65,675,000 koku raised at home and 10,000,000 carried over from last year, the total supply of rice for Japan proper in the coming year will be 88,875,000 koku. Subtract from this, says the "Nichi-Nichi," the estimated consumption in Japan proper of 73,745,000 koku, and about 500,000 koku which will, as usual, be exported, and Japan will still have 14,630,000 koku left as a surplus. This, it says, is nothing less than a "bumper-crop famine," and the "peasants" will be ruined because of the low price of rice—though the peasants, in fact, would be ruined anyhow, even with high rice prices, by usury, rents and taxes.

We need not spend much time on the above figures. But it should be noted that the annual per capita consumption of rice in Japan proper has been declining (and there is no commensurate increase in the use of wheat flour, as that, too, has declined), the average per capita consumption being 1.102 koku in 1931, compared with 1.201 koku in 1921, the decline being more pronounced in recent years showing that as the crisis deepens the masses cannot afford to eat as much rice as before; and we must stress the fact that the masses never have had enough rice. If they could eat what they need, instead of what they can buy, there would be no surplus.

Further, we must remind the gentlemen of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry that the yearly average per capita consumption of rice in Korea is only 0.519 koku, which is merely one-half of the average per capita in Japan, low as that has fallen. The Korean masses, oppressed and robbed by Japanese imperialism, cannot afford to eat the rice they grow, and are forced to exist on cheap millet which is imported from China by Japanese capitalists. Therefore, if Japanese imperialism did not keep the Korean masses in a state of chronic starvation, and if they were able to afford to eat as much rice per capita as even the under-fed Japanese masses do, then the whole Korean crop of 20,000,000 koku would be far too little and there would be no "surplus" in Japan proper and hence no such lunacy as reduction of acreage. Hence, if the rice surplus is ruining the Japanese peasants, their most certain salvation lies in liberation of Korea from Japanese imperialism, which also robs the Japanese peasant in usury, rent and taxes.

However, as matters now stand, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry is holding discussions with the Ministry of Overseas Affairs over how much rice crops must be reduced and how to reduce. Early in the summer, it was said that a reduction of 5,000,000 koku would be made. Now, as the result of the talk about an unusual "bumper crop," a 7,000,000 koku reduction is the aim. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry thinks that, out of the proposed 7,000,000 koku reduction, Japan proper should reduce 3,850,000 koku (55 per cent.), Korea 2,170,000 koku (31 per cent.), and Formosa 980,000 koku (14 per cent.).

As the average yield per "tan" of irrigated field in Japan proper is about two koku (ten bushels), while that of Korea is one koku (five bushels), and of Formosa 1.2 koku (six bushels), the 7,000,000 koku reduction proposed, translated into acreage, would mean 192,500 "cho" reduction in Japan proper, 217,000 "cho" in Korea, and 81,700 "cho" less acreage in Formosa. It should be noted here that such figures would mean an acreage reduction of 13.6 per cent. of the Korean fields while only 6 per cent. in Japan proper.

The big thing over which all are breaking their heads is just who should reduce. The big landlords and the rich farmers, with their strong influence in government, certainly will avoid reduction. The small and middle peasant are to be the goats, just as they have already borne the burden of crisis. In fact the "Nichi-Nichi" of October 13 admits that—"since tenant relationship will temporarily be suspended as the result of the putting into practice of this acreage reduction plan, it might be that the landlords, in the districts where disputes over land are most acute, may take advantage of this to wrest the land from the tenants." Small and middle peasants should not be fooled into thinking that acreage reduction, higher prices or any other scheme hatched out by capitalists, will help them!

At the same time, fights are developing among the various landlord and capitalist agriculturists. The Tokio "Nichi-Nichi" of October 4, 1933, reported that a fight was going on between the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Ministry of Overseas Affairs as to the allotment of area to be reduced at home and in the colonies. The big capitalist "farmers" holding vast fields in Korea, such as the Okuras and the Oriental Development Company, and similar agrarian capitalists interested in Formosa, do not want their profits reduced by reduction of their acreage. So they are putting up a stern fight through the Ministry of Overseas Affairs.

Most significantly the most virulent protest to the acreage reduction idea comes from none other than Sadao Araki, Minister of War, the Tokio "Nichi-Nichi" of October 2, 1933, reporting that the Army was "absolutely opposed" to reduction of acreage.

Evidently Araki's sole objection, his solicitude that the peasants be not deprived of the "joy of hard work" being merely padding for his argument that the nation must prepare for war with more food rather than less.

We need go further and examine closer to find a protest against rice reduction rising also among the city workers and the city poor, apprehensive, and correctly so, at the prospect of worse starvation by higher prices in prospect for rice. The poor and middle peasants and the city poor, under the leadership of the proletariat—all of whom will have their conditions of life worsened by acreage reduction—should form an alliance that will make the Rice Riots of 1919 pale into insignificance. As yet this protest is discernible, but all too small.

Yet the ruling classes are in a dilemma. To reduce, or not to reduce, that, for them, is the question. They must have plenty of rice to extend the present robber war and launch new aggressions, but at the same time the speculators, the landlords and rich agrarians must be helped. In the meantime, while the Hamlet of capitalism is soliloquising, people are starving. But they will not starve without struggle. However diverted by fascist demagoguery, they will ultimately fight for the people's revolution, for rice, land and freedom!

#### Athens Workers Successfully Repulse Renewed Police Attacks on Trade Union Buildings

Athens, December 30.

The police, evidently finding that they had not done enough in demolishing the Red Trade Union House a few days ago, attempted a repetition. But this time the workers who happened to be in the building for a meeting—bakery and other workers—baricaded themselves in the building. Besides this, about 300 workers assembled outside the building and attacked the police with sticks and stones. The workers broke through the police cordon, singing the "International" and stormed into the house. The siege lasted 3½ hours. The workers then left the building in a body, the police not venturing to attack them.

## Germany

# International Movement for the Release of the Four Acquitted

## Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P.G.

Zurich, December 28.

The following is an extract from the appeal issued on 24th December by the C.C. of the C.P.G. and the C.C. of the German Y.C.L.:—

To the workers of Germany!

To the toilers of the whole world!

The solidarity action of your class, the almighty power of proletarian internationalism, has forced the acquittal of our class brothers, our brave comrades, Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev.

This victory has been won by proletarian internationalism, whose kindling force has mobilised millions and millions of the exploited in all the capitalist countries of the world in this great proletarian fraternal action of solidarity, and has saved our comrades from the axe of the fascist executioner.

This victory has been won by the Bolshevik steadfastness of our brave comrade, Dimitrov, and our other accused comrades, who have converted the prisoners' bar of the bloody court of Leipzig into the tribune of the world revolutionary and Communist movement. One of the greatest provocations in the history of the world, committed against the class still oppressed to-day but sure of victory in the future, has been exposed with its full counter-revolutionary aims, with its fascist originators, Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, and their companions are the real incendiaries of the Reichstag! By means of the Reichstag fire, and of the bloody fascist laws for the alleged "salvation of the German people from the Communist revolution," twelve workers have been executed by Hitler's executioners. Fifty anti-fascists are awaiting their fate in condemned cells. Two thousand sons of the German working class have been murdered by dastardly means. Tens of thousands have been beaten, crippled for life; 150,000 are being maltreated in concentration camps, Storm Troop barracks, prisons, and gaols; many have been tortured to death or driven mad. Workers and toilers of Germany and the whole world! The Leipzig trial is at an end! But the lives of hundreds of thousands of imprisoned anti-fascists are daily threatened. The fascist dictatorship government, with the aid of lying assertions of the "intellectual guilt" of the C.P.G. in the Reichstag fire, with the aid of fabricated plans for risings and of the statements of agents provocateurs, is preparing terrorist proceedings against the C.C. of the C.P.G. and against the leader of the German revolutionary workers, our comrade, Ernst Thaelmann. This trial will be in camera.

Social democratic workers!

Social democratic class comrades in all countries!

During the past weeks you have raised your voices and your fists to save your comrades, Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev! It is only under the pressure of your mass indignation that the leaders of German social democracy and of the Second International have pretended, hypocritically and deceitfully, to espouse Dimitrov's cause.

But Dimitrov and the Second International, Communism and social democracy—these are two worlds which have nothing in common with one another. Workers of Germany, workers of the world! And especially you, our class comrades in the social democracy! Join together to organise protest movements, militant actions, demonstrations, strikes, mass strikes, against the fascist wage-robbers, their forced deductions from wages, their campaign of terror and murder against the revolutionary workers!

Release Ernst Thaelmann, John Scher and the 150,000 anti-fascists!

Down with the terror decrees of the fascist dictatorship!

Down with the death sentences!

Away with all concentration camps, preventive custody prisons, Storm Troop barracks!

Workers, toilers, anti-fascists in town and country!

The day of our reckoning with fascism is the day of the armed overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The way of escape from blood and terror, from starvation and preparations for war, is the way of struggle for a Soviet Germany and for a united proletarian democracy for all toilers, the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Down with the incendiaries' justice of the Third Realm!

Down with the monopolist capitalist dictatorship of Hitler!

Long live Soviet Germany, the dictatorship of the proletariat in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, for bread, freedom, and power! For Socialism!

C.C. of the C.P. of Germany (Section of the Communist International), C.C. of the Y.C.L. of Germany.

## Acquitted, But Not Released!

Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev in the Power of Goering and Consorts

(Joint Appeal of International Organisations)

Paris, December 29, 1933.

Forward in the mass struggle for the release of Dimitrov, Thaelmann, Torgler and all anti-fascists!

To all toilers in town and country!

The acquittal is a joint victory. Dimitrov, the great accuser of the real culprits, Hitler and Goering, has aroused millions of toilers in the whole world. The incendiary, Goering, is stigmatised! No matter whether the Supreme Court desired it or not, the acquittal of the four Communists constitutes a verdict of guilty against the Nazi incendiaries. After the pronouncement of the verdict, the innocent four Communists were placed in "protective" custody.

Their lives are still in danger. They are threatened with murder, as openly announced by Goering.

It is now more necessary than ever for all workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and youth, to continue the fight. It is necessary to enforce the release of the acquitted and their safe conduct to the frontier chosen by them.

But that is not enough!

The national socialists are staging fresh trials of Torgler and Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the anti-fascist action, for high treason. They are preparing behind the scenes for these trials. In the prisons the most horrible terror is raging. During the Leipzig Reichstag fire trial fourteen young workers were executed by the headsman's axe. In the last few days the Supreme Court again confirmed the death sentences on ten anti-fascists. Sixty anti-fascist are pining in the death cells, awaiting the headsman's axe.

Hence our appeal is addressed to all!

Mass struggle for the rescue and release of our brothers in Germany!

Freedom for Dimitrov, Thaelmann and Torgler! Freedom for all who are enslaved and suppressed by the "Third Reich"!

World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism.

World Youth Committee.

International Labour Defence.

Workers' International Relief.

League Against Imperialism and War.

European Bureau of the R.I.L.U.

European Bureau of the Red Sport International.

Educational Workers' International.

International Association of Revolutionary Authors and Artists.

International League of Victims of War and Labour.

Proletarian Freethinkers' International.

Women's League for Peace and Freedom.

## Release the Four Acquitted Communists!

Paris, December 30, 1933.

Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev were acquitted by the Supreme Court on December 23. After this acquittal the four innocent Communists should have been at once released. Contrary to this assumption, the four innocent and acquitted are still kept in arrest.

By this brutal, arbitrary act they are handed over to their pitiless, deadly enemies, to the police apparatus, the national socialist ministers and generals.

Toilers in town and country! You have enforced the acquittal of the four innocent Communists by a powerful international action. Do not tolerate that, after the acquittal, the national socialist murderers set upon the defenceless victims and slay them.

The danger threatening the lives of the four innocent Communists is tremendous; it was never so great as now!

It is to be welcomed that French and English friends, headed by well-known French writers and scientists, among them being Professor Prenant and Dorothy Woodman, the secretary of the English Relief Committee, have gone to Leipzig and are endeavouring to secure the release of the prisoners. Their actions in Leipzig and Berlin must be supported by the mass actions of the workers in all big towns and villages throughout the world.

Friends of Dimitrov, friends of Truth, friends of the anti-fascist front and the relief work for the victims of Hitler fascism! Convene in all countries powerful meetings and demonstrations, send delegations to the German embassies, express your mass will in telegrams to them.

Do not abate but intensify the struggle, increase your activity for the immediate release of Dimitrov, Thaelmann, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev, and all anti-fascist prisoners!

Security for their lives, free choice for the three Bulgarians of the frontier by which they wish to leave the country.

Men and women! Save the lives of the innocent Communists who have been acquitted by the highest German Court, but who, according to the wish of the national socialist ministers and generals, are to be murdered.

**International Relief Committee for the  
Victims of Hitler Fascism.**

## Struggle for the Release of the Four Acquitted

Sofia, December 27.

The acquittal of Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev has not weakened the struggle of the Bulgarian masses for the immediate release of these innocent victims of fascism. There have been fresh demonstrations in the streets of Sofia. In spite of reinforcements of police, arrests, and maltreatment, two speakers' platforms were erected on Sunday. To-day the workers' paper "Echo" appeared, the number being devoted to the heroes of Leipzig. It was immediately confiscated by the police. The police also searched the home of the barrister Detscheff, who has returned from Paris. Detscheff was one of the lawyers refused permission to defend the three Bulgarian defendants. Detscheff was arrested, but on the energetic protest of a number of organisations he was released again. He is to be charged with leaving Bulgaria without permission.

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Bulgaria sends a special message to Dimitrov, beginning:—

"The Central Committee of the Workers' Party sends you, in the name of its members, of 300,000 voters, of the proletariat and of all the toilers of the country, the warmest militant greetings. These greetings are extended also to Popov, Tanev, and Torgler, for your heroic stand against bloody Hitlerism and for your defence of the German, Bulgarian, and international proletariat."

Amsterdam, December 29.

During the last few days a large number of telegrams have again been sent by workers to the German authorities, demanding the immediate release of Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev. Among these telegrams was one from 100 building workers on a job in Amsterdam West, who held a brief meeting during working hours and collected money to send the telegram. Other telegrams were sent by public meetings in Amsterdam, by 3,000 unemployed of Amsterdam, by the committee of action of the Rotterdam municipal staff, by the Rotterdam tramway workers, by the workers employed on a building job in Rotterdam, by a German

workers' group in Rotterdam, and by the Dutch Alliance for Sport Unity. There were spontaneous protest demonstrations in Amsterdam and Schiedam.

New York, December 28.

The collection of signatures among American intellectuals had already by December 15 secured the names of 250 of the most prominent American professors, physicians, authors, lawyers, savants, etc. Fresh signatures are being added every day.

From Chicago alone 120 telegrams have been sent to the Leipzig court, demanding the immediate release and guarantee of safety for the four acquitted men. The representatives of fifteen committees from the district of Chicago sent delegates to the German consulates, urging the release of Torgler and the Bulgarians.

In New York 600 workers joined to send in a protest; in Wisconsin 7,000 farmers. In Erie 22 organisations, including German and negro unions, collaborated in a protest. Great protest meetings have been held in Cleveland and Seattle.

Prague, December 27.

On Sunday a demonstration was held in the centre of Prague by the unemployed against fascism and starvation. A crowd of about 2,000 persons demonstrated for the release of the Leipzig defendants. Eighteen demonstrators were arrested.

All protest meetings in Prague were prohibited by the police, but innumerable meetings and demonstrations have been held, both by the workers of the leading industrial undertakings and by the organisations of the intellectuals.

Numerous meetings and demonstrations have been held, delegations sent to the German consulates, protest telegrams sent, etc., in Kladno, Ostrau, Reichenberg, Bruex, Slovakia, Olmütz, Bruenn, and their districts.

Stockholm, December 26.

Letters and telegrams, protesting against the terror of the Hitler government and against the Leipzig comedy, have been sent to the German consulate in the course of Christmas week by numerous public meetings held by the C.P. of Sweden, as also by 400 workers in Njurunde and Skoensberg, 350 workers in Kiruna, 3,500 workers of the Trades Council in Soedertaelje, 1,600 members of all trade unions in Hofors, 2,100 joiners in Stockholm, 600 textile workers in Boros, 150 unemployed in Bergsjoe, the total abstainers of Karsjoe, the agricultural workers and Communists in Kvarn, Skruv, and Hishult, the sawmill workers of Hargshamm, 150 paper workers in Oskarsstrom, 700 metal workers in Spongsholm, 1,300 workers of all trade unions in Arvika, and the paper workers in Fors and Laxo, 2,000 trade union members in Berloenge, the Communists, syndicalists, and unemployed, totalling about 800 persons, in Sponga, 1,000 members of the Trades Council in Sala, 700 customs officials in Stockholm, 400 in Gothenburg, 700 metal workers in Ludvika, and 1,200 in Upsala.

### Letter from Dimitrov to Leipzig Head of Police.

The Defence Committee has received fresh news from Leipzig and Berlin. Dimitrov has sent a letter to the Leipzig head of police protesting against the utterly unjustifiable re-arrest after the acquittal, and demanding that the head of the police should tell him and his companions on what day they can leave Germany. It is not known what the head of police has answered. This head of police has, however, declared to Miss Woodman that in his opinion the acquitted men are Germany's worst enemies, so that he has a right to detain them. He declares himself as entirely dissatisfied with the verdict.

According to another source of information, the head of police has declared that he has no instructions, nor does he expect any, from his superior authorities with regard to expelling the three Bulgarians from the country. On the contrary, it may rather be expected that the four prisoners "will be transferred to another authority to be dealt with further."

The detention of the four "acquitted" men represents the beginning of the vengeance openly threatened by Goering "as soon as the prisoners are out of the power of the Supreme Court." The danger that Goering will carry out his threats has increased enormously. The lives of Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev are in extreme danger.



Special Supplement

# Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

## Statement of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was held in Moscow in December.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. heard the following reports:—

(1) Report by Comrade *Kuusinen* on *fascism, the war danger and the tasks of the Communist Parties.*

(2) Reports from the Parties:

(a) Report by Comrade *Pieck* on *the activity of the Communist Party of Germany.*

(b) Report by Comrade *Pollitt* on *united front tactics in England.*

After hearing Comrade *Kuusinen's* report and the reports of Comrade *Pieck* and *Pollitt*, the Plenum, following upon a thorough discussion, adopted its thesis on fascism, the war danger and the tasks of the Communist Parties.

In connection with the report by Comrade *Pieck*, the Plenum "approved the work of the C.P. of Germany after the coming to power of the fascists and the proposed plan for further activity."

In connection with Comrade *Pollitt's* report the Plenum

"declared that the C.P. of Great Britain had achieved some success in carrying out the united front, particularly with regard to the Independent Labour Party. The Plenum proposed that the C.P. of Great Britain strengthen its struggle for a united front on the basis of concrete demands, drawing in the workers who still support the Labour Party and the Trade Union bureaucrats, at the same time exposing the manoeuvres of the leaders of the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party."

(3) With regard to the third point on the Agenda, the Plenum decided to call the Seventh Congress of the Comintern during the second half of 1934.

The Plenum carried out supplementary elections to the Presidium and approved the financial report of the E.C.C.I.

The Plenum also issued an appeal on the White Terror to the workers of all countries.

All decisions were adopted by the Plenum unanimously.

The thesis and decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are to be published simultaneously with this announcement.

*Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.*

## Fascism, the Danger of War and the Tasks of the Communist Parties

(Thesis adopted by the Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I. on the Report of Comrade *Kuusinen*)

The development of the general crisis of capitalism, after the end of the relative stabilisation that was noted by the last (Twelfth) Plenum of the E.C.C.I., has already shaken the capitalist system to a far-reaching degree all over the world.

While the U.S.S.R.—the bulwark of the international proletariat and of the oppressed nations—is developing its socialist construction and raising its power to a higher and higher level, the economy of the capitalist world is falling to pieces. The noose of poverty, ruin and hunger is tightening. The bourgeoisie is furiously intensifying its economic means of exploitation by methods of fascist violence, by robbing the toiling classes and by predatory wars against other nations. But at the same time the revolutionary indignation of the toiling masses and their readiness to overthrow the intolerable yoke of the exploiting classes, is growing more and more.

The tremendous strain of the internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, as well as of the international antagonisms, testify to the fact that the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis have matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars.

### I.—FASCISM AND THE MATURING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

(1) Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance-capital. Fascism tries to secure a mass basis for monopolist capital among the petty bourgeoisie, appealing to the peasantry, artisans, office employees and civil servants who have been thrown out of their normal course of life, and particularly to the declassed elements in the big cities, and also tries to penetrate into the working class.

The growth of fascism and its coming to power in Germany and in a number of other capitalist countries means:—

- (a) That the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital is growing;
- (b) That the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy in general;

(c) That, moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics (the struggle against the proletariat) as well as in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redistribution of the world);

(d) That in view of this, capital is compelled to pass to open terrorist dictatorship within the country and to unrestrained chauvinism in foreign politics, which represents direct preparation for imperialist wars.

Born in the womb of bourgeois democracy, fascism in the eyes of the capitalists is a means of saving capitalism from collapse. It is only for the purpose of deceiving and disarming the workers that social democracy denies the fascisation of bourgeois democracy and contrasts between democratic countries and the countries of the fascist dictatorship in principle. On the other hand, the fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The possibility of averting it depends upon the forces of the fighting proletariat, which are paralysed by the corrupting influence of social democracy more than by anything else.

(2) While the general line of all bourgeois parties, including social democracy, is towards the fascisation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the realisation of this line inevitably gives rise to disagreements among them as to forms and methods of fascisation. Certain bourgeois groups, particularly the social fascists, who in practice stick at nothing in their acts of police violence against the proletariat, urge the maintenance of parliamentary forms when carrying through the fascisation of the bourgeois dictatorship. The fascists, however, insist on the full or partial abolition of these old, shaken forms of bourgeois democracy, on carrying through fascisation by means of the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship and by a wide application of both police violence and the terrorism of fascist gangs. Having come to power, fascism pushes aside, splits and disintegrates the other bourgeois parties (for instance, Poland) or dissolves them (Germany and Italy). This striving of fascism for political monopoly intensifies the discord and conflicts in the ranks of the ruling classes which follow from the internal contra-

ditions in the position of the bourgeoisie who are becoming fascised.

(3) The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has unmasked German social democracy before the whole world. From the bloody crushing of the proletarian revolution in 1918, through an uninterrupted chain of treachery and strike-breaking, through all the coalition governments, the savage police massacres of revolutionary workers, voting for Hindenburg as the "lesser evil," to servile endeavours to co-operate openly with the fascist gangs—such is the record of German social democracy, the leading party in the Second International.

German social democracy was, and still remains, the banner-bearer of all the parties of the Second International which follow the steps of German social democracy.

Social democracy continues to play the role of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open fascist dictatorship. In fighting against the revolutionary unity of the proletariat and against the U.S.S.R., it helps the bourgeoisie to prolong the existence of capitalism by splitting the working class. In the majority of countries, however, it is already in the process of disintegration. The radicalisation of the social democratic workers intensifies the squabbles among the leading circles of the social fascists. Avowed neo-fascist groups are arising; "left" fragments break away and try to patch together a new 2½ International. Trotsky, the lackey of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, is unsuccessfully trying to prevent the social democratic workers coming over to the side of Communism by his despicable attempts to form a Fourth International and by spreading anti-Soviet slanders. On the basis of the sharp antagonisms between the imperialist countries, the international organisation of social democracy is disintegrating. The crisis of the Second International is a fact.

(4) The economic policy of the financial oligarchy for overcoming the crisis (the robbery of the workers and peasants, subsidies to the capitalists and landlords) is unable to restore the stabilisation of capitalism; on the contrary, it is helping still further to disintegrate the mechanism of capitalist economy (disorganisation of the money system, of the budget, state bankruptcies, a further deepening of the agrarian crisis), and sharply to intensify the fundamental contradictions of capitalism.

In this situation all the capitalist countries are developing their war industries to unprecedented dimensions, and are adapting all the principal branches of industry, as well as agriculture, to the needs of war. The "demand" thus created for means of extermination and destruction, combined with open inflation (U.S.A., Great Britain, and Japan), super-dumping (Japan), and hidden inflation (Germany), has in the past year caused an increase in output in some branches of industry in a number of countries (particularly iron, steel, non-ferrous metals, the chemical and textile industries). But this whipping up of production for non-productive purposes, or the speculative leaps in production on the basis of inflation, is accompanied by stagnation or a fall in production in a number of other branches (machine construction, building, the production of articles of consumption), and in the near future cannot but lead to the still greater disturbance of state finances and to a still further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

The furious struggle for foreign and colonial markets has already assumed the form of an actual international, economic war.

(5) Therefore the social democratic estimation of the present world situation as one in which capitalism has succeeded in consolidating its position, in which it is already on the path towards overcoming its general crisis, is completely wrong. As distinguished from the first wave of the fascisation of capitalist states which took place at the time of the transition from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilisation, the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilisation to a revolutionary crisis, which determines other perspectives of development of fascism and the world revolutionary movement of the toilers.

Even the most savage terror which the bourgeoisie employs in order to suppress the revolutionary movement cannot in the conditions when capitalism is shaken, for long frighten the advanced strata of the toilers and restrain it from taking action: the indignation which this terror has aroused even among the majority of the workers who followed the social democrats, makes them more susceptible to Communist agitation and propaganda. When the bourgeoisie reorganises its tottering dictatorship on a fascist basis in order to create a firm, solid government, this, in the present

conditions, leads to the strengthening not only of its class terrorism, but also of the elements which disrupt its power, to the destruction of the authority of bourgeois law in the eyes of the broad masses, to the growth of internal friction among the bourgeoisie and to the acceleration of the collapse of its main social support—social democracy. Finally, when the bourgeoisie tries, by an aggressive war policy, to strengthen its foreign position, it extremely intensifies international antagonisms and the danger for capitalism which arises from them.

(6) It would, therefore, be a right opportunist error to fail to see now the objective tendencies of the accelerated maturing of a revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world. But the presence and operation of these tendencies, both economic and political, do not imply that revolutionary development is proceeding upwards by itself, or unhindered, without resistance from counteracting forces. Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie. The question as to how soon the rule of bankrupt capitalism will be overthrown by the proletariat will be determined by the fighting preparedness of the majority of the working class, by the successful work of the Communist Parties in undermining the mass influence of social democracy.

In the present situation, in conditions when antagonistic class forces are strained to the utmost, the growth of the revolutionary mass movement in individual capitalist countries can have a constant or level character even less than before. In China there is war, intervention and revolution. In Japan there is the growth of the forces of revolution and the mobilisation of the military fascist forces on the eve of great class conflicts. In Spain there is the clash between revolution and counter-revolution. In the U.S.A there is a wave of mass strikes of the workers and indignation among the farmers against the bourgeois programme for overcoming the crisis. In Germany the revolutionary hatred of the proletariat is growing at the present moment in less open forms. There enormous revolutionary energy is being accumulated among the masses and a new revolutionary upsurge is already beginning. The strained situation in Germany sharpens to the extreme the class relations in the neighbouring countries—in Czechoslovakia, Austria, the Baltic countries, as well as in the Scandinavian countries, in Holland, Belgium and in Switzerland. In Poland the mass strikes of the workers are accompanied by big revolutionary actions in the Polish rural districts. In Bulgaria, in spite of the terror, the majority of the working class solidly follow the Communist Party. In Rumania there is a big strike of railwaymen, with barricade fighting.

At the same time, the main stronghold of the world proletariat, the powerful Land of the Soviets, the land of the victorious working class which is overcoming the last economic difficulties, raising the well-being of the toiling masses to a new and higher level, by its great socialist victories serves as an inspiration to the toilers of all countries in their revolutionary struggle.

The mainstays of capitalism are already being destroyed by virtue of its profound, insoluble contradictions. The world economic crisis is most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, and sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment, a turn which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis. The great task of the international proletariat is to turn this crisis of the capitalist world into the victory of the proletarian revolution.

## II.—THE IMPERIALIST PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW WORLD WAR

The growing uncertainty of the bourgeoisie as to the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis only by the intensified exploitation of the toilers of their own countries, has led the imperialists to put their main stake on war. The international situation bears all the features of the eve of a new world war.

(1) The flames of a new world war are flaring up in the Pacific. The Japanese militarists, spurred on by the profound internal crisis which the bourgeois-landlord monarchy is undergoing, are continuing the predatory war against China, and with the aid of the Kuomintang are subjugating Northern China and are preparing a blow against the Mongolian People's Republic. British imperialism is stretching out its hand to the South-Eastern provinces of China, Tibet, Szechwan, while French imperialism is stretching out its hand towards Yunnan. The fascist military clique of Japan is

acting as the battering ram against the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China. The American, Japanese and British imperialisms are behind the Kuomintang in its sixth campaign against the only people's government in China, against the Chinese Soviets. The victories of the Soviet revolution in China, the partisan war in Manchuria, the growth of the revolutionary forces in Japan and of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, create a new front in the rear of the imperialists. The Soviet revolution in China has become a big factor of the World Revolution.

(2) The Japanese militarists are calling to the German fascists and the British imperialists to unleash a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. from the East and from the West. Pursuing a policy of continuous provocation against the U.S.S.R. and contemplating the seizure of Soviet territory, the fascist militarists of Japan are acting as an outpost in a counter-revolutionary war against the Land of the Soviets. At the same time German fascism is inviting the international bourgeoisie to purchase its national socialist mercenaries to fight against the U.S.S.R., intriguing with British, Italian and Polish imperialisms (the German-Polish negotiations). The British imperialists at the present time have taken the place of the French as the chief organisers of an anti-Soviet war.

The Soviet Union has achieved considerable successes in the unswerving and firm policy of peace it has pursued in the interests of all the toilers (a number of pacts of non-aggression, a number of new recognitions, the definition of the aggressor, the forced raising of the embargo by Great Britain). The Land of the Soviets is the only bulwark of peace and of the independence of the weak states against the attacks of the predatory imperialists. By its proletarian policy, it is winning more and more the confidence of the toilers of the whole world and of the oppressed nations. Retarding the outbreak of a new war by the gigantic growth of its power, the U.S.S.R. invokes upon itself a new wave of hatred on the part of the most reactionary and aggressive groups of the imperialists.

(3) The fascist government of Germany, which is the chief instigator of war in Europe, is provoking trouble in Danzig, in Austria, in the Saar, in the Baltic countries and in Scandinavia, and, on the pretext of fighting against Versailles, is trying to form a bloc for the purpose of bringing about a new, bloody carving up of Europe for the benefit of German imperialism. Imperialist blocs, headed either by France or Italy or by Britain, which intrigue behind their backs, are being feverishly reorganised around the key-points of imperialist contradictions. Europe has become a powder magazine which may explode at any moment.

British and American imperialisms, availing themselves of the war alarm in Europe and the events in the Far East, are increasing their preparations for a decisive imperialist struggle for world hegemony in the Atlantic and in the Pacific.

(4) In this situation social democracy sticks at nothing in the support of the imperialist interests of its own bourgeoisie and combines this support with service to international capital against the U.S.S.R.

Japanese social democracy and the trade union leaders, following General Araki, proclaim the civilising mission of Japanese imperialism in Asia and justify the predatory conquests of their bourgeoisie in China on the grounds of the "interests of socialism." In England the National Labourites, in conjunction with the Conservatives, are pursuing the predatory policy of British imperialism; the Labour Party deceiving the workers by its pseudo-opposition to the government, is striving after ministerial posts in order to continue what, in fact, is the same imperialist policy. The French socialists (as well as the social democrats of Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.), carrying out the "sacred unity of the nation" under the slogans of "defence of democracy," and "defence against German fascism," actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany. German social democracy openly voted in the Reichstag for the national front of German fascism, which is preparing for a military adventure.

At the same time the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are adapting their policy to the situation of the eve of war, try to safeguard the interests of their own bourgeoisie and to ensure that the main blow will be directed at the U.S.S.R.; they hypocritically mask this by expressing readiness to reply to war by a general strike and a boycott, but they declare in advance that they will do so only against the government that will be declared the aggressor by the League of Nations. They pretend to be leading a boycott

against goods from fascist Germany, but they persecute the workers who really carry out this boycott. Under the slogans of pacifism and of a fight against war and fascism, they act as pioneers in working up public opinion in the capitalist countries in favour of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land of victorious socialism. The great historical task of international Communism is to mobilise the broad masses against war even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism. Only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war.

### III.—THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

In the conditions of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, when the bourgeoisie is trying to divert the ferment, the discontent and the indignation of the masses into the channel of **fascisation and war** in order to strengthen its dictatorship, the main task of the Communists is to direct this mass movement towards the fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes.

#### (a) The Fight Against Fascist Ideology

The Communists must:

daily and concretely expose chauvinism to the masses in every country and oppose it by proletarian internationalism;

in the imperialist countries come out determinedly for the independence of the colonies, for the liberation of the dependent nations from all national oppression; in the key-points of national antagonisms Communists must struggle against imperialist occupation and violence, for the right of self-determination (Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia, etc.) coming out in all these regions, and also in Austria and Danzig, against the chauvinism of their national bourgeoisie and against incorporation in the hangmen's "third realm" of German fascism;

widely popularise the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R. and the tremendous economic, social and cultural successes achieved by the peoples which were liberated by the October Revolution.

#### (b) The Fight Against the Fascisation of the Bourgeois Governments and Against War

In the fight against the fascisation of the so-called "democratic" countries, the Communist Parties must first of all brush aside the fatalist, defeatist line of the inevitability of a fascist dictatorship and imperialist war and also the opportunist underestimation of the tempo of fascisation and the threat of imperialist war, which condemn the Communist Parties to passivity.

In carefully explaining the economic and political slavery which the fascist dictatorship is bringing to the toilers, showing the masses that the fascists are not socialists and are not bringing in a new order, but are lackeys, lickspittles of capital, the Communists must rouse the masses in time for the defence of the trade unions, of the labour press, of the workers' clubs, of the freedom to strike and of workers' meetings, organising protests, demonstrations, strikes and setting up fighting self-defence detachments to resist the terrorist gangs.

In the fight against the fascist dictatorship, the Communists must:

(a) taking as a starting point the defence of the everyday economic and political interests of the toilers, rouse the masses against the fascist dictatorship which deceived the workers, the peasants and the urban toilers; and expose the demagogy and all provocations of fascism (the burning of the Reichstag, the faking of the Reichstag elections, etc.), stirring up strikes and leading the proletariat up to mass political strikes;

(b) penetrate all the fascist mass organisations and also carry on revolutionary work in the forced labour camps; while fighting against the revolutionary workers leaving the fascist trade unions individually, but not calling upon the workers to join the fascist trade unions, the Communists must utilise all mass movements as well as all manifestations of discontent shown by the masses in the fascist trade unions in order to form and consolidate **independent class trade unions**, while at the same time continuing their revolutionary work inside the fascist organisations;

(c) expose in the eyes of the peasants the policy which fascism pursues in the interests of the landlords and the kulaks, illustrating this by concrete examples from their own farm life; join the mass



fascist organisations in the rural districts in order to split off the toiling peasants; organise the agricultural proletariat in independent trade unions which are to serve as the main lever for the whole work in the rural districts.

In fighting against war, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, and concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism.

In addition to increased agitation, the Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organisation of mass action, preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organising demonstrations against military manoeuvres, etc., and must intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all the sections of the Communist International, upon all the workers and the toilers of the world self-sacrificingly to defend the U.S.S.R. against the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists, and to defend the Chinese revolution and its Soviet power from imperialist intervention.

(c) **Against Social Democracy and for a United Front from Below**

In their fight against social democracy the Communists must prove to the workers that the new bankruptcy of social democracy and the Second International was historically inevitable. While carefully exposing to the masses and refuting the hypocritical and treacherous sophistries of social democracy, the Communists must win over the social democratic workers for active revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Parties.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. fully approves the appeal for a united front issued by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. and the position of the Political-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. in the correspondence with the British Independent Labour Party. Social democracy, which split the working class by its treachery at the time of the imperialist war and the October Revolution, has in all countries, in accordance with the directives of the Second International, refused the offers made by the Communist Parties for united working-class action, and sabotaged the united anti-fascist and anti-war movements created in Amsterdam and Paris, and in the face of fascism and war, strove to deepen the split in the ranks of the proletariat.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all sections of the Communist International persistently to fight for the realisation of a united militant front with the social democratic workers—in spite of and against the will of the treacherous leaders of social democracy.

The Plenum fully approves the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of April 1, 1933, on the situation in Germany and the political line pursued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Thaelmann, before and at the time of the fascist coup. The Plenum notes the Bolshevik heroic struggle waged by the Communist Party of Germany against the fascist dictatorship.

(d) **The Tasks of Mass Work and the Strengthening of the Communist Parties**

The fulfilment of these fundamental tasks demands the genuine reorganisation of the whole of the mass work of the Communist Parties, especially the work in the factories and trade unions, which still represents their weakest sector. In the situation when the toilers are in a state of great ferment, the Communists, while taking into account the moods of the masses, must formulate slogans and demands in such a way as to make them arise from the present level of the movement; at the same time they must show the workers the revolutionary way out. This means:

- That the content and language of agitation and the press must henceforth be addressed to the broadest strata of the proletariat and the toilers, showing the face of the Communist Parties both in agitation and in mass actions (demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions);
- Securing within the shortest time possible a decisive turn to the work in the factories, concentrating the forces of the Party organisation in the decisive enterprises and raising the political level of the leadership given by the factory nuclei to the daily class struggles;
- Putting an end to the opportunist, defeatist neglect of trade union work, and in particular work inside the reformist unions and the mass fascist and Christian trade

unions, in accordance with the directives given by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on work inside the trade unions;

- Really developing mass work among the unemployed, carrying on an untiring fight for social insurance, for all kinds of municipal relief;
- Intensifying revolutionary work in the rural districts, opposing the landlord-kulak slogan of a "united countryside" by the class slogans of the toilers and by the agrarian programme of the Soviet revolution; at the same time, developing the fight for all the partial demands of the peasantry, at the same time opposing the kulak demands which conflict with the interests of the proletariat and the village poor; obtaining a foothold (trade unions of agricultural workers', peasant committees) among the farm labourers, poor peasants and the semi-proletarian elements of the villages; to win over the basic masses of the small and middle peasants;
- Increasing the mass work among women, at the same time promoting and training even now a body of active Party women who, during the war, could in a number of cases replace mobilised comrades;
- Putting an end to the narrowness of the Y.C.L. and really turning it towards the masses of the working youth, struggling against the compulsory government system of fascistisation and militarisation; the Communist Parties must give every possible help to the Y.C.L. in developing the work inside the mass bourgeois and reformist youth organisations (cultural, sporting, etc.) and in the formation of Y.C.L. cells in the factories.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. sets before all Communist Parties as most important tasks the carrying on of regular and constant check-up on the fulfilment of decisions, especially on mass work, the organisational strengthening of their ranks, of preparing to go underground, of tightening up discipline and fighting fitness of every Party organisation and of every member of the Party.

The whole situation demands that the Communist Parties prepare in good time cadres for underground work, that they seriously tackle the question of combating provocateurs, that they combine the methods of strict secrecy with securing the best contacts with the masses, avoiding the schematic structure and work of the underground organisation.

Only the concentration of all the efforts of the Party organisations on forming underground factory nuclei and intensifying the work of the Communist fractions in all the mass organisations, can ensure contacts with the masses and also the maximum of secrecy and efficiency.

In carrying out these tasks the Communists must utilise all legal possibilities to develop mass work, and to link up legal and underground work.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls on all sections of the Comintern ruthlessly to root out opportunism in all its forms, and above all, "Right" opportunism (Guttman, Remmele, Neumann, the defeatists in other countries in their estimate of the prospects of the German revolution), without which the Communist Parties will not be able to lead the working masses up to the victorious struggles for the Soviet Power.

(e) **For a Revolutionary Way Out of the Crisis—For a Soviet Government**

(1) The Communist Parties must with all resoluteness raise before the masses the task of the revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Against the quack recipes of the fascists and the social fascists for saving decaying capitalism, the Communists must prove to the masses that the ills of capitalism are incurable. Therefore, the Communists, while defending in every way the demands of the toilers, must untiringly disclose to the masses who are suffering from starvation and exploitation the whole truth, viz., that their catastrophic conditions will grow worse and worse under the blows of the continuous offensive of capitalism, until the toilers succeed in uniting their forces for a counter-blow and the crushing of bourgeois rule.

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the October Revolution, viz., the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the

banks, of the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stocks of goods of the capitalists, the lands of the landlords, the Church and the Crown.

(2) It is necessary increasingly to popularise the living example of the land of the Soviets and to explain to the toilers and the exploited masses in all capitalist countries how Soviet economy, freed from the anarchy and the crisis of capitalism, is in the position to develop unhindered the productive forces on the basis of a socialist plan; how the Soviet workers and all the toilers are vitally interested in this development and in its rapid tempo; how the Soviet proletarian state, which is at the same time the organisation of the power of the proletariat as well as the dominating productive organisation of society, constantly increases the social wealth and thereby the welfare of all the toilers, whereas every bourgeois state, by becoming more and more a social economic parasite, devours and exhausts the economic forces of the people.

It is necessary to unfold before the toilers of each country a programme which, basing itself on the experience of the great triumphs of the Soviet workers and collective farmers on all fronts of the class struggle and socialist construction, should, while making allowance for the peculiar conditions of the different countries, show what the Soviet Power will give them in their own country. At the same time it is necessary to emphasise in particular the abolition of unemployment and the elimination of uncertainty for the morrow under the Soviet Power; the constant improvement in the conditions of labour, and social insurance, along with the reduction of the working day; the liberation of the toilers of the countryside from all the remnants of feudalism and from all bondage; the provision of land for the landless peasants and those having little land; the support given to the poor peasants and the assistance rendered to the peasant co-operative societies and collective farms; the throwing open of all the doors of cultural

development to the working class youth and to all the toilers, etc.

The Soviet Power, which is based on the mass organisation of the workers and semi-proletarians, offers the possibility of the wide and real enjoyment of democracy by all the toiling masses who were formerly oppressed by capitalism.

The Soviet Power is the state form of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Soviet Power is the state form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants, which ensures the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution (China, etc.).

It is democracy for the toilers, but a stern dictatorship against exploiters.

(3) It is necessary with all insistence to raise the question of power in the mass work of the Communist Parties. The chief slogan of the Communist International is: **Soviet Power.**

The example of the U.S.S.R. is the example of **Bolshevism.** Only this example shows the way out, and the way to save the exploited and oppressed in all the imperialist and colonial countries.

The example of Bolshevism is the example of proletarian internationalism. The victory of the socialist revolution is possible only by strengthening the international ties of the revolutionary proletariat. The way of Bolshevism is the way of uniting the proletarian forces of all nationalities and races, it is the way of their joint struggle hand in hand with the Soviet proletariat against the oppressors and exploiters.

The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. obliges all sections of the Communist International to be on their guard at every turn of events, and to exert every effort without losing a moment for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the impending decisive battles for power.

## Against the White Terror

### Appeal of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Council of the Communist International

Proletarians! Workers of the whole world! Communists!

The blood of the best sons of the working class is being shed in all capitalist countries. The German fascists are competing with the Kuomintang hangmen in the physical annihilation of the front rank fighters of the working class and in the tortures, deeds of violence and insults perpetrated against revolutionary workers. The horrors of the inquisition of the Middle Ages shrink into insignificance as compared with the villainy of the National Socialists and Chiang-Kai-Shek.

During the past year alone, according to the figures of the International Labour Defence, 46,000 revolutionaries were tortured and killed in capitalist and colonial countries, 160,000 were wounded and mutilated, and 228,000 arrested.

This terror awakens a bitter hatred of the exploiters in the mind of every worker, peasant, soldier, sailor and colonial slave, and calls them to struggle against the fascist hangmen and imperialist savages.

In fascist Germany 2,500 proletarians have been killed and 130,000 Communists and anti-fascist workers are being tortured in the concentration camps.

Only recently in Cologne six young revolutionary workers were executed amid the vilest insults.

In Berlin the fascist bandits have many torture chambers in which they tear the bodies of their victims with a special instrument set with iron nails.

In the concentration camp at Dachau they killed the Communist deputy, Comrade Stenzer, after two months of torture.

In the middle of November Templin was killed by the Storm Troopers in Hamburg.

In the Sonnenburg concentration camp the fascist hangmen are torturing arrested Communists for refusal to beat each other.

But the bestial fascist terror has not stopped and cannot stop the heroic struggle of the masses against the fascist dictatorship of hunger and blood. On the very scaffolds the courageous voices of the working-class heroes are heard, like Lutgens, calling for struggle against the executioners and for proletarian revolution.

Workers and peasants, oppressed of the whole world!

In Berlin, in Shanghai, in Tokyo, in Manchuria, in Sofia and Warsaw, in Indonesia and in Indo-China—everywhere the

slave-owners and militarists are wreaking their vengeance on the fighters of the revolution.

Chiang-Kai-Shek, who has called into his service German, British and American generals and social-democratic police presidents of the Grzeszinski stamp, are chopping off the heads of Chinese revolutionary workers and peasants by the thousand. In Shanghai in the autumn of last year workers at an Anti-War meeting were arrested. All were shot on the spot. In the summer of 1933 the Kuomintang hangmen arrested 150 participants in the Anti-Fascist Congress, shipped them to Nanking and wreaked their bloody vengeance on them.

In Japan the ruling fascist clique during the past two years has thrown 15,000 revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers into its dungeons. Dozens of Japanese Communists have been killed. In Manchuria, Korea and Formosa tens of thousands of people have been tortured for resistance to Japanese imperialist violence.

In Indonesia the Dutch slave-owners are wreaking their vengeance on the sailors who participated in the revolt of the armoured cruiser "Zeven Provincien."

In Indo-China, "democratic" France is crushing the rebellious natives with fire and sword.

In India, Arabia and Palestine the British imperialists are shooting by the thousands toilers who have rebelled against colonial slave rule.

In the United States the bourgeoisie is daily revenging itself on Negro workers and farmers by means of lynching.

In Bulgaria during the past year 49 revolutionary soldiers have been hanged or shot for their struggle against war and fascism.

In Finland the fascist prison warders are killing political prisoners who have declared a hunger strike.

In fascist Italy, in Rumania, in Poland and in the Baltic countries, in Hungary and in Spain—everywhere the front rank fighters are being tortured and murdered. In Leipzig the fascist burners of the Reichstag are trying Communists, of whose innocence the whole world is convinced.

Workers! Toilers of the whole world! Soldiers! Only you, by your struggle, can defend the victims of fascist terror. Only you can stay the hand of the hangmen, which is hanging over your brothers!

Haste to their aid, proletarians of all lands!

Everywhere organise mass protests against fascist terrorism in Germany, China, and other capitalist countries!

Rescue from the hands of the cut-throats the member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and the leader of the C.P. of Germany.

Force the fascist hangmen to release the revolutionary workers, pining in the prisons and concentration camps of fascist Germany.

On to the struggle against bloody fascist terrorism!

## Decision on the Calling of the VII. Congress of the C.I.

- (1) To call the Seventh Congress during the second half of 1934.
- (2) To instruct the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. to publish not later than June 1, the agenda for the Congress, to name the speakers for the different questions on the agenda, and to set the quota of representation of the individual sections of the C.I. at the Seventh Congress.
- (3) To oblige the Sections of the C.I. to begin the preparation of the Seventh Congress in all Party organisations as soon as the agenda is made public.
- (4) To oblige the Central Committees of all the Communist Parties to submit before June 1 to the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. any proposals they may have regarding the agenda of the Congress.

## Decision Regarding the Financial Report of the E.C.C.I.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., after examining the financial report for 1932, submitted by the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., resolves:—

- (a) To approve the report in its entirety.
- (b) To publish the financial balance-sheet for 1932.

### RECEIPTS

	Am. Dol.
(1) Carried over from 1931 ... ..	74,948.75
(2) Membership Dues (for 38 Parties, including 3,589,647 members; the Y.C.I. and 19 Parties are exempted from payment of membership dues; the remaining other Parties have not presented their financial reports) ... ..	967,819.35
(3) Collections and donations ... ..	28,364.80
(4) Receipts from publishing houses and telegraph agencies ... ..	63,390
Total ... ..	1,134,522.90
<b>EXPENDITURE</b>	
	Am. Dol.
(1) Administrative expenditure (maintenance of apparatus, running expenses of building, etc.) ... ..	418,130
(2) Postal and Telegraph charges ... ..	37,627.65
(3) Subsidies to Party papers and publishing houses and for Party educational work ... ..	601,000
(4) Travelling Expenses ... ..	47,680
Balance for 1933 ... ..	30,086.25
Total ... ..	1,134,522.90

## Obituary

### Death of Comrade Lunacharsky

Moscow, December 28.

Lunacharsky, Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Spain, who has died at Mentone, was born in Poltava in 1873.

As a boy of 14 he became acquainted with Marxism, and soon became the leader of an illegal students' organisation, which had members in all the students' institutions in Kiev.

At the age of 17 Lunacharsky joined the social-democratic organisation, and worked as agitator and propagandist among the Kiev railwaymen. He was declared "suspect" by the tsarist authorities, and the doors of the universities of the capital were closed to him. He travelled to Switzerland, where he made the acquaintance of Vera Sassulitch and Plechanov, and met Rosa Luxemburg. In 1899 Lunacharsky returned to Moscow. He collaborated with Lenin's sister Elisarova in working as agitator and propagandist. He was arrested twice and sent to the North. During his time of banishment he occupied himself energetically with literary work, and wrote a number of critical polemic studies, by which he became well known.

In 1904 Lunacharsky went to Geneva, and became one of the most active Bolsheviks on the editorial board of the "Vpered." Later he worked on the "Proletarier," always under Lenin's leadership. At the third Party Congress, in London, Lunacharsky gave an address on the armed insurrection.

In 1905 he travelled to Petersburg, and during the revolutionary events he carried on agitational and literary-revolutionary work on a large scale. He was again arrested, but succeeded in escaping abroad. In 1907 he took part in the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International as the representative of the Bolsheviks.

In collaboration with Bogdanov, Lunacharsky organised the group "Vpered." During this period Lunacharsky committed grave political errors, and defended the idea of combining Marxism with religion. He received annihilating criticism from Lenin (Lenin's book: "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" is directed against this ideological deviation.—Ed.).

At the beginning of the world war, Lunacharsky adopted an internationalist attitude. In 1917 he returned to Russia, and cooperated with the Bolsheviks. In the July days he was arrested by the Kerensky government. During this time he returned finally to the ranks of the Bolsheviks.

From 1917-1929 Lunacharsky was People's Commissar for Edu-

cation in the R.S.F.S.R. In this capacity he attended international conferences as representative of the Soviet Union. In 1929 he became chairman of the savants' committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

Lunacharsky was a member of the Communist Academy and of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union; he was the director of the Scientific Research Institute for Literature and Art.

Lunacharsky wrote dozens of excellent literary theoretical works. He was a brilliant publicist, with profound knowledge of the history of art and literature. In 1933 he was appointed Ambassador of the Soviet Union for Spain.

Lunacharsky—writes the People's Commissar for Education Bubnov (Lunacharsky's successor in this office.—Ed.)—was the first organiser and collector of Soviet art. In Lunacharsky the Party of the Bolsheviks and the working class have lost one of their most eminent exponents of the power and beauty of language, a unique speaker, a talented savant, and a brilliant man of letters.

### The Situation of the Railwaymen in Fascist Italy

Paris, December 27.

An idea of the situation of the railwaymen in fascist Italy is given by a few figures taken from the "Bulletin of the International Committee of the Railwaymen."

Whilst in 1921-22 there were 235,000 railwaymen, to-day there are only 145,000. Hence 80,000 railwaymen, in round figures, have been discharged during these ten years. Of these, 10,000 were discharged in 1930-31 alone, and 5,700 in 1933.

The management of the Italian railways have thus contrived to squeeze tremendously more work out of their workers. According to official statistics, the number of men employed per kilometre of track diminished from 10.7 before the war to 8.6 in January, 1931-32. If the comparison is made with the years 1921-22—at that time about 13-14 railwaymen were employed per kilometre of track—it will be found that the work performance has been intensified by about 40 per cent.

The railwaymen are subject to a discipline much more strict than in military service. The entire abolition of allowances for rising prices, and the reduction of wages, have cut down the income of the railwaymen to one-half. This is the manner in which the workers and employees of an undertaking actually under the direct control of the fascist "corporative State" are exploited and oppressed.



## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# IV. Session of the C.E.C. of the Soviet Union

Moscow, December 30, 1933.

The men and women who fill the Sverdlovsk Hall of the Kremlin have come from all corners and ends of the Soviet Union. Here are collective peasants from the Ukraine, who have won great victories on their fields; here are old proletarians from Moscow, Leningrad and the Urals, whose faces have been scorched in the glare of furnaces and smithy fires, and who with the same skill and mastery, guide and control machines, handle the rifle, cast metal and build up the new life; here are Usbeckish cotton cultivators, flax growers from Smolensk, oil workers from Transcaucasia, as well as representatives of the southern and northern frontier districts of the Soviet Union. They all have one thing in common: they are fellow workers in the building up of socialism. The totality of their endeavours, as well as the endeavours of those who have elected them and sent them to Moscow, form a powerful driving force.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin, the iron cohort of the Bolsheviks, is leading them from victory to victory. Their flag is the

flag of the October Revolution. Their path is the path of Socialism. Their leader is Stalin. Their future is the World Revolution.

The face of the country changes every year, every month, every day. New factories, works, blast furnaces and martin furnaces are rising everywhere; in the Siberian towns, in the Ural mountains, in the Ukraine, in the Volga district, in Kasakstan. Hardly a year has passed since the last meeting of the Central Executive Committee. But in this year the canal connecting the White Sea with the Baltic has been cut, caterpillar tractors leave the conveyor of the Cheliabinsk works, the huge Dnieprostroi power station has been built. Millions of collective farmers have already become prosperous and millions more are approaching prosperity.

Kalinin and Molotov were greeted with storms of applause when they appeared on the platform. When Stalin, whose name is inseparably bound up with the victories won by the working class in the Soviet Union, entered the hall, all present rose like one man. It seemed as if there would be no end to the tremendous ovation he was accorded. This is the living demonstration of boundless fidelity to the cause of the Party, to the cause of the working class, to the cause of socialist construction.

## Opening Speech of Comrade Kalinin

Opening the fourth session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on December 28, M. I. Kalinin, the Chairman, delivered the following speech:—

A cruel industrial and agrarian crisis is continuing for the fourth year outside the borders of the Soviet Union. Soviet citizens do not know and do not understand how the crisis is felt by a worker. A distant memory of the 1907-8 crisis remains with the old generation of Russian workers. But is there any comparison of that crisis with the present one?

The crisis means that over 50 million persons have become superfluous, and are not wanted by anyone. These persons have a single commodity at their disposal—labour power—but no one needs it. Moreover, a free commodity on the market, it has become an encumbrance to capitalist society. The masters of capitalist society are seeking for ways and means of ridding themselves of it; its existence is not only unpleasant for the bourgeoisie, but is also very dangerous to bourgeois society.

And so, comrades, just imagine yourselves in the place of an unemployed person in a capitalist country. You are superfluous, you are looked upon as an infectious disease, as a leper. People simply turn their backs and pretend not to notice the starving, homeless person. A man who is in possession of his full physical powers and who is willing to work is deprived of work, roof and food. Show me anything more tragic than the situation of an unemployed person in capitalist society!

It is the task of proletarian writers and artists to give a picture of the not less shameful phenomenon of capitalist society after the war, the phenomenon of unemployment.

The dispassionate figures of capitalist statistics tell us drily that the population is decreasing, especially the child population. At the same time political swindlers hold meetings and invite subscriptions for the "starving" in Ukraine. Only degraded and decaying classes can form such cynical elements. Where are they meeting? In Vienna, where the proletariat is literally dying of hunger.

But are the declarations of the masters of the destinies of those States who were defeated in the last war and those which took no part in it at all—the capitalists who have fattened on the slaughter of the people—are their declarations any better? Their philosophy is simple; the land of neighbouring States must be seized in order to overcome unemployment. In other words, an imperialist war must be started once more to enable capitalists to gain more profits.

The question of "over-population" has also played a considerable role in our country. One need but recall tsarist Russia. Under its domination and by its grace the ever-increasing population of the Ukraine, White Russia and other places emigrated

uninterruptedly from year to year to Siberia, to the Far East, to America and so on. The number of emigrants exceeded 200,000 a year.

At present the population of the Soviet Union has increased by 20 to 25 million persons. The peasant households have been socialised. Kulakdom has been entirely liquidated. The tractor, the combine, the complicated threshing and other modern machines have made their appearance on the fields.

It would seem that the villages would choke from over-population, from superfluous labour power, and the town from the influx of villagers thirsting for work. But a "miracle" has happened; we have no superfluous people, we have no unemployment, this most frightful scourge of the worker.

This is a fact. It is also a fact that every single republic in the Soviet Union instead of asking for a quota of emigration, is struggling for labour power and feels its shortage everywhere. With the most careful analysis it may be boldly stated that this is no accidental improvement in the economic situation, but is inherent in the Soviet system, it is the nature of the Soviet order.

It is in this light and in the realisation of how unemployment affects the worker, that we may fully appraise the great achievements of the Union of Soviet Republics.

Whence these inner forces and possibilities in a country which not long ago had so weak and backward an industry, which was so poor and had so little culture as it is understood in Europe, a country which has gone through an imperialist war and has suffered countless sacrifices in the interests of allied capital, a country which has lived through a civil war that almost ruined it? This force is the fulfilment of the Leninist policy.

It is ten years since Lenin died, but the Leninist Party lives, with its ideological and organisational power directed towards the accomplishment of Lenin's ideas, jealously guarding his behests and firmly following them.

It is ten years since Lenin died and since the banner of Communism has been taken up from the weakened hands of the great leader by his comrade-in-arms, and veteran fighter for Communism, Comrade Stalin. (Loud and prolonged applause.) The ranks of our Party are mustering ever more strongly under this Leninist banner in the hands of Stalin; under this banner and under the leadership of Stalin, the Party is translating its ideals, the ideals of Lenin, into life.

However, the Party has no special interests, no special tasks of its own. Its interests and its tasks are those of the proletariat, the tasks with which all workers are confronted. And their collective will for struggle for full victory is concentrated in the person of Stalin. (Loud and prolonged applause, passing into an ovation, the whole audience rising.)

## Speech of Comrade Molotov

This has been a year of further consolidation of the international position of the Soviet Union. The facts speak for themselves.

The biggest success of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. has been the establishment of relations with the United States of America. It will be remembered that the initiative in this belonged to President Roosevelt. The Government of the Soviet Union readily accepted the proposal.

The artificial barriers which had existed, through no fault of ours, in the relations between our two great States have finally been removed. In what measure the restoration of relations was in accord with a long-matured need and the deep desires of the masses, not only in the U.S.S.R., but also in America, may be seen from the hearty manner in which Comrade Litvinov was met by the masses of the people in America.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States was based on an agreement fully in accord with the principles of Soviet foreign policy. The establishment of these relations creates favourable conditions for the development of commercial and economic connections. In the present international situation, however, the thing of special importance is the fact that the establishment of these relations must have a highly favourable effect in stabilising international relations generally and consolidating universal peace. We cannot fail to see in all this a serious success of the foreign policy steadily pursued by the Soviet Government.

The tasks of the struggle for the consolidation of universal peace have held and still hold the centre of our attention. We do not doubt that the struggle for peace, the struggle against new imperialist wars, is in accord with the deepest desires of the masses not only of our country but of other countries as well.

While more and more elements are accumulating in the sphere of international relations for unleashing new imperialist wars, while the mad growth of armaments and military budgets eloquently confirms this, while direct preparations for new wars are taking place everywhere in front of everybody's eyes—in these circumstances the Government of the U.S.S.R. made it its task to strengthen to the utmost the struggle for peace despite the growing aggressiveness of the ruling circles of certain countries.

It must be said that this year Soviet diplomacy has had some outstanding successes. Openly and resolutely exposing the aggressive imperialist forces and setting up in opposition to them its clear proposals condemning all attempts to settle disputes between States by force of arms, Soviet diplomacy has carried out its task with honour.

Let me remind you of our proposal to all countries represented at the Disarmament Conference to conclude a pact directed against the aggressor, directed against the war incendiaries. It will be remembered that the delay in the decision of this question at the Disarmament Conference did not prevent our diplomacy from securing the conclusion of such a pact, a pact defining the aggressor, with a large number of our neighbours, namely, Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan.

These successes are inseparably connected with the name of Comrade Litvinov, whose services are already known far and wide, but which we must emphasise here particularly. (Long applause.) I am sure that the entire session will greet the proposal to have Comrade Litvinov make a more detailed statement on questions of international politics. (Applause.)

In its relations with all countries, the Soviet Union has steadily observed the tried principles of its policy of peace and practical collaboration.

A splendid example of this is the development of our relations with the Turkish Republic. The visit to Turkey during the Tenth Anniversary of the Republic by a Soviet governmental delegation, with Comrade Voroshilov at its head, and the exceptional reception accorded to it by this friendly nation, testifies to the strength and political importance of Soviet-Turkish relations.

Nor is it possible to fail to notice the new, favourable factors in the development of business and cultural relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. We have attached and continue to attach to them much political importance.

On the other hand, there has been a favourable development of practical collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and France. The

visit of the most prominent French leaders to the U.S.S.R., the establishment of closer business contact between representatives of both countries, have facilitated the development of this collaboration in the future. We are convinced that our collaboration with France has entered a new phase and has a good future before it.

Finally, a characteristic example of the development of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and other countries is the conclusion of a Pact of Non-Aggression, Neutrality and Friendship with Italy, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Spain and Uruguay, on the initiative of these countries.

On the other hand, in the relations with Britain there was a temporary tension this year. For understandable reasons, the Government of the Soviet Union could not reconcile itself to the attempts to bring pressure to bear upon our internal policy from outside, and it succeeded in maintaining its position to the end. But the tension, which was caused, as you remember, by the trial of the Metro-Vickers wreckers, was soon eased and at present normal trade negotiations are being conducted in London.

Our relations with Germany always held a distinct place in international relations. Remaining true to its principles, the principles of defence of universal peace and its independence, the U.S.S.R. has had no cause on its part for any change of policy towards Germany. However, the ruling groups in Germany have, during the past year, made a series of attempts to revise relations with the Soviet Union. Tendencies of this kind are so obvious that they can easily be perceived. There is no need to dwell upon the statements of Herren Rosenberg, Hugenberg and others, about which sufficient has been said and written already.

One thing is clear to us, namely, that until recently the friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany were based upon their mutual desire for peace and development of economic relations. To these principles we remain entirely faithful to this day. Only in the observance of these principles did we see the power of the political and economic co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, co-operation in the interests of both countries and of general peace.

On the other hand, the policy of the ideologists of bellicose National-Socialism, such as Rosenberg and others, is directly opposed to this. Inasmuch as this policy is thoroughly pervaded with reactionary aspirations and imperialist plans of conquest, it is incompatible with the consolidation of friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. We think that it is also incompatible with a great future for Germany.

Concerning our relations with Japan enough has already been said. The policy of the Soviet Government on this question is clear to the toiling masses, not of our own country alone. Greater proof of the peacefulness of this policy than has been provided by all the facts which are widely known, beginning with our proposal to conclude a non-aggression pact, our complete readiness to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway, our attentive attitude towards all business questions, such as the Japanese concessions in the Far East and so on—greater peacefulness could not have been expected from us by anyone.

Yet this does not prevent certain organs of the Japanese press and certain important Japanese officials from engaging from day to day in cooking up various filthy rumours of aggressive intentions on the part of the U.S.S.R. One day they start a rumour about alleged "agents of the O.G.P.U." organising an attack on the Manchurian frontier; the next day they attribute to fictitious "Moscow agents" the organisation of anti-Japanese campaigns in China, and how many other "canards" are being started from that quarter day in and day out!

All this is done, of course, with the sole object of covering up anti-Soviet outbreaks and anti-Soviet provocations on the part of their own agents. Conscious of their growing isolation, the most reactionary circles among the Japanese military fear particularly the establishment of a certain collaboration between countries such as the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and China against the war incendiaries in the Far East.

They are themselves exaggerating the possibilities of such collaboration and completely betray themselves by panicky denials of their own inventions. They are in dread of the gigantic growth



of the U.S.S.R. and, losing confidence in themselves, are repeating more and more stubbornly that "this is the most opportune time. . . ."

All this shows that we have no right to close our eyes to the danger of war, to the danger of an attack. Is it necessary to state once more what our conclusions from it must be? All that must be said has already been said. Our task consists in steadfastly pursuing our policy of peace in the Far East, and improving the relations with Japan, while preparing at the same time for all possible assaults and complications against which we, unfortunately, cannot regard ourselves guaranteed at the present moment.

That the danger of new wars has become particularly imminent this year may be seen from the following fact. During this year, Germany and Japan have announced their decision to resign from the League of Nations. Germany did this apparently because of her desire to develop her armaments. She regarded her participation in the League of Nations as one of the impediments to this plan.

On the other hand, Japan has announced her intention to resign from the League of Nations in order to have her hands entirely free in the Chinese intervention. It so happens that even the League of Nations has in a certain measure placed itself in the way of the "freedom of action" of the interventionists.

In this connection the retarding role of the League of Nations in relation to the forces heading for war must be recognised as a positive factor. Different as the said causes of the resignations from the League of Nations are, one cannot ignore the fundamental fact that the significance of these acts lies by no means in any consolidation of the cause of universal peace, but on the con-

trary in the unleashing of aggressive forces of the most reactionary kind.

With all the more determination and consistency, therefore, will we defend the cause of peace and expose every attempt to accelerate new imperialist wars and new attacks upon the U.S.S.R., utilising every given opportunity to this end. Our foremost task consists in keeping the toiling masses informed of the true situation of the U.S.S.R. in the present capitalist encirclement, so that the great masses of the workers and peasants may correctly understand the fundamental factors which are responsible for the menace to peace, as well as those factors which strengthen our peace positions and the cause of universal peace.

The ruling classes of the capitalist countries have never sought and cannot seek to keep the masses of the people really informed of the real situation of their countries, and on the real foreign policies of their governments. In our days this is intolerable particularly to the gentlemen from the reactionary-fascist camp who dream of imperialist conquests. But in the long run they will all come to grief through it.

Only the Soviet Power, which leans upon the wholehearted support of the working and peasant masses, sees in a conscious attitude of the masses towards the cause of peace its foremost task and duty. Therein lies our greatest strength. When the workers and peasants know what they are fighting for, when they know why their efforts and sacrifices are required, then no hardships can daunt them, then they are an invincible force. (Stormy applause.)

That is why we, Bolsheviks, are marching forward with unshakable faith in our cause. (Stormy applause.)

## Speech of Comrade Litvinov on the International Situation

In order to answer the question of just what has happened or is happening in international life, I will take the liberty briefly to dwell upon the development of this life during the past fifteen years. You and I, comrades, know the nature of capitalist States, the nature of imperialism, its foreign tasks and functions. Fundamentally, these tasks and functions do not change. What changes is merely the tactics resorted to in the realisation of these tasks, as applying to historically changing situations and it is these changing tactics which are commonly called diplomacy.

The fundamental feature of any capitalist and particularly imperialist State consists in that it undertakes foreign objectives, the realisation of which it cannot conceive without war. If any further proof of it was required, we received it in the reply given in Geneva to our proposals for complete disarmament, for the complete destruction of war material. We were told there that there can be no talk of any renunciation of war, that peace can be temporarily discussed, but that preparations for war must go on always. Such a reply was given to us both before and after the general signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which is supposed to outlaw war as a method of settling international disputes.

But not every capitalist State has an equal desire for war at all times. Any state, no matter how imperialistic, may become deeply pacifist at one period or another. This happens either when it has sustained a defeat in a war and requires some time to recover and gather strength for a new war, or when it is opposed by a stronger nation or a group of nations and the general political situation is unfavourable to it, or when it is satiated with victories and conquests, and requires some time to digest them. There are other factors, as well, dampening the interest in war, as for instance, internal disturbances, economic impotence, and so on.

After the World War, in which some forty States participated, including every great Power without exception, the whole capitalist world became for a time pacifist. The pacifism of the vanquished countries which were deprived of practically every means for the conduct of war needs no explanation, but even the victor States which had in a large measure satisfied their imperialist aspirations, were not, for a certain time, interested in further wars. True, the capitalist contradictions among the victor countries themselves remained unsolved, but they were too exhausted to engage in fresh wars immediately. They attempted to turn the remnants of their war energy against the new international force which had grown up in the shape of the Soviet republics, but for

this war their weapons proved to be blunted and they wisely hastened to put an end to the military dispute with us in good time.

Besides, the proletariat in the capitalist States had begun to awaken after the war intoxication and to present for payment the bills issued by the bourgeoisie during the war. The war caused a powerful reaction and anti-war sentiments among the petty bourgeoisie as well. It further became necessary to put the war-shattered finances and economy into some order. All this, taken together, created the era of bourgeois pacifism and pacifist diplomacy, which continued until very recently. An endless number of international conferences and meetings were held, the League of Nations was created, which arranged meetings of foreign ministers and prime ministers several times a year. These meetings and conferences took place publicly, under the control of the public, and they were devoted to talk of peace and friendship among the nations. There was no lack of meetings behind the scenes and secret conversations, of course, but they had an "illegal," "underground" character. In any case, for twelve years, they zealously discussed and wrote about peace and disarmament, and drafted respective conventions.

But while the foreign ministers diligently discussed peace, the war and naval ministries and the general staffs were not idle and quite as diligently replaced the stocks of arms and ammunition depleted by the war, adding to them the products of the new military inventions. Meanwhile, the international capitalist contradictions widened, deepened, sharpened and began to assert themselves more and more markedly. The economic crisis, unprecedented both in force and duration, further intensified the existing contradictions and added new ones to them. The social-democratic parties, led by the Second International, which had believed in the omnipotence and everlastingness of democracy and its ability to protect peace, and which therefore rejected and became divorced from any revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, lost their positions in a number of countries. Together with these parties, the radical intellectual and pacifist sections of the petty-bourgeoisie also sustained considerable losses.

Meanwhile, a new generation of people had grown up who had not known or experienced the horrors of the World War, and had not been infected with the anti-war sentiments to which the governments had been forced, until recently, to pay some lip-service at least. Nor has it been possible, any longer, to pay even



this service, as the actions of the governments were too much in discord with it. The era of bourgeois pacifism thus came to an end.

The bourgeois press, instead of peace problems, openly began to discuss war problems in all their ugly details. In Geneva and at the diplomatic meetings and conferences, disarmament which had held the central place, gave place to questions of armament and rearmament. Where the old ruling parties and cliques had not succeeded in adapting themselves to the new military spirit of the times, they were replaced by new parties, new cliques, new people, with a new ideology, untainted and uncompromised in the past by any pacifism. Any form of pacifism, any desire for international peace, was proclaimed to be an embodiment of all the mortal sins, a betrayal of the ideals of humanity. The true ideals of humanity, you see, are an eternal struggle among the peoples, a struggle among the races, among religions, their mutual extermination. War alone can again enoble, renovate, rejuvenate humanity. The youth must be reared in this spirit. The press, literature, science and art must serve this doctrine. This new ideology, to be sure, smacks of the ancient days, is covered with mediæval mould, revives the images and methods of the holy inquisition, but in the name of its triumph, in the name of this new "civilising mission," a crusade is proclaimed against Marxism, against Communism, against radicalism.

The struggle against world Communism, however, is a far-removed objective. Under cover of this struggle, an attempt is being made to realise more modest, purely national aims which, in their bare form, are known as revision of treaties and capture of lands whether mentioned or unmentioned in the treaties to be revised. It is sufficient to study the literature of the advocates of the "new" ideology to realise that should the fortune of war begin to smile on them, they will not be very particular, will not limit themselves solely to territories under the control of the hated Marxists, but will have no objection to a strip of bourgeois land as well, even of that in which ideas akin to their own predominate. Such is the case at least with one of the European countries.

There is also another country which has proved to be even more "advanced," or perhaps more prepared and which, without resorting to complex ideology replaced without much ado the revision of treaties by a revision of borders and entrusted this revision, not to diplomats, but to generals, under whose command complete armies are freely marching over the vast Asiatic continent in all directions ignoring any borders and anybody's rights. To be sure, even here a certain amount of ideology has been used. But this ideology has not yet been finally crystallised, it still has a somewhat timid, experimental character, assuming the form now of the defence of European "civilisation" against Communism, now of a theory of a new, all-Asian race which is to be blessed by its being placed under the rule of the authors of this theory. But even in this case, ideology covers up altogether prosaic national annexationist, imperialist aims. The political rapprochement beginning to develop between the advocates of these two new ideologies which have common roots and common objectives, is not to be wondered at.

I consider it necessary to explain beforehand to those who might decide to wax nobly indignant over my frank criticism of the theories embodied in the policy of certain countries with which we are maintaining normal, diplomatic relations, that they are themselves sufficiently abusing their right to pass open judgment on our Communism, which they, in addition, are distorting, to entitle me to make certain remarks concerning the theories preached by them, the essence of which is now well understood by everybody, and enjoys rather doubtful popularity throughout the world.

The new era of diplomacy, the new tasks of diplomacy must have new forms to fit in with them. That is why the more or less open and public international conferences are already proving to be an antiquated method of international intercourse and are making room for more limited, private meetings of four, three or two ministers, and one State after another is turning away from the existing international organisations. Peace and disarmament may be discussed publicly; war and armaments can be discussed with greater convenience and privately, between two, three or four people.

You would get an incorrect idea of the international situation, however, were you to conclude from what I have said that all capitalist States are now anxious for war and are preparing for it directly. Side by side with the very few countries which

have already either replaced diplomacy by war operations or, being still unprepared for it, are preparing to do this in the near future, there are those which are not yet pursuing such objects. They have their own contradictions with other countries, which they do not hope to remove by any means other than war. But these contradictions have not yet reached a degree of acuteness making war imminent. Considering war to be inevitable and unavoidable, however, and on the other hand, not being too interested in the maintenance of universal peace, they do not bind their hands and are avoiding making commitments as far as possible which might unnecessarily consolidate peace, such as non-aggression pacts, aggression definitions and so on. They might, perhaps, have no objection to a little fight between other States into which they would not be drawn and from which they might derive certain benefits, particularly if our Union might suffer from these fights.

Finally, there are also bourgeois States—and they are quite numerous—which are interested, for the immediate future, in the maintenance of peace and are prepared to pursue a policy directed towards the maintenance of peace. I am not going into an estimation of the motives for such a policy, but am merely stating a fact which is highly valuable to us.

I have taken, of course, the basic group of countries, the struggle between which is now filling the international arena. This struggle can easily be traced in all international developments, at all congresses, conferences, international organisations. In the League of Nations this struggle assumes its most striking forms. It may be assumed, however, that in the League of Nations, that tendency will win which is interested in preserving peace, and this, perhaps, explains the deep changes which are taking place in the composition of the League. The revision of treaties, disarmament, rearmament, the Four-Power pact, the reorganisation of the League, all these are manifestations and functions of the struggle between the three fundamental groupings of States described by me.

Such is the complex international situation in which Soviet diplomacy has had to act. The responsibility of our diplomacy is great and is growing always greater, as all, or nearly all the international problems which I have named affect or may affect the interests of our Union. Take, for instance, the revision of treaties. This question appears not to affect us as we have not participated in the respective treaties, have not participated not only formally, but morally as well, for we have not approved them. Moreover, we have not made a secret of our sympathies for those nations in relation to which clear injustices were committed by these treaties and it is not our affair, therefore, to object to the revision of these treaties, but this is so only if such revision can be accomplished peacefully, on the basis of voluntary agreements, or if, in abolishing existing injustices they will not create other, perhaps greater injustices. But in reality, we know of such projects of "just" revision of treaties which provide for the satisfaction of the territorial appetites of the vanquished States at the expense of countries such as the Baltic States, for instance, or even the U.S.S.R. which took no part in the Versailles Treaty and caused no injustices to anyone.

I do not know whether this is a Hottentot conception of morality and justice, or any other, but in any case it is not of Aryan origin. (Laughter.) Regardless of its origin, however, in the application of such a morality, they would have to deal with the entire power of our 170 million people. (Stormy applause.) In any case, thanks to the appearance of such projects, we, against our will, find ourselves drawn into the problem of the so-called revision of treaties, which largely determines our attitude towards the other international problems, mentioned by me, such as rearmament, the Four-Power Pact and so forth.

The guiding principle of our foreign policy is outlined in Stalin's brief but expressive formula: we do not covet foreign land, but not a single inch of our own will we yield. It follows that once we do not want foreign land we do not want wars. And as far as our land is concerned we are perfectly capable of defending it and even the approaches to it, with the aid of our powerfully growing military forces. (Stormy applause.)

These forces could teach a lesson to any adjacent or distant neighbour who would venture beyond their own boundaries, a lesson they would remember for many years. That, however, would be an unproductive waste of means and energy, would temporarily divert our attention from our basic task of building socialism and we are therefore doing everything possible to defend

our territory by peaceful methods, even if this is not exactly a drastic means of eliminating the aggressions that threaten us.

We consider that even such military action as is begun not immediately outside the frontiers of our country might harbour grave dangers for us. That is why we not only continue but intensify our struggle for peace, which has always been and is still the main task of our diplomacy. As Comrade Molotov correctly pointed out here, this struggle corresponds to the wishes of the masses of all countries.

During the past year we have extended the system of non-aggression pacts. We now have pacts which have come into force not only with all our neighbours, apart from China and Japan, but with France and Italy as well. We have made a further step in the direction of strengthening the significance and effectiveness of the non-aggression pacts by proposing an exhaustive definition of the very conception of aggression. This proposal of ours has already taken the form of agreements with a whole chain of our neighbours from Finland to Afghanistan, as well as with the three countries of the Little Entente. Our definition of aggression has earned universal recognition as a valuable contribution to the science of international law as well as to international practice and is, moreover, a splendid method for verifying the absence or existence of aggression and desires for conquest on the part of the various countries. We will therefore fight for the universal recognition of this definition.

The security of peace cannot depend entirely upon our efforts alone. It demands the co-operation and assistance of other countries as well. By striving therefore toward the establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with all countries, we devote particular attention to the strengthening of relations and maximum rapprochement with those countries which, like ourselves, furnish proof of their sincere desire to preserve peace and show that they are prepared to counteract any violation of peace.

We have never objected, and do not object, to the organisation of international co-operation which aims at strengthening peace. Not being doctrinaires, we do not refuse to make use of any international amalgamations and organisations, either existing or possible of formation, if we have now or in the future reason to believe that they serve the cause of peace.

Comrade Litvinov then proceeded to deal with the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the various countries—relations with the U.S.A., Turkey, France, Italy, Great Britain, Poland, etc.

Dealing with the relations with the U.S.A., Comrade Litvinov stated:

For fifteen years this republic, alone among the big powers, stubbornly refrained not only from formal recognition of the Soviet Union but from acknowledging its existence altogether.

In this way, it refused to recognise the fact of the October Revolution and the changes wrought by it throughout the length and breadth of our Union. It remained obdurate not because its governmental differences with us were any greater than those of other countries, or because it suffered more than other countries as a result of revolutionary legislation. No, it was actually continuing the struggle proclaimed by the whole capitalist world after the October Revolution against the new Soviet system of government, which aimed at setting up a socialist society. That was a fight against the peaceful co-existence of the two systems.

Observing how one after another the capitalist countries, her comrades-in-arms in this particular struggle, were gradually abandoning the front, America seemed to be saying: "I understand how it is; you are weak, you are shattered; you are making great sacrifices and must therefore abandon the struggle. But I am strong enough to continue the fight alone on behalf of all of you." For fifteen years she stuck firmly to her position, but has now finally given up.

That is why my exchange of letters with President Roosevelt on November 16 should not be regarded merely as another recognition of our country by a great power, but as the collapse of the last position, the last fort in that attack on us by the capitalist world, which after the October Revolution took the form of non-recognition and boycott. The longer this fort held out, the more planned and conscious the actions of its defenders, the greater must be our satisfaction at the establishment of relations with America.

Once she had ceased to act in the capacity of protagonist for the whole capitalist world, and had established her first contact

with us, America immediately became convinced that differences with our Union, either of a national or governmental nature, were non-existent, and that disputed questions were easily settled. Moreover, being herself interested in preserving peace, America saw in her contact with our country a powerful factor in this respect and correspondingly valued co-operation with us in that direction.

We, on our part, also estimate the establishment of relations with America primarily from the standpoint of its significance in the cause of peace. I may mention here that those basic principles and postulates which we have consistently carried out in the establishment of relations with capitalist countries, we were able to retain unimpaired in the present case as well. This circumstance—that is, the absence of any sacrifices whatsoever on either side—guarantees to a considerable extent the further strengthening of our relations. (Applause.)

The frank exchange of opinions between President Roosevelt and myself convinced us both of the complete possibility of the very closest connections between our two countries. It is an indication of the clear-sightedness of President Roosevelt that soon after he assumed office, and perhaps even before that, he had realised the impracticability of continuing the struggle against us in the name of capitalism and saw the benefit to American government interests and the interests of world peace in the establishment of relations with us.

As an example of our relations with foreign countries we consider our connections with the great *Turkish Republic*. For a period of over ten years these relations have been improving from year to year, having reached sincere friendship, giving complete satisfaction to both sides and inspiring them with the feeling of complete security for that section of border which lies between them. The policy of friendship and mutual confidence provides a basis for fruitful co-operation on the international arena as well.

Each side in coming forward with a proposal aimed at strengthening peace can depend in advance on the support and assistance of the other side.

The dispatch by our Government of a delegation headed by Comrade Voroshilov, our War Commissar, to Turkey for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the new Republic and the hearty and enthusiastic reception it was accorded, not only by the head of the Republic and the Government but by the people of Turkey as well, represented a fresh outward display of that deep friendship of which I have just spoken.

In speaking of the gradual significant improvement in relations with other countries, we must first of all mention *France*. After the signing of the non-aggression pact, our relations with France during the past year have made rapid strides ahead. We have the advantage of a stable government and a stable foreign policy, while in France the government is frequently changing with possible alterations in political orientation.

Inasmuch, however, as the French people sincerely desire peace, and it is precisely that desire which joins us with France, we need not fear particularly that the change of government will hinder the successful development of our close relations. It must be remembered, however, that our relations with France lack some economic basis, which I hope will be created by forthcoming trade agreement.

Our relations with *Italy* continue to be distinguished by their particular stability. In the past ten years we have had not a few instances of valuable diplomatic co-operation on the part of Italy. We have also had occasion in certain branches of our construction to resort to Italian technical aid, while our economic relations have prospered to our mutual benefit.

My recent visit to Italy and the reception I met there bear witness to the aspirations of both countries for the further development of our mutual relations on all sides. Our efforts simultaneously to support and develop relations with all the large countries is not an unimportant contribution to the cause of universal peace.

Unfortunately, this effort of ours has not yet been realised, or fully realised with regard to another big power—*Great Britain*. Our relations with this country, sad to say, cannot boast of stability or permanency. This is not at all the result of any objective reason and I am certain that the British people as a whole are anxious to live in perfect peace and friendship with us. But there are certain elements there which still cherish the fond



dream of that general capitalist fight against the country of socialism, which has just been abandoned by America. However, since they can neither destroy nor upset this country of socialism, it is rather astonishing that notwithstanding the renowned practical common sense of the British, there should still remain among them such Quixotic snipers and partisans. (Laughter.) As far as we are concerned we are ready and desirous of maintaining the same good relations with Great Britain as with other countries.

We are well aware that sincere and good relations between big powers are not only an essential condition to but a guarantee of universal peace. The temporary trade agreement which is expected to be concluded shortly, by eliminating certain misunderstandings, will, we trust, make better relations possible between Great Britain and ourselves.

Our most serious attention is, of course, devoted to our relations with our immediate neighbours, and particularly with the largest of these—*Poland*. Here, too, we can record considerable progress. The conclusion of the Non-Aggression Pact and the signing of the Convention for the Definition of the Aggressor could not but strengthen mutual confidence and mutual understanding.

The political disturbances which have occurred in Europe during the past year have created a community of interests arising from the common danger, and common care.

We are particularly satisfied with the progress which we have observed in the attitude of Polish public opinion toward our Union—(applause)—and this progress indicates that wide circles of Polish public opinion are also gradually coming to the conclusion which we arrived at long ago, that between the Soviet Union and Poland the closest co-operation is both possible and necessary and that there exist no objective reasons to hinder its development.

This conviction gives rise to the demand for cultural ties and the past year has seen not a few manifestations of such a rapprochement.

What I have said with regard to the significance of non-aggression pacts and conventions to define the aggressor in our relations with Poland can be applied also to our relations with other immediate neighbours to the West who are signatories to the above agreements, *Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*. These countries are being increasingly convinced of the absolute sincerity of our peaceful aspirations, our goodwill toward them and our interest in the preservation of their complete economic and political independence.

We are not merely interested, however, we are concerned about this. We watch not only for phenomena which augur external danger for these countries, but follow carefully the development of internal political processes, which might bring about the loss or the weakening of their independence. With *Latvia* we have recently concluded a new trade agreement, while with *Estonia* we have extended last year's economic agreement, which we hope will also further the stability of our relations with our neighbours.

The London Convention for the Definition of Aggression was signed also by our Eastern neighbours—*Persia and Afghanistan*—with whom we are also bound by non-aggression pacts.

The three countries of the *Little Entente*, with which we have not yet normal relations joined us in London in signing the Convention for the Definition of Aggression. The fact that this was done, although on the part of Rumania there still remain certain unsettled disputes of long standing, only serves to increase the significance of the action.

Our relations with other countries have been maintained and developed normally; with *Sweden*, with whom we have concluded and extended economic relations, with *Denmark, Norway, Austria and Greece*.

We willingly accepted the proposal of *Uruguay* regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations, a matter that had been decided a number of years previously. The Uruguayan envoy is already on his way to the U.S.S.R. and we are also taking steps to send our Ambassador to Uruguay.

The re-establishment of our relations with *Spain* has already been mentioned by Molotov. To our great sorrow, death has prevented our first Ambassador to Spain, A. V. Lunacharski, who had intended to conduct extensive work toward the cultural rapprochement of our two peoples, from carrying out his plans.

Just one month ago, although a doomed man, but wholly unaware of the gravity of his ailment, A. V. Lunacharski, with his characteristic enthusiasm, unfolded to me his manifold plans of work toward this rapprochement. That is why the death of Lunacharski, in whom we have lost a great and talented worker,

is particularly painful for us. I believe that it is a loss that is deeply felt by our whole Union.

It is with great satisfaction that I note that a year ago normal diplomatic relations were resumed between us and the great *Chinese Republic*. We have accepted the proposal of the Chinese Government to conclude a non-aggression pact, and have submitted a draft of such a pact to the Chinese Government which is now considering it. Unfortunately, China is still suffering from the invasion of a foreign enemy and deep internal discord. While strictly adhering to the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of China, we are watching its struggle for independence and national unity with the greatest sympathy.

In giving a review of our relations with the external world I had no intention of ignoring such important States as *Germany and Japan*. I am devoting special attention in this review to them precisely because they hold such an important place in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The very latest phase in the development of relations between these two countries permits us to hope that they will not have any grievances against me for discussing them separately. If I am not mistaken they have even recognised a racial identity between them. This has become quite possible since race has ceased to be an ethnical and anthropological conception and has become something in the nature of a name of a militant organisation.

For ten years we were connected with *Germany* by bonds of close economic and political relations. We were the only great country which did not want to have anything to do with the Versailles Treaty and its consequences. We renounced the rights and advantages which this treaty reserved for us. Germany assumed the first place in our foreign trade.

On the basis of these relations, Germany was able to speak more boldly and confidently to her victors of yesterday. She succeeded in freeing herself of some of the heaviest burdens of Versailles.

She sought a rapprochement with all the victors of yesterday, although she failed in this object. She concluded with *France* the Locarno Treaty which is nothing but a pact of non-aggression and even more, since there are outside guarantors there. She concluded with *Poland* at the same Locarno an arbitration treaty which was also nothing but a non-aggression pact. Germany entered the League of Nations, accepting its pact which is also a pact of non-aggression and which provides, in addition, for sanctions.

We, on our part, also concluded, as soon as this became possible, non-aggression pacts with *France and Poland*. These agreements and pacts on both sides did not in the least have to strain and did not strain our relations with *Germany*, which were by no means based upon hostility towards other countries. Nevertheless, our relations with *Germany* during the past year have changed beyond recognition, as it were. Statements, actions, and demonstrations have taken place in *Germany*, which not only do not correspond to our former relations, but rather give cause to think that these relations have been completely reversed. And the causes for it were as follows:—

In the change of governments in *Germany*, which took place in 1932, a political leader found himself in office and later even, at the wheel of the ship of government, who at the time of our best relations with *Germany* openly opposed these relations, preaching a rapprochement with the West for a common offensive against the Soviet Union.

He created a political club from which this idea was propagated and he personally worked hard and diligently for its realisation. Upon assuming power he made an attempt, which was unsuccessful to be sure, at a formal realisation of this idea. Later a coup d'etat took place in *Germany* which brought to power a new party which had propagated extremist anti-Soviet ideas.

The founder of this party examined in detail, in a literary work, his conception of the future policy of *Germany*. According to this conception *Germany* was not only to reconquer all the territories which had been annexed from her under the Versailles Treaty, not only to conquer lands in which there were any German minorities, but by fire and sword to pave the way for expansion in the East, without stopping at the borders of the Soviet Union, and to enslave the peoples of this Union.

Another prominent member of this party, a former Russian subject, not only preached these same ideas but, on instructions and in the name of his party, entered into relations and maintained close contact with Russian, especially Ukrainian, counter-



revolutionary organisations. But perhaps these people, upon coming to power and assuming responsible posts, repudiated this conception? We know full well the difference between doctrine and politics in capitalist countries.

It sometimes happens that an opposition party on coming to power strives to forget the slogans which it had used in the struggle against political opponents. This was not the case in the present instance. We, for one, are unaware of a single responsible statement that would have completely erased the conception mentioned by me. The literary work in which this conception is preached continues to circulate in Germany without any expurgations in new editions, including an edition with 1934 as the year of publication.

The same conception is openly discussed even now in the pages of the German press. Only about a half-year ago at the London International Conference a member of the German Cabinet expounded, in a memorandum, the same idea of conquering the East.

There have been among persons holding not governmental, but none the less highly responsible, posts a good many anti-Soviet negotiations and proposals emanating from the same circle of ideas. We have information pointing also to official proposals of this kind.

I shall not dwell at length upon the venomous practice, adopted by various German authorities, of systematically persecuting Soviet institutions and Soviet citizens not for any misdeeds, but merely because they are Soviet. This is what has made our former relations with Germany unrecognisable.

I considered it necessary to say this openly, since attempts have been made on the German side to ascribe to us the initiative of a change in relations and to explain it by our dissatisfaction with the present German regime, the persecution of Communists and so on.

We, of course, have our own opinion of the German regime. We, of course, are sensitive to the sufferings of our German comrades, but we Marxists can be reproached least of all for permitting our feelings to dominate our policy.

The representatives of the German Government ask me, what is it really that you want from Germany, and what must she do in order that we should have no doubts about her loyalty? To this I usually reply: Don't let her do what she is doing—(laughter)—let the German Government see what its numerous agents and emissaries are doing and let her tell them that they should not do it.

We, on our side, are not striving for expansion, either in the West or the East or in other directions. We feel no enmity to the German people, and are making no attempts either on her territory or her rights, and whatever we may do, we will never encourage other States to make such attempts. We would have Germany say the same thing to us, no facts contradicting the statement and we should like these declarations to relate not only to the present, but also to the time when she will have greater forces for realisation of those aggressive ideas which her present leaders have been preaching before their advent to power, and which some of them are also still preaching now.

I will not err if I make the assumption that you are interested most of all, at the present time, in our relations with Japan. The attention not only of our Union but also of the whole world is focussed upon these relations, since the policy of Japan is now the darkest storm cloud on the international political horizon. From the time of the conclusion of the Peking agreement right up to 1931, the best neighbourly relations existed between Japan and ourselves.

There were no conflicts, no serious misunderstandings, and if such arose they were solved in a peaceful, diplomatic way. Our attitude to Japan was so trustful (since at that time there was no occasion for mistrust) that we left our Far Eastern border almost without any defence. The position began to change when Japan started her military operations in Manchuria. Together with the whole world, we could not but consider these operations as a violation on the part of Japan of numerous obligations which she voluntarily undertook in her international treaties.

The Japanese government, as you remember, then offered explanations for her operations which explained nothing and convinced nobody. She simultaneously gave us official assurances that

her troops would not proceed beyond a definite line in Manchuria itself and that, in any case, our interests, in particular the interests of the Chinese Eastern Railway, would under no circumstances suffer. These assurances were then continuously repeated as the Japanese troops advanced further, right up to the complete occupation of the whole of Manchuria and to the formation of the so-called Manchukuo. These actions, as you know, were characterised by the entire external world, including also the League of Nations, to which Japan herself belonged, as a violation of such agreements as the Washington Nine-Power Pact, the League of Nations Pact and the Kellogg Pact.

The occupation of Manchuria was, however, also a violation of the Portsmouth Treaty that was confirmed by the Peiping Agreement, by force of which Japan had no right to maintain troops in Manchuria beyond a defined minimum number. We refused to participate in international action at that time, firstly because we did not believe in the sincerity and consistency of the States which participated in these actions, and chiefly because we did not seek, as we do not seek now, an armed conflict with Japan. We were only trying to obtain from Japan one thing: the observance of our commercial interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway, since we have no other interests in Manchuria. Despite all the solemn promises and assurances, the representatives of Japan in Manchuria nevertheless soon began a direct attack on these interests, endeavouring to make quite impossible the management of the C.E.R. jointly with the Chinese or Manchurians, as provided for in the agreements, disrupting the work of the line itself and resorting for this purpose to provocative, violent acts and submitting to the Soviet part of the administration perfectly unfounded arbitrary claims. The whole world was surprised at our composure and our long patience, but we firmly decided not to digress from our policy of peace, refraining from any hostile acts and confining ourselves to protests, which remained, however, without any effect. But the more calm and patient our attitude, the more insolent and provocative became the actions of the Japanese forces in Manchuria. A definite impression was created that they are consciously provoking us to stronger action than protests.

Not desiring to lend ourselves to such provocation, we proposed to Japan, on May 2, that she purchase from us the C.E.R. The entire railway, track rolling stock, station premises and other accessories of the line were built with the hard-earned money of the peoples of our Union and thus formed their inalienable property. We only wanted one thing, to return the present value of the line to its real owners. It seemed as though Japan accepted our proposal for the purchase of the railway. When, however, we entered upon the concrete negotiations on the conditions of sale, it turned out that Japan did not want to buy the railway, but wanted to receive it as a present. Instead of verbal arguments, Japan's representatives started putting forward arguments of the fist, they began resorting to acts of violence for the removal of our agents from the line and their substitution by their own appointees—Manchurians and Russian whiteguards—in other words, they resorted to a singular method of seizing the railway. We declared that we could not continue negotiations in a situation where, instead of arguments and commercial bargaining, they put into play the fist and where the negotiations were being "assisted" by policemen and criminal elements from the Manchurian whiteguards.

The negotiations have not been resumed since that time and the unlawful acts on the railway continue. The work of the line is being paralysed. Moreover, our declarations and protests against these unlawful acts remain without a reply from Japan, which is vainly trying to convince us that she is in no way involved in these deeds, for which only the "independent" Manchukuo is ostensibly responsible. We have our own opinion of the "independence" of Manchukuo, as, by the way, the whole world has. Manchukuo is not yet recognised by a single State and is considered by everybody as exclusively an agency of the Japanese government and the Japanese command in Manchuria. If any perfectly objective proofs were needed, it was recently provided by TASS, which published the well-known documents, the authenticity of which is not open to doubt. It is clear from these documents that the violent actions in relation to Soviet employees of the railway, ostensibly taken in the name of the Manchurian courts of justice, were dictated by the Japanese military and administrative agents. We therefore declared to the Japanese government that we cannot

recognise her references to the Manchurian authorities and cannot recognise the responsibility of any one but the Japanese government for the violation of our rights and interests in the C.E.R.

What is in question, however, is not the C.E.R. alone. Side by side with the infringement of our rights on the line, the question of war against the Soviet Union for the seizure of the Maritime Province and the entire Far Eastern Region is being discussed by statesmen, including official representatives of the Japanese government, as well as the press.

The matter is not merely confined to conversations, but a considerable number of Japanese troops have been concentrated in Manchuria, near our frontier, war material is being brought up, roads and railways are being built. A threat has thus arisen, not only for the violent seizure of our line by Japan, but a direct threat to our frontiers.

With such a state of things, there was nothing left for our government to do except to enter upon the strengthening of our frontiers, the bringing up of these necessary forces for this purpose and the taking of other military measures. But while we are taking exclusively defensive measures, Japan, as is known, is feverishly preparing for war, which can be no other than aggressive, since no one is threatening the safety of Japan.

There is, of course, no lack of sensible people in Japan, influential people who perceive all the dangers, all the risk for Japan of a war against a giant so full of power and energy as the Soviet Union.

There are, however, circles, particularly among the militarists, of a more adventurist frame of mind. Evidently their whole aim in life is war, without regard to what it will bring.

Japan, which began its military moves two years ago, reckoned that it would be sufficient for her to show that these moves were directed against the Soviet Government in order to win the whole capitalist world to her side and to obtain its blessing.

Here Japan miscalculated just as the German Nazis miscalculated, by the way. In our argument with Japan even the capitalist world admits the correctness of our stand and attributes aggressive measures exclusively to Japan.

The capitalists do this, of course, not for love of us, but because they realise that, if they approve Japan's operations and political methods and thus strengthen her position, then to-morrow they may find these same methods directed against their own interests.

To this it is necessary to add that Japan's feverish war preparations force her to increase her exports, leading to dumping on an unlimited scale, thus arousing against her even those countries which potentially might be reckoned as her friends.

Our policy is clear. We do not aspire to make use of a favourable situation, we do not aspire to wage war under any circumstance.

We say to Japan: "We do not threaten you, we do not want your land or other territories lying on your side of our boundaries, we want to live in peace with you as we have up to the present, respecting your rights and interests and asking only that you take the same attitude toward our rights and interests. Your first step to prove your peaceful disposition should be a cessation of repressive police measures on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

After my exposition of the relations of the Soviet Union with other countries, it remains for me to say a few words about our relation to an international organisation of which the Soviet Union is a member—the Disarmament Conference. This conference is all formally reckoned among the living. The appellation of corpse, which I applied to it in America, is nevertheless no exaggeration. The question now is whether to sign its death certificate to try and galvanize the corpse. Such galvanisation is possible and the conference may come to life again, but it will no longer be a disarmament conference, but a conference for additional armaments.

We went to the conference to take part in the framing of guarantees of peace, of common safety, but additional armaments in no sense be considered such a guarantee. When they tell us additional armaments for some and disarmament for others,

we fear that only the first part of this formula will be carried out, without the second; for it is quite clear that they will not succeed in any way in disarming those nations which are already making practical use of their arms and openly threatening to employ them on a still larger scale in the near future.

It will be impossible to demand that only those governments shall disarm against which such threats are directed.

It will again be possible to talk seriously of disarmament only when the governments of the world cease to treat pacts of non-aggression like scraps of paper, cynically esteeming them as plentiful in number and when they sincerely give up war as a method of settling international disputes. Then the dusty archives of the League of Nations will yield up the Soviet proposals on disarmament and the discussions will deal with real disarmament—complete and for all—and not with quotas of armaments.

In my report I have tried to acquaint you with the present tendencies in international relations, with the alignment of forces around the pressing real question "war or peace?" and to set forth the role of the U.S.S.R. in the struggle of these forces. The creatively peaceful character of this role is hardly doubted by anyone now. A characteristic feature of the situation is that the peaceful intentions of other governments have come to be judged by their relations to the Soviet Union.

President Roosevelt told me once that it had been reckoned that 92 per cent. of humanity desires peace and only eight per cent. desires to violate it.

This eight per cent. probably was intended to represent the entire population of those countries who were placed in the belligerent category. I consider that it would be unfair to ascribe to any population or even the bulk of it the criminal intention of violating peace, so that the actual percentage is considerably less than the above.

This fact in itself gives rise to the task of uniting this vast mass of people for the purpose of preventing the puny minority from hindering their peaceful aspirations. There should be no question of new groupings, of the formation of military alliances along the old lines, but of co-operation for the legal self-defence of all those who are not interested in violating peace, so that no one would think of daring to infringe it.

The U.S.S.R., for its part, is ready to participate in carrying out this task, for any work in this direction is dictated by the interests of the toilers throughout the world, by the safety of all peoples, including, of course, the peoples of the Soviet Union. Nations, such as ours, which have given the maximum proof of their peaceful desires and their respect of the security of others, have the maximum right to their own security.

In agreeing to co-operate with other countries and since the stability of our policy provides the highest guarantee for the fulfilment of international obligations, we must not forget, however, that we are dealing with capitalist States whose governments are unstable and subject to frequent change; we must remember that we are faced with the possibility of the advent to power of groups and people who, in view of their class hatred toward our country, are often prepared to sacrifice even their national State interests.

Being in a position of compulsory self-defence we will strengthen and perfect, to an even greater degree than formerly, our Red Army, Red Navy and Red Air Force—(applause)—the chief means of defending our security. We will remember that, in the event of the failure of the combined forces of the friends of peace, violation of the peace will be directed against us in the first place.

We will therefore remember, that, apart from our will, a moment may arrive when we may have to justify the declaration of Comrade Stalin that we will not give up a single inch of our territory. (Stormy applause.) In defence of every inch of our Soviet land, be it in the West or in the East, not only the Red military forces will take part in such defence, but also the peoples of our immense Union. That they are led by the Red Party, the C.P.S.U., and its inspirer and leader, Comrade Stalin, guarantees them the same successes in war as they have had in peace. (Stormy and prolonged applause.)



## Session of the C.E.C. of the R.S.F.S.R.

Moscow, December 29.

After the discussion of the budget, and of the plans for national economy and social and cultural construction in 1934, the Fourth Conference of the C.E.C. of the R.S.F.S.R. dealt with the report on the economic and cultural progress of the Northern district.

The North district has fulfilled the main tasks of the Plan of the first year of the second Five-Year Plan. A gloomy tract of land without culture, a backward colony of tsarism before the revolution, has become one of the most advanced frontier districts of the Soviet Union.

The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union has given great help to this district. A group of the members of the Academy, headed by President Karpinski, recently visited this district, and have drawn up plans for thorough scientific prospecting.

Strange as it may appear, the Northern district has succeeded in bringing the largest crops. Collectivisation already embraces 68 per cent. of the peasant farms, and extends to 80 per cent. of the area cultivated. The area under cultivation for technical plants has been greatly increased. In spite of the sharp class struggle in the rural districts, the North district has adopted collectivisation. Its powerful collective farms are working forward to prosperity. The general increase in prosperity has called forth higher cultural demands. The villages of the North district are making enormous demands for good clothes, books, wireless sets, etc.

The cultural progress of the district is equally magnificent. Before the revolution only 30 per cent. of the children attended the elementary schools. The nomads were invariably illiterate. To-day general elementary education has been introduced everywhere.

The Conference dealt with the tasks of this district in the second year of the second Five-Year Plan. Among the tasks set is the building of a gigantic paper combine, the extension of the forestry trade, the building of a new ship-repairing dock at Arkhangel, the extension of the fishing trade, the exploitation of the natural wealth of the country, and the extension of the cultivated area, especially in the far North.

The Conference then heard the report on the economic and cultural development of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Republic.

Pre-revolutionary Crimea was a country backward both economically and culturally, where both the predominantly Tartar inhabitants and the numerous national minorities suffered under the pressure of Russian absolutism. There was practically no industry, only small handicrafts. The best land was in the hands of a few large landowners, the poor population gained a bare livelihood from the unfertile tracts of land left them. The natural wealth and the mineral baths of the Crimea were available only to a small elite.

Since the revolution the Crimea has combined economic with cultural advance. In the Crimea a culture is springing up which is national in form and socialist in content. After dealing with this progress in detail, the speaker devoted special attention to the health resorts of the Crimea, which have become the sanatoria for the toilers of the whole Soviet Union, in the full sense of the word. Before the revolution there were only 1,500 health resorts in the Crimea, and these were visited exclusively by representatives of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. Health resorts were naturally inaccessible to the workers and peasants. From 1921 onwards the Soviet power has developed the health resorts for the benefit of the toilers. In 1933 the Crimea is already in possession of 40,000 health resorts and sanatoriums. This year they gave rest and recuperation to 300,000 toilers, chiefly workers and peasants.

Great achievements have been made in the districts of the national minorities, which are given much attention (the Russian, Armenian, Bulgarian districts, etc.). Special interest has been aroused by the Jewish settlement districts. With the aid of the Soviet power, the Jewish colonists have been able to refute the legend of their alleged "unsuitability" for productive work. They are already cultivating 160,000 hectares. The economic, cultural, and political achievements of the Crimea bear witness to the triumph of the nationalities policy of Lenin and Stalin. It is solely thanks to the consistent pursuance of this policy, that the socialist reorganisation of the Crimea has been possible.

The last question dealt with by the C.E.C. of the R.S.F.S.R. was the progress being made in road building—one of the most urgent problems of the whole Soviet Union. Old Russia bequeathed an inheritance of roadless land. All that tsarist Russia possessed was 30,000 km. of more or less usable roads. The territory of the

R.S.F.S.R. possessed only 10,000 kilometres, or 40 per cent. of what the Soviets have accomplished in the course of the first Five-Year Plan alone. Before the revolution only 1,505 kilometres of road were built in 47 years in the Moscow district. The Soviets built 2,487 kilometres in 1933 alone. In the Gorki district the figures are even more characteristic. Within a few years the Soviets built 17,583 km. During the first Five-Year Plan over 60 roads were built in the whole R.S.F.S.R., including many great highways opening up wide tracts of country. The Angara-Lena highway, the Moscow-Minsk highway, the road from Amur to Yakutia. The need of socialist economy for good roads is growing steadily; the achievements of yesterday are already insufficient to-day. The great development of motor traffic must be taken into account. To-day there are already 117,000 automobiles in the U.S.S.R., and the number is growing rapidly. By the end of the second Five-Year Plan there will be 700,000 automobiles (in 1913 tsarist Russia possessed only 8,000). When the mighty development of the tractor service is also remembered, then it becomes self-evident that the building of roads must be especially promoted in the Soviet Union. The Conference of the C.E.C. resolved upon a number of measures in this direction. Numerous roads are to be built to industrial centres, both to old ones and those in course of construction, and to the agricultural undertakings. Besides this the main traffic roads are to be reconstructed. As model road-building, special attention was drawn to the building of the Leningrad-Moscow-Charkov-Rostov highway, which crosses a great part of the territory of the R.S.F.S.R.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### The Successes of the Year 1933 and the Economic Plan for 1934

The secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, Yenukidse, writes in the "Investia," inter alia:

"The successes of the first year of the second Five-Year Plan furnish the prerequisite for the setting up of the economic plan for 1934 with greater possibilities for the further development of industrial construction, and a further increase in the output of industry and agriculture. There exist all the prerequisites for the further offensive on the whole socialist front. The national income has considerably increased. Agriculture has achieved a great victory, as is shown by this year's grain harvest, which amounts to 5,478 million poods, which is an increase of 1,200 million poods compared with last year.

"Proceeding from these successes the Plan for 1934 must provide for a further growth of industry by at least 19 per cent., whilst for the growth of the leading heavy industries must be still greater. Serious attention must be devoted to the further development of the light industry. The articles of mass consumption provided by the State industries and the co-operatives must next year show an increase of 17.8 per cent. compared with the previous year. The draft budget submitted by the People's Commissar to the session of the C.E.C. envisages an increase of 13,000 million roubles compared with the previous year, which is evidence of an incomparably greater increase in the people's income compared with the previous year."

### Opening of a New Railway Bridge on the Volga, near Gorki

The new railway bridge over the Volga near Gorki has been opened. This huge bridge was built in 13 months and is of the greatest economic importance, as it directly connects the automobile and engineering district of Gorki with the industrial centres on the other side of the Volga, namely, the Ural district and Siberia.

### A Huge Industrial Combine Under Construction on the White Sea Canal

Commencement has been made with the construction of a huge industrial combine on the recently dug White Sea Canal.

The annual growth of timber in the Karelian forests amounts to 14 million cubic metres. To-day only a part of this is utilised. The combine will make full use of the rich supplies of timber in the Karelian forests. A number of paper, cellulose and chemical factories are being erected.

The combine will begin to exploit the iron ore, copper, granite and other natural riches of Karelia.

A number of power works are being erected on the banks of the canal. A power works with an output capacity of 108,000 kilowatts is being built in the Arctic Circle on the Tuloma River. The energy produced by this power works will be used to electrify the Murmansk Railway.



In addition, big works are being commenced in the southern part of the territory traversed by the White Sea Canal. It is planned to cut a fresh canal from Kandalaksha to Murmansk, which will directly connect Leningrad with Murmansk by water. It is also planned to build a harbour in Soroka, to build a fleet of steamers for goods traffic on the canal, as well as to create two new modern towns. These huge projects will be carried out within the next two to three years.

#### The Abolition of Illiteracy in the Soviet Union

On December 26 fourteen years had passed since the publication of the decree, signed by Lenin, on the liquidation of illiteracy. This decree signified the beginning of the Bolshevik offensive against illiteracy. In tsarist Russia only 33 per cent. of the population were able to read and write. The result of the cultural campaign following the decree, joined in by millions of workers, is the fact that 90 per cent. of the population of the Soviet Union can now read and write. The backward peoples of the northern and eastern districts are included in this calculation, as also the older generations, who were almost invariably illiterate in many districts of pre-revolutionary Russia. If only the younger generation is included in the calculation, then the Soviet Union stands in the front ranks of the peoples of the world in regard to ability to read and write.

The last number of the official organ of the Ministry of Education of the U.S.A. publishes comparative figures of the number of students in the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. These statistics show that the number of persons receiving education in the Soviet Union is already more than in the U.S.A.

## In the International

### Decision of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia

The attitude of Comrade Guttman is that of an exposed opportunist who has become an open renegade and is going over to the camp of the class enemy. The Political Bureau condemns his platform, which is of an out and out Trotzkyist-counter-revolutionary character. His statements regarding the tactics of the Party are a repetition of the same opportunist views which were condemned by the Twelfth Plenum of the Comintern. Comrade Guttman endeavoured to have these views adopted by the whole Party, and it was these views which led to those opportunist mistakes committed during the last few months which greatly damaged the Party and the revolutionary class struggle. These mistakes are now being corrected by the Party. Guttman's attitude to the German question is tantamount to a shameful slander of our German brother Party, which is fighting in a heroic and self-sacrificing manner—slanders which are being spread by the counter-revolutionary Trotzkyists and social fascists. Instead of, as a Communist, appearing before the highest forum of the international proletariat, before the Comintern, to answer for the opportunist errors committed by him, Guttman has gone over to the camp of the most despicable anti-Moscow inciters. His open violation of the Party and fighting discipline is an expression of the fact that he has completely broken with the revolutionary class struggle and that nothing connects him any longer with the Communist International.

The Political Bureau regards the liquidatory attitude of Guttman as strike-breaking and cowardly desertion at the moment when the Party is entering on the most difficult struggles, involving great sacrifices and demanding of every Communist the greatest courage, steadfastness and fidelity.

Guttman seeks to conceal his desertion with his counter-revolutionary platform. There is no place in the ranks of the advance-guard for him and all who follow his footsteps, for which reason the Political Bureau, in agreement with the Comintern, will take all the necessary measures to secure his expulsion.

Guttman will follow the path of every other usual liquidator and renegade. The Political Bureau is firmly convinced that no Party member and sincere, class-conscious worker will follow him on this path, but will rally more closely round the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, which, under the leadership of its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Gottwald, will expel from its ranks every traitor, no matter who he may be, and conduct the fight, in spite of all heavy sacrifices, until the victory over the bourgeoisie.

Prague, December 20, 1933.

## Organisational Questions

### The Local and Factory Press in the Anti-Fascist Struggle of the C.P. of Italy

"L'Unita" is the central illegal organ of the C.P. of Italy. If one examines its contents and its distribution, one finds that up to the present it is but feebly fulfilling its role as collective organiser and agitator. The difficulties connected with its printing and transport have resulted in the fact that the "L'Unita" has appeared only at intervals of longer or shorter duration very much reduced in size. Its contents are such that it can satisfy only to a slight extent the needs of the lower organisations for the practical organisation and direction of the mass struggles of the workers in the various localities. The section devoted to local questions and factory correspondence contains but a small amount of this material. Moreover, when "L'Unita" arrives in the localities and factories, its contents are always a little "stale," and the paper usually arrives in a number of copies which is too small to serve effectively the needs as organiser and leader of the masses. What the Italian Party has been trying to do, especially within the recent period, is to fill up the gaps by means of organising a local and factory press.

The experiences which the Party has already had in this field, although they are still weak—reveal the entire importance of such a press. In many cases it has been sufficient to distribute in time a large number of copies of a paper or a factory leaflet in order to launch a mass demonstration, or a strike against certain measures decided upon by the employers. In the factories where the nucleus of the Party gets out its paper more or less regularly and more frequently distributes leaflets on concrete facts in the factory, the fascist manoeuvres and the employers' attacks have always found stronger collective resistance, which sometimes transformed itself into powerful mass demonstrations. The publication of such a press is always an indication of the activation of the lower organisations and the means for extending their active cadres.

But with a few exceptions the entire local and factory press still shows great weaknesses and gaps—expressions of weaknesses and political and organisational gaps of the entire Party.

Despite everything that this press has done (in the majority of cases directly by the comrades from the lower organisations) the contents do not always have the simplicity and the effectiveness of working-class language. The facts pertaining to the life of the workers in the locality, the situation in the most important factories, the orientation of the workers on the most important questions of the day, and the fundamental motives for agitation and struggle in the given concrete situation are insufficiently treated. In this abundant material from below, there is also only general motives for propaganda and vague and general demands. By this material one can see that the editors are not linked up with the life of the factories and of the working class as a whole and that they do not place before the workers the tasks of organisation and struggle.

The political level of this material, in general, is also very low. Here and there elements of an ideology which is absolutely foreign to Communism appear in the paper. These are conceptions which are generally derived from republican, anarchist and petty bourgeois ideologies. Sometimes one also encounters reasoning which is directly derived from fascist ideology.

The following appeared in a local paper which was entitled "The Communist." "Governments are like individuals—there are rich governments and poor governments," and again "the younger peoples with a more just government have always conquered the older ones whose wealth was unjustly divided." "The younger peoples have transfused some of their good blood into the older States." In these passages the influence of the racial theories and the theory of Italian fascism on "proletarian Italy" which has to "conquer a place for itself in the sun" is evident.

How can we explain such facts? We can only explain them by the low political level of the Party organisations, which in the main are composed of very young elements which are altogether new to politics and who, as yet, have been but slightly reached by the educational work of the leadership of the Party. But this can also be explained by the fact that the comrades in the lower organisations who are workers do not dare to "write," they have no confidence in their "literary" ability and when it is necessary to edit a leaflet, or a paper, they turn to an "intellectual comrade," to a petty-bourgeois "who has studied."

Obviously, the entire local press does not show these serious mistakes. The nuclei and the lower organisations only specialise in the publication of small leaflets and simple handbills which do not contain more than a few slogans, a dozen lines at most. These handbills reproduce the demands and the slogans of the Party in thousands of copies. Sometimes they also contain slogans of action: demonstrate, strike, join the secret trade union groups, etc. . . . and in connection with the immediate demands—against wage reductions, against fines, against the Bedaux system, etc. . . . There are also handbills which reproduce only general propaganda slogans. The following are a few examples: "The C.P. is the heroic guide of the proletariat." "Fascism can be overthrown only by organised struggle." "We want bread, work—not war." "Down with the fascist regime of the enslavement of the toilers." "Long live the Soviet liberators." The shortcoming of these handbills is that often their contents are restricted to a few general slogans without connection with the concrete slogans and without calling for action.

The facility with which such handbills can be printed and the quantity which can be circulated even with the most primitive means gives them special importance. Almost all the organisations and numerous nuclei do this. These handbills obviously cannot constitute the entire local and factory "press" of the Party—far from it—but they can have an important role when it is necessary quickly and widely to take up a slogan, popularise a demand, to make the position and decisions of the Communist Party in denouncing a provocateur, known to the largest possible number of workers.

Up to the present the Italian Party has not yet succeeded in regularly publishing factory papers or leaflets made expressly for such and such a factory. In this field of work we have only a few samples. It often happens that the nucleus publishes two or three numbers of its paper, then the publication ceases, sometimes to be resumed eight or ten months later. The factory papers, while bearing the name of a specific factory, are often in actual fact little local papers got out with the co-operation of the leading local organs or the instructor from the centre of the Party. In this material, one again finds the same political weaknesses which have already been spoken of. Sometimes the factory papers contain only general propaganda articles; other times, on the contrary, they only show up the facts existing in the factory without drawing political and practical conclusions from these facts. Sometimes they are published as organs of the nucleus, other times as organs of the C.G.d'L. (General Confederation of Labour) or of the united front. But, in general, despite the fact that they come out under different names, their character does not change.

The denunciation of fascist demagogy and of the role of the fascists' unions is made in the following way in the factory papers and leaflets: "Fascism is the organisation of the bosses and of the rich; it is not 'also' the organisation of the toilers. Fascism has always defended the interests of the bosses, while as far as we, workers, are concerned, it has made life more intolerable for us." In some cases the fascist manoeuvres are denounced in a more concrete and effective manner: "The fascist trade unions, instruments created by the Italian bourgeoisie for the purpose of subjecting the workers, are trying in their usual way to put off the questions indefinitely while carrying a purely verbal opposition to the demands of the bosses. They transmit the question to Rome, then from Rome to the prefecture of Verceili, another person who understands the defence of the workers in the same way. And, after long discussions between the employers and the representatives of the fascists' trade union, the question is once again returned to Rome: thus, from one adjournment to the other, they finally get to the point where a new contract is signed with wage reductions, which the fascist trade union represents as a victory. Workers, it is time to cry out: Down with the mask of class collaboration, we have had enough of the game of playing at discussions and the tactic of the fascist trade unions, etc.

In the numerous leaflets and factory papers the necessity of participating in fascist trade union meetings and taking the floor there is correctly emphasised. But the question is still put in a very general and abstract manner: "Let us make use of the legality of the fascist trade unions"—reads a factory paper—"in

order to unite, in order openly to show our exasperation, in order to demand bread and work." In our entire press, on the question of trade union activity, we do not yet sufficiently counterpose fascist demagogy with a concrete systematic exposure.

On the question of the utilisation of legal possibilities one also meets with mistakes in the printed local and factory material. The directives of the Party to make use of fascist legality is formulated in a leaflet in the following way: "Up with participation in fascist trade union meetings!" The Central Committee of the Party has made the following criticism of this formulation: "The manner of formulating the invitation to participate in fascist trade union meetings is wrong because from this we can understand that participation in the fascist trade union meetings can in itself lead to a solution of the questions which interest the workers in their favour, whereas this participation is only of value as a means to commence the struggle, to gather the workers together, to make the first steps towards organising them against the employers and against fascism."

In the leaflets and factory papers, immediate demands often have quite a large place alongside of the general political demands of the Party. But, as a rule, the whole list of the immediate demands of the Party is put, and the demands which in the given moment are felt the most by the workers of the factory are not stressed. Sometimes wrong slogans are issued as a result of reformist or anarchist inspiration: "Share in profits," etc. The U.S.S.R., its successes in the construction of Socialism, the contrast between the Socialist world and the capitalist world have often been very well treated, and this constitutes the positive side of the work of these papers. "Let us do what they did in Russia," this is the usual conclusion from this contrast.

Such are the contents of the local and factory press of the Italian Party. Under the conditions prevailing in Italy this press can represent a powerful means for the popularisation of the policy of the Party, as an instrument for collective agitation and organisation of the masses for struggle. The accomplishments of the Italian Party in this field are still very weak: cases where the organisations themselves take the initiative to get out local or factory papers or to publish leaflets are still very rare. The quantity of this material in circulation is also very insufficient for the needs of real wide mass agitation through the press. From what can be seen from the papers themselves, it is clear that the distribution of the press is not yet sufficiently carefully and minutely organised to the extent that is necessary under the conditions of illegality. It is only a vigorous organisation of the distribution of the press as a whole, and especially of the local and factory press, that can give the worker who receives it the impression of the seriousness and the solidity of the organisation which publishes it. Only under these conditions can the local and factory press play its role as mass organiser. We can see that for lack of good organisation for the distribution of the press, numerous Party organisations have got into the habit of scattering the papers indiscriminately. It is all right if the workers find them in the drawers of their work benches or in their machines. But many organisations spread them during the night in the streets or in the places frequented by the workers. In such a way a good portion of the press is uselessly thrown away because the papers are not picked up and read.

The role which the factory and local press can play is of enormous and major importance under conditions of illegality. Its preparation and circulation mean great sacrifices and expose the comrades to grave risks. Moreover, it is necessary that such a press, by its political contents and technical make-up, should respond to the needs of the Party, helping as much as possible in the agitation, the leadership and the organisation of the masses. Judging by the materials furnished by the Italian Party up to the present, one can see that it has not yet understood how to constitute the technical basis, the necessary cadres for getting out, printing and distributing a large and good local press alongside of the local organisations. But in spite of all difficulties and defects in this domain of the work of the C.P.I. there is no doubt that the Party will succeed in improving and developing its whole press as well as its factory press. The growing sympathy of the workers towards the Party, the good results achieved by the Party in this respect in spite of its illegality are the best guarantee for it.

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