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Civil War in Austria—Heroic Fight of the Working Class Against the Fascist Dictatorship

By Gustav

Vienna, February 14, 1934.

These lines are being written at a moment when events are still proceeding and when, in spite of all the lying reports of the government, further fighting is to be expected. On the other hand, owing to the shortness of time, it is impossible to give a full report of the course of these fights. We can only describe the circumstances leading up to the present events.

The action of the Heimwehr in Tyrol, where on January 30 armed Heimwehr troops occupied Innsbruck, the capital of Tyrol, under the pretext of being compelled to take "defensive action" against the Nazis, started the ball rolling.

The further course of the Heimwehr action confirmed the thesis of the Communist Party that the result of the fight of the Patriotic Front is a further sharpening of the repressive measures against the working class. The Heimwehr, once they had been mobilised, put forward demands aiming at further intensifying the fascist dictatorship. These demands included, among others, the transference of the whole power to the provincial governor, with the exclusion of the Diets, and appointment of an Advisory Security Committee consisting of representatives of fascist military formations who are true to the government, and the dissolution of the socialist party.

On February 7 the Upper Austrian Heimwehr undertook action similar to that which had been taken in Tyrol. The whole of the Heimatschutz of Upper Austria were mobilised. They marched into Linz and demanded the installation of government commissioners for the autonomous cities of Linz and Steyr, which were under social-democratic administration. It was intended in the following days to put forward similar demands to the provincial authorities or to the Federal government in all the provinces of Austria, with the exception of Vienna.

The government itself utilised the Heimwehr terror in order, regardless of the differences in its own camp, to proceed more brutally against the proletariat. Already on February 7 Vice-Chancellor Fey issued a decree calling up the greater part of the volunteer fascist defence corps, and practically fulfilled the demands of the Heimwehr. On February 10 Dollfuss announced the government's intention "to reorganise the State as rapidly as possible," if necessary with dictatorial methods. This announcement was followed by deeds. The social-democratic party premises in Vienna were occupied; the Heimwehr bands in Innsbruck attacked and demolished the workers' club premises. The working class were filled with tremendous indignation. The social-democratic leaders, however, continued their treacherous policy of

collaboration with the bourgeoisie. They declared that the occupation of Tyrol by the Heerwehr and the increased preparations by the government for civil war were merely defensive measures against the Nazis, and offered their co-operation if parliament was convoked. In the Vienna Town Hall Seitz and Danneberg, two prominent social-democratic leaders, welcomed with enthusiasm the declaration of Christian social Kunschak proposing a common fight against the Nazis.

This time, however, the tricks and manoeuvres of the social-democratic leaders to deceive and hold back the workers proved ineffective in face of the profound indignation prevailing among the working class. The slogan of the Communists: Reply immediately to every blow of the government with a counter-blow, met with a good response. Following the occupation of the social-democratic party premises in Vienna, the premises of the workers' co-operative society in the Vienna XII. district, and trade union premises, it came to strikes of the workers in the factories of Vienna and the suburban districts of Liesing and Atzgersdorf. The Communist Party immediately issued an extra edition of its illegal paper, containing the following slogans: "Crush fascism before it crushes you! Down tools at once, strike, elect com-

the electricity and gas workers immediately went on strike, with the result that the tramways and the district railway ceased running. It came to strikes, demonstrations, followed by fierce fighting, also in other places in the provinces, for instance, in Steyr, Attnang, Eggenberg, Bruck-on-the-Mur, Graz. In Vienna there was fighting in the outlying districts of Ottakring and Simmering. General strike and civil war developed spontaneously. The government immediately proclaimed martial law, and called in the military, who succeeded in repelling the workers at several places, but the fighting still continued unabated. The government forces occupied the Town Hall and arrested several social-democratic leaders. The government declared the social-democratic party, all the trade unions, the Vienna Town Council and District dissolved.

The government report that they are master of the situation is a lie. Fighting is still going on unabated, and will probably become more intense, in spite of the number of losses suffered by the workers, which already amount to hundreds, and in spite of the fact that the government troops are proceeding with unexampled brutality, not even sparing women and children.

The Communist Party calls for the continuation of the general strike until the Dollfuss dictatorship has been overthrown.

Support the Austrian Workers!

Appeal of the C.P.G.B.

The Communist Party of Great Britain greets the great struggle of the Austrian workers who are fighting with such magnificent courage and revolutionary heroism against fascism in Austria.

It calls on the British working class to rally the widest mass support and solidarity action behind the Austrian workers in their fight.

Workers of Britain! Forward immediately to the aid of our fellow-workers in Austria whose inspiring struggle, despite the treachery of Austrian social democracy, is a rousing lesson to us all.

Organise wide mass demonstrations of support in every city and town. Organise marches and demonstrations to every Austrian consulate against the Austrian fascist dictatorship.

Let the flaming hatred and anger of the working class be stirred up in every factory, trade union, and working class organisation, against the infamous dictator Dollfuss and the British National Government which supports him.

Every Communist Party local and unit—strengthen the fight! Take immediate emergency measures to develop mass solidarity action with the Austrian workers.

Workers! Mobilise the whole of your forces in aid of our fellow-fighters in Austria and intensify the struggle against the danger of fascism in Britain by giving every support now to the National Congress of Action and the Hunger March.

Long live the solidarity of Austrian and British workers in the fight!

Forward in the struggle against the fascist menace!

Secretariat, Communist Party of Great Britain.

mittes of action to lead the struggle in every factory! Disarm the fascists! The weapons into the hands of the workers! General strike! Away with the government of hangmen!" The extra edition met with enthusiastic approval.

In the factory conferences which took place in the following days, the workers, in spite of all the resistance of the social-democratic bureaucrats, came forward with Communist slogans.

Encouraged by the cowardly passivity of the social-democratic leaders, the government prepared to deliver a further blow on February 10, this time against the social-democratic administration of Vienna. It issued notice to Herr Seitz, the mayor of Vienna, depriving him of all control over the police force. The social-democratic party calmly accepted this blow, in spite of the fact that they had repeatedly declared to the workers that in the event of any attack on the constitutional rights of Vienna they would proclaim a general strike.

The government decided to take up the fight against the workers themselves. On February 12 the Federal police authorities attempted to carry out a search of the social-democratic party premises in Linz. Big detachments of the prohibited Republican Defence Corps immediately took up the defence and offered resistance to the police. Thereupon the military were called up and a fierce fight for the premises took place. On the news of these collisions, further fighting broke out in Linz. In Vienna,

Politics

The French Workers United Against Fascism

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The enormous Staviski scandal, which revealed to the masses the rottenness of the capitalist regime and its "democratic Republic," was the last drop which caused the cup of accumulated discontent to overflow—the cup of suffering borne till now in patience, the cup of anger hitherto suppressed. The whole country was shaken by a vast wave of indignation which was devoid of sentimentality, but was the result of profound economic and social causes.

The bourgeoisie knew very well what the danger was when it saw the mask of respectability and probity with which in normal times it hides its hideous features brutally torn off. But faced as it was with the necessity to do two contradictory things—to minimise the Staviski scandal as much as possible in order to preserve a semblance of decency and to calm the effervescent passions of the masses by letting them know a little of the truth and by sacrificing to them some of the accomplices—its manoeuvring proved difficult; public indignation was victorious and succeeded in sweeping away the Chautemps government.

The most reactionary capitalist groups, in view of these menacing disturbances, concluded that it was no longer possible to carry on the government of France by methods bearing the stamp of democracy. Fascism made an enormous effort to gain the mastery of the mass movement and to use it for its own ends.

Until then there had been no mass fascist parties, on a broad social basis, in the country. For months fascist ideas had been disseminated as far as possible among the petty bourgeoisie, the half-ruined peasantry, the "intelligentsia" which had no orientation and the youth which had no future, but it had been impossible to form a unified national movement. But at least there existed some fascist bands, some storm troops, disciplined and for the most part armed: the Jeunesses Patriotes (Patriotic Youth), the Camelots du Roi (the Boys of the King), the Croix du feu (the Fiery Cross), Solidarite Francaise de Coty, etc.

These were the bands which, on the pretext that the Daladier government had dismissed the Prefect of Police, Chiappe, who was devoted to their cause, wished to take possession of the streets of Paris. The police complaisantly allowed them to assemble, to march to the attack on the Chamber of Deputies and to pillage the neighbourhood of the Place de la Concorde. Provocateurs, who were of course mixed up with them, began to shoot; the Gardes Mobiles retaliated and there were more than a dozen killed and dozens of wounded; this was something to redouble the enthusiasm of the fascist storm troops.

To give them further encouragement, the Jacobin (!) government of Daladier and Frot resigned next day, the 7th, "in order to avoid fresh bloodshed." This gesture was in reality a capitulation to fascism. The fascists regarded themselves as victorious, and that evening once more attempted to let their forces loose

in the centre of Paris. But the proletariat in the suburbs had spontaneously realised the danger and marched down in compact groups into the boulevards, along certain sections of which they had paraded the day before in processions led by the Communists, which had been furiously attacked by the police. The fascist bands and their auxiliaries, the bands of Chiappe, encountered resistance.

The Communist Party and the Unitarian Confederation Générale du Travail, not without having displayed a certain tardiness, decided to appeal to the Parisian masses to break the offensive of the bourgeoisie, at first by a vast united front demonstration on Friday, the 9th, in the Place de la République. The masses responded to this appeal, which they had awaited with impatience. For five hours that evening some tens of thousands of all political shades, including numbers of socialists, fought for possession of the streets with the police, who set to work with unprecedented savagery. There was exceptionally fierce fighting in the streets, in the houses and in the underground. Hundreds of comrades were wounded and four of them are reported to have died shortly after from wounds caused by revolver bullets.

In all the provincial towns the masses rose up at the same time in a mighty wave which filled the bourgeoisie with astonishment. Workers of all shades mingled at the meetings, in the street demonstrations, in battles with the police or fascist groups which were often victorious.

A government based on a "party truce" was speedily formed under the leadership of Doumergue, ex-President of the Republic—a government as far as possible of National Union, which issued innumerable appeals for peace and calm, etc. Nothing came of these appeals. Quite the contrary. The proletariat, enlightened by our Party, whose journal "l'Humanité" sold to an extent hitherto unknown, realised suddenly that the mask of "National Union" camouflaged a ministry which was violently opposed to the workers, a ministry of robbers and cynical climbers, a ministry of war-mongers, a ministry out for rapid fascistisation, a ministry the reins of which were held by the provocateur Tardieu.

The socialist party and the C.G.T. (Trades Union Congress), who had tried every means to minimise the havoc caused by the revelations of the Staviski scandal and to avoid their shaking the regime itself, who had refused to organise even the smallest counter-offensive against fascism and even to permit their members to join in the proletarian revolutionary battles, saw that the moment had arrived when they were about to be cast aside and deserted by their rank and file, who were also anxious to stem the tide of fascism. They finally decided to do something. The C.G.T. issued instructions for a general strike for Monday, the 12th, but its leaders immediately made every effort to limit the extent of the movement to a "defence of the Republic" (capitalist) and to confine it within certain bounds, notably by sabotaging the stoppage of work on the railways. Jouhaux broadcast to the press, after an agreement with Doumergue, assurances of calm and prudence.

The S.F.I.O., under violent pressure from its rank and file, decided on a demonstration in the Place de la Nation. The C.G.T.U. and the Party called on the masses to take part in the 24 hours' strike, in the demonstration in Paris and elsewhere, imparting to them their true revolutionary character, and alone prepared for the success of the day.

A magnificent day! A strike on an imposing and militant scale, at least as fine as that of 1920! Paris without means of transport, without letters, without newspapers, without open shops! In the most remote corners of the provinces, an impressive stoppage of work! At the Place de la Nation more than 150,000 demonstrators shouted our slogans, demanding Soviets, drowning the cries of the socialist groups. In the suburbs, mass processions breaking through the police barriers. Hundreds of thousands of workers, in the streets of all the towns in the country, even in districts noted for their calm and where for the last fourteen years there has never been a sign of a mass strike or a demonstration. A day of action on the part of the groups of pickets and of severe battles with the forces of oppression, which once again took their revenge by wounding and killing the workers with revolver shots.

Everywhere signs of united action. The rank and file organisations of all shades of opinion organised the day together. Proletarians of all parties were ranged side by side in the mass political and agitational strike. Socialist sections like that in the 20th dis-

trict of Paris accepted our slogans and disowned the policy of their party. It is true, there was still a good deal of confusion in this united front; there can be no doubt that in several districts it remained sentimental, that the flag of our Party was not always waved with the requisite fervour. But we shall carry out the clarification that is necessary. The essential thing is that the united front was realised for action and in action and may thus become a vast stream, which will give us immense opportunities for causing it to flow in a clear, revolutionary channel.

Of course, the enthusiasm which has been displayed in setting the working masses in motion during these last few days, and in particular on Monday, does not mean that fascism is conquered, that there is no longer a government of national union to pave the way for fascism and war. But we can use this enthusiasm to create a vast network of committees of struggle for our demands and against fascism in the factories, in the workers' quarters, in the villages; to consolidate and rapidly reinforce our organisations—primarily in the workshops; to continue the fight without respite and to carry it unceasingly to higher levels.

The socialist papers dare to claim that the strike and the demonstrations of yesterday are their work and they think that now the masses can rest and wait. It is obvious that if the 12th of February has caused uneasiness among the bourgeoisie, of terror even among certain capitalist groups, it has also made an impression on the socialist and reformist leaders, who feel they have been ignored by the masses with their cries for "Soviets," thrown overboard by the stream of united action and who, like the magic apprentice, would like to find now means to put a break on the forces that have been let loose and of which we ought to take over the leadership by a mighty effort.

The Thirteenth Plenum noted emphatically that it would be the worst form of opportunism to believe that fascism is inevitable and therefore remain passive in the face of its rise. In spite of great faults and weaknesses, the Communist Party has opposed the rapid movement towards fascism of the "Staviski" democracy, which has been favoured by the "left" governments and always supported unreservedly by the socialists. It has gained a large amount of sympathy. If it continues on this line, and puts itself at the head of every movement, if it encourages the fighters everywhere and sharpens their political senses, fascism will never come in France.

Swiss Congress Against War and Fascism

Zurich, February 9.

The Swiss Committee Against War and Fascism is joining the Youth Committee in convening a Swiss Congress Against War and Fascism in Zurich at Easter. The appeal issued, directed to all the workers of Switzerland, emphasises the growing war danger and the role played by Switzerland, and points out the policy of increased armaments being pursued by Switzerland. The Congress is to be directed against national defence, military credits, the manufacture and transport of arms and ammunition, against the compulsory militarisation of youth, against the fascist fronts, anti-Semitism, and the emergency laws, against the financial programme and wage reductions, etc., and will advance the demand for the recognition and defence of the Soviet Union. The Congress appeals to all anti-fascists and enemies of war, and all workers' organisations advocating the above demands. The social-democratic party fears this united action, and is already issuing a "warning" against the Congress in its press.

Communist Successes in Iceland

Oslo, February 6.

At the municipal elections just concluded the Communists have been able to record considerable success. In the capital city of Rerikjavik the number of Communist votes was increased from 737 to 1,147; in Isafjaerdiv, where the social democrats have hitherto held the majority, the Communists doubled their vote. These successes are the more valuable when it is remembered that only recently the C.P. of Iceland removed certain opportunist elements from its ranks. The Conservative government now in office has obtained the consent of the Alting to an increase of 300,000 crowns in the police budget. The social democrats also voted for this increase of expenditure on the police force, though want and poverty are increasing among the workers and unemployed.

Germany

Down With the Fascist Labour Law!

Long Live the Struggle for Independent Class Trade Unions!

By Walter (Berlin)

At the time when Hitler addressed the workers in the Siemens works a few months ago, Goebbels observed to his friends that after a year had passed Hitler would not be able to speak at Siemens like this without something happening. Hitler's aim was to divert the attention of the workers from the struggle against capitalist exploitation in Germany, by means of chauvinist phrase-mongering, in order that he might the more easily carry out the further enslavement of the working people in Germany. It is not three months since Hitler delivered this speech, and now a works meeting has just been held at Siemens, at which the workers vehemently demanded an open discussion on the law of "national labour." The leaders of the meeting were unable to cope with the indignation of the workers, and immediately closed the meeting. Communist, social-democratic, and non-party men and women workers and employees had realised the fact that Hitler's "labour law" signifies the complete dictatorship of capital, the worst exploitation of the workers, and the robbery of all their rights. Thyssen, Krupp, Siemens, and the rest of them had never expected that they would be successful in establishing the "master-in-my-own-house" standpoint, the ideal of all capitalist exploiters and enemies of the working people, with such completeness as laid down in the provisions of Hitler's enslavement law. But it would be an error to suppose that the legislative machinery of the fascist murderers is in itself decisive. The carrying out or not carrying out of the "labour law" depends on the development of the relation of forces of the classes, on the mass resistance of the workers, on the partial strikes, mass strikes, and mass demonstrations of the proletariat. In spite of Hitler's slave law, the heads of businesses cannot impose more than the workers tolerate. Where the workers fight, the capitalists will have to grant the demands of the workers, despite all "labour regulations."

The fascist supporters of capitalism imagined at first that they could win over the workers by means of the "co-ordination" of the trade unions. But the class struggle was continued in the co-ordinated meetings, the resistance against deductions for funds increased, unemployed demonstrated in front of the town halls, and the "trade union meetings" called by the fascists were broken up by interjections, questions, and discussions. Fascism now liquidated even its own fascist workshop organisations and the remnants of the territorial organisation of the former trade union members, for even such fascist formations appeared to them too dangerous in face of the growing opposition of the workers. In the interest of the intensified capitalist offensive, in the determination to combat the revolutionary upswing, the fascist myrmidons of monopolist capitalism have proclaimed the law of "national labour." The repressive measures prescribed by this law are intended to break down the resistance of the workers against the wage cuts, against the provision of work swindle, against the destruction of social insurance, against the theft of the social insurance funds, and against the loss of evening leisure hours imposed by the "After Work" fascist-military drill. The robbery of the right to strike, the abolition of the works councils, and the alteration of the labour regulations in the spirit of the regulations of Prussian drill, show the significance of this law for the fascist preparations for war.

This law, imposed by the magnates of the chemical and steel trusts, by the bank kings and big agrarians, reads like the regulations for a convict colony. The heads of businesses alone impose their will, and the workers have only to obey. But Hitler will soon discover that whilst he can prohibit strikes, he cannot prevent them; that he is unable to prevent the illegal organisation of strikes and the setting up of independent class trade unions. The "labour law" does away with the collective agreements, abolishes the demobilisation law (the employer may now dismiss

whom he likes), and leaves the fixing of the amount of wages, the working hours, the rest intervals, and overtime, to the employer. The worker has only the right to add to the many deductions already made from his wages for various funds an extra deduction of M.1.50 weekly for a "dress uniform," by which medium he is to express his joy at this enslavement law. According to this law, therefore, Hitler's "socialism" means that the employer is to command and the worker is to obey him. The employer decides how low the wages are to be, how much the deductions, and how high the profits must be which he squeezes out of the "joint destiny" of himself and his workers. The fundamental idea underlying this law is therefore that the capitalist cannot live without the workers, and that the capitalists are to be enabled, by means of an unrestricted right of command over the workers, to exploit these to the utmost, to the end that decaying capitalism may continue to vegetate.

This law of "national labour" could not have come into being without the aid of social democracy and of social-democratic trade union bureaucracy. Without the hate-inspired struggle of the social-democratic bureaucrats against the strike of the Berlin traffic workers, against the general strike, and against the mass self-defence in protection of the trade union buildings, without the abandonment of the trade unions to fascism on 1st May, without the policy of "wait and see" and the social-democratic theory of defeat, fascism would never have had the power to proclaim such a law. It is a law which shows the connections between fascism and social fascism. Just as the social-democratic policy of "democracy" and the "lesser evil" paved the way for fascism, the policy of "economic democracy" has led to the fascist labour law. When the social-democratic bureaucrats called upon the workers to "safeguard the interests of the undertakings" and to further the policy of industrial peace and mutual agreements, they were advocating in all essentials the fascist policy of the business community and the labour trustees. Social democracy declared the state to be the state of the people and its economy the economy of the working people, in which the capitalists only continue to collaborate formally. Goebbels and Ley do not say anything very different. This social-democratic policy of "economic democracy," of splitting up the working class, was the path leading to the abandonment of the trade unions to fascism, to the shattering of the workers' trade unions. When former leading social-democratic trade union functionaries advocate the creation of class trade unions, but refuse to discuss the strategy and tactics of these trade unions or the lessons taught by the past, then this is merely an attempt to gain by this silence the leading positions in the cadre of functionaries, in order to continue the social-democratic policy there.

The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition are mobilising the whole of the working people against the autocratic dictatorship of capital, for the struggle for emancipation from capitalist slavery and fascist barbarism, for a Soviet Germany. We are the victors of to-morrow. The millions of the toiling masses will gather around the banner of our programme of social and national emancipation! Under the militant flag of the Soviets, the proletariat will expropriate the capitalists and large landowners with Bolshevik sternness. Fighting for this goal, we are exerting our utmost forces for the restoration of the unity of the working class. We reply to the fascist shattering of the right of coalition and of the collective agreements by an intensified struggle against the enslavement law, for the demands of the workers, for the formation of independent class trade unions, for collective wage agreements concluded by the workers' representatives themselves, for the setting up of independent factory councils and the election of independent shop stewards. We offer the millions of former members of the German General

Trade Union Federation and of the Christian trade unions a fraternal alliance in the struggle for the demands of the workers, for the creation of illegal independent class trade unions. Every anti-fascist working man and woman, every young worker, must become an organiser and agitator for the independent class trade unions! Now that the capitalists and their fascist leaders are striving to split up the working class by shattering their trade unions and imposing this labour law, we have all the more reason to reinforce our powers a thousandfold, in order to set up factory groups of the independent class trade unions. The independent class trade unions must be broad organisations of the proletarian class, comprising much greater numbers than the Communist Party. The revolutionary trade unionists, in organising the resistance movements in the works and factories, in placing themselves at the head of the partial struggles, in gathering together the working masses in the struggle, and in forming united front organs as wages commissions and the like, will furnish the most favourable conditions for the immediate development of independent class trade unions.

We are fighting Hitler's slave law of "national labour" by a great variety of methods. Mass resistance against the application of the law; for instance, resistance against the deposition of factory councillors who have been elected by the workers and have represented their interests. The struggle for free discussion in the meetings on the labour law and on the various clauses of the "labour regulations." Resistance against the military drill (after working hours); refusal to give the Hitler salute and to sing Hitler songs, especially at meetings. If the fascists fancy that it will be easier for them to impose their will on the workers by having work conditions regulated individually in each factory by the business heads, then we must upset their calculations entirely by the united mobilisation of the workers in each undertaking for **partial demands** in the factory or its different departments, and for **fighting demands** for a collective agreement. Resistance should be organised against the deductions from wages in the form of contributions to funds or instalments on "dress uniforms," for allowances to compensate rising prices, for higher piecework rates, against the bonus system, against speeding up, for payment of waiting time, for the seven-hour day and punctual cessation of work, against the fascist drill after working hours (this "strength through joy" swindle must be so effectively resisted until the gatherings are made impossible), against the fines, for holiday allowances, for payment of insurance dues by the employers, for improvements in sanitary equipment, for the demands of the women and young workers. We combine the struggle for the partial demands of each undertaking as closely as possible with the general political militant tasks—for instance, the struggle against gas defence drill in the works and factories, and against military drill after working hours—these tasks being part of our struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

In order to intensify the struggle in the various undertakings, **connections must be established with other undertakings.** The advancing of partial demands, the raising of protests at meetings, must be utilised for the election of a **delegation** to be sent to the management or to the fascist functionaries, and for the formation of a piecework commission, wage rate commission, women workers' protection commission, or youth commission, as the case may be. These organs can do excellent service in the formation of the independent class trade unions.

When there is to be an "election" in an undertaking to the employers' confidential council, then the struggle for discrediting the election, the struggle against the fascist labour law and against the agents of the fascist employers, is to be intensified to such a degree that the masses of the workers **do not take part in the election farce.** Before the "election," meetings must be held by the workers of the various departments, protests must be raised here against the election farce, **participation refused,** and the concrete demands of the workers advanced. By means of such department meetings it is possible to judge, before the election, to what extent the workers are prepared to sabotage the election. If they are not yet strong enough for this, then the workers must be called upon to vote against the fascist confidential council. **The power of the mass mobilisation against the employers' confidential council greatly depends upon the organisation of the revolutionary opposition in the "Labour Front" and in the "After Work" organisations. The creation of an opposition on such a**

broad scale demands above all that an energetic course be followed by our revolutionary trade union policy towards winning the former members of the German General Trade Union Federation and of the Christian unions.

At the same time when the fascists are publishing their slave law, the C.P.S.U. and the Russian workers and peasants are drawing up the balance sheet of **socialist construction** and of the application of socialist labour legislation in the Soviet Union. What are the results? **In the Soviet Union** the capitalists have been expropriated, the workers gained their rights. **In Hitler Germany** the capitalists have been given subventions and taxation alleviations, and an unrestricted right of exploitation. The workers' factory councils have been abolished. **In the Soviet Union** the seven-hour day has been introduced, the 35-hour week, and with this higher wage rates. **In Hitler Germany** the wage rate agreements have been done away with, wages have been steadily reduced, and working hours are fixed as the employer thinks best. **In the Soviet Union** unemployment has been completely liquidated, social insurance has been developed, and its dues fall to the undertaking. **In Germany** there are six million unemployed, and social insurance and unemployment benefit are being cut down.

It is the intention of the capitalists that the fascist slave law shall liquidate the class struggle of the proletariat, but the German working class will see to it that precisely this slave law will intensify millionfold the hatred felt by the working people for the fascist rule of blood. **This law must be reduced to a mere scrap of paper by a great wave of strikes, demonstrations, political protest strikes, and political mass strikes.** Independent class trade unions must be formed as revolutionary mass organisations in all factories and industries. The orientation of the strategy of the C.P.G. towards the revolutionary overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship imperatively demands the concentration of the main forces of the Party on the **organisation of the strike movements and the formation of independent class trade unions.**

The Limit of Social Fascist Demagogy

The New Fighting Programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany

A year after Hitler's seizure of power, the Central Committee of the social-democratic party of Germany which had fled to Prague considers the time to have arrived to replace the old programme by a new one. The "Neue Vorwaerts," the present organ of the S.P. of Germany, published in its issue of January 28 a two-column long document entitled, "**Fight and Aims of Revolutionary Socialism—the Policy of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.**" With the same unsurpassed brazenness the social fascist leaders who in May last, in the Reichstag, openly voted for Hitler, to-day bring forward a "revolutionary" programme for the overthrow of the same fascist dictatorship which without them would never have been set up. In this programme there occur passages such as the following:—

"In the fight against the national-socialist dictatorship there can be no compromise and no room for reformism or legality. The tactics of social democrats must be determined exclusively by the objective in view, the conquest of the power of the State, its consolidation and strengthening in order to bring into being a socialist social order. For the overthrow of the dictatorship every means towards this end must be utilised."

"No reformism, no legality, no compromise." How they have attacked us, how they have abusively described the Communists as followers of illusions and even as criminals against the proletariat because they stigmatised the tactics of perpetual compromise, the accursed social-democratic policy of the "lesser evil," as a crime against the proletariat. To-day all this is no longer true. Regardless of everything they have done since 1914, the social fascists who prepared the way for Hitler, suddenly come forward as uncompromising, incorruptible "revolutionaries."

"A revolutionary struggle necessitates revolutionary organisation. The old forms and machinery of organisation have ceased to exist, and any attempt to revive them would be in conflict with the new conditions of the struggle. . . . Small groups are constituting themselves, the picked troops of the revolutionary forces, who will have to learn the technique of their action through dearly bought experience."

Yes, the social-democratic organisation has been shattered. If the social-democratic party leaders of Germany record this to-

day, they only confirm what has already been a fact for months past, and what everybody who knew the social-democratic electoral machine foresaw: this organisation was not capable of any firm, illegal cohesion or any conspirative revolutionary activity. But this incapacity was due not only to its form of organisation. A party which, like the social democracy, has for decades trained its members to respect the bounds of legality, to be blindly obedient towards a stratum of bureaucrats who allied themselves indissolubly with the bourgeoisie, a party which could call upon its followers to vote for Hindenburg at the Presidential elections as the "lesser evil," for the same Hindenburg who afterwards appointed Hitler as Reichs-Chancellor—such a party, whose leaders, in addition, left the masses in the lurch in the hour of danger, was bound to be annihilated under the terror of fascism. And when the social-fascist leaders now wish to revive this party again, they know very well that this is quite impossible with the old formulas of legality and compromise. Hence the revolutionary phraseology, which even goes to the extent of directly taking over Communist slogans and demands, and which has no other aim than to bring back into the fold of the social democracy the active anti-fascist elements among the social-democratic workers who have long since, in the common revolutionary fight together with the Communists, recognised the correctness of the Communist policy.

"Let Hitler make a mess of things," that for a long time was the only thing the social-democratic leaders had to say to the masses. To-day this also lies concealed behind the exceedingly dangerous theory of spontaneity:

"As the internal conflicts within fascism and the class struggle within capitalism develop and become steadily more acute, as discontent and disillusionment shake the hold of the national socialist dictatorship upon the masses, as movements of opposition arise and spontaneous mass movements come into being, it will be the task of these picked revolutionary troops to deepen the divisions and doubts in the minds of the masses, to guide their development, to influence their direction, so as to multiply their own points of contact with the masses and to extend the revolutionary organisation into a mass organisation."

This may sound revolutionary, but nevertheless it is counter-revolutionary. For he who wishes to wait for the spontaneously arising mass movement, for the disappointment of the national socialist followers, and for the contradictions within fascism, which can only develop as a result of the driving force of the class struggle, who only then perceives his revolutionary tasks, instead of seeing to-day the decisive problem of the development of partial struggles, of strikes in the factories as the precondition for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship—he only clothes with revolutionary phrases the old social-democratic slogan: "Let Hitler make a mess of things." It is not due to chance that the whole "revolutionary programme" of the social democracy never mentions the words strike, mass strike and general strike. There is a lot of talk about socialism and about power which they have not got, but the programme maintains silence regarding the only way to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the way of developing the partial struggles and increasing them to mass struggles. Instead of this, the old democratic demands are trotted out. The "fight for the democratic freedom of movement" and the right of assembly is designated as "the revolutionary transition stage to capturing State power." It is the old slogan, "through democracy to socialism" presented in a more revolutionary form. It is quite clear that Wels and his consorts are concluding an alliance with the Trotskyists when this programme contains the following regarding the fight for democratic demands and rights:—

"The struggle for democracy thus broadens out into a fight for the complete overthrow of the political power of national socialism. This struggle is only a stage in the revolutionary conquest of the whole power of the State."

It is therefore, as is here openly said, nothing else but the notorious "democratic transition stage," the old Weimar democracy, which provided such a splendid breeding ground for Hitler fascism. It is therefore by no means a question of the overthrow of the capitalist rule, but only a certain form of the capitalist rule, namely, the "national socialist State power." And for this purpose Wels and his consorts wish to misuse the anti-fascist militancy of their working-class supporters. Strikes and mass strikes could lead to the overthrow of capitalism, therefore they prefer to say nothing about them. They wish, with a few harmless democratic

reforms, to rescue the bourgeoisie from the threatening proletarian revolution.

But the less the programme shows the way to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, and the more it confines itself to a few sham-revolutionary phrases and to a theoretical recognition of the forcible overthrow of the dictatorship, the more it indulges in sham radical demagoguery when it speaks of the exercise of power by the working class. It is true, the social-democratic party leaders are unable completely to obliterate the memory of their shameful crime of throttling the November revolution of 1918. And therefore, at the commencement of the passage of the section dealing with the exercise of power, they appear to engage in self-criticism:

"The political transformation of 1918 ended up in a counter-revolutionary development originating in the war and the whipping up of nationalist sentiment among the people. The Empire of the Kaiser was not overthrown as a result of an organised, planned and determined fight by the working class, but owing to the defeat on the battle fields. The social-democratic party, as the only organised force left intact, took over control of the State without opposition, sharing it as a matter of course with the bourgeois parties, the old bureaucracy and even with the reorganised military forces. That it should have taken over the old machinery of government virtually unchanged was the great historical error committed by a German Labour Movement which had lost its sense of direction during the war. The new situation excludes any possibility of a repetition of this mistake."

It is hard to find words which would adequately characterise this boundless cynicism in the mouths of those who choked the proletarian revolution of 1918 in the blood of the Spartacus fighters. According to these gentlemen, the armies of the Entente and not the systematic, courageous, anti-militarist work of the revolutionaries, of the Spartacus League and the best elements in the independent socialist party, not the courageous revolt of the sailors in Kiel swept away the monarchist regime! The social democracy, the Eberts, Scheidemanns, and Noskes did not, as is proved by thousands of documents, defend the monarchy right up to the last moment, and when the revolt of the sailors broke out in Kiel send their representatives in agreement with the monarchist generals, in order to crush the revolt. No, they simply "took over power." Nay more, they shared power with the bourgeois parties and the old bureaucracy and the reorganised military apparatus. But who else reorganised this military apparatus but Herr Noske, who to-day is peacefully enjoying a pension graciously granted to him by Goering? Who else was it but Noske who armed the free corps and reinstated the monarchist generals? Who else but Ebert and Scheidemann fetched out the monarchist officials who had crept away into their holes and showered offices and dignities upon them? With this "self-criticism" of the "mistakes" of social democracy in 1918, consisting of a mixture of falsification of history and cynicism, they wish not only to silence those in their own ranks who might remind them of these bloody crimes, but they want at the same time to gloss over all the crimes committed in the years following up to the shameful 17th of May, 1933. "The new situation excludes any possibility of a repetition of this mistake." Never have the socialist criminals more shamelessly deceived the masses than with this sentence. No, the new situation does not only not exclude a repetition of their crime, but it would, if the social fascists came into power again, cause them to repeat it ten and twentyfold.

The demands which are raised as the first measures of a revolutionary government are nothing else but the most base and contemptible fraud. "Setting up of a revolutionary tribunal." This is written by the same people who are fully aware that they are the first who, on the day of the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany, would have to be brought before the revolutionary tribunal. When they steal from the Communists the demand for the immediate expropriation without compensation of the large landed estates and of the heavy industries, the transfer of the Reichsbank to the ownership and control of the Reich, the demand for the separation of Church and State—all this cannot conceal the true character of this programme. But just as the words: strike, general strike and proletarian dictatorship are carefully avoided, so also there is no mention in the programme of the decisive demand for the arming of the proletariat. Instead we read of the "organisation of trustworthy military and police forces." Well, Herr Noske was also of the opinion that it was

necessary to set up a "trustworthy military power," and it was in fact trustworthy in the fight against "the inner enemy." And in regard to socialisation, we call to mind those posters of the socialisation commission, which were pasted up everywhere: "Socialisation is on the march." It has marched backwards so far that the new Labour Law (which is only the culmination of Ebert's distortion of the factory council idea in the factory council law enacted by the German social-democratic government) is in its reactionary nature unapproached by any capitalist country. But is it due to chance that in this programme no mention is made of the word Soviet, just as there is no mention of the words strike, arming, and dictatorship of the proletariat? The social-democratic leaders have dug up the old Weimar democracy and they imagine they will be able once again to deceive these same German workers who in one year of the Hitler dictatorship realised to their cost the whole extent of the crime committed by the social fascists in splitting the German working class.

They wish to maintain this split. They themselves realise that the time of the revolutionary overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship is approaching, and they are trembling for their bourgeoisie, for their capitalism, just as they trembled for them in 1918. It is high time, they think, to offer themselves as the saviours from Bolshevism, as the lesser evil. For there is not a word in the programme about Bolshevism, about the world-historical example of victorious Socialism in the Soviet Union. They know perfectly well why they did not mention it. But do they really believe that a paper programme issued by a handful of bankrupt politicians and criminals who have fled abroad, will have a greater effect than the imposing example of socialist construction carried out by a nation numbering 170 million, the example of the victorious October of Bolshevism? How miserably weak they must feel themselves when they invite all the counter-revolutionary groups, the Trotskyists, the Brandlerists, etc., to join the revolutionary struggle, but at the same time, in the only sentence in which they mention the Communists, accuse them of perpetuating the split in the working class, of their own unattonable crime. Against Communism, against strikes and the general strike, against the arming of the proletariat, against the Soviet dictatorship of the workers and peasants, but for the rescue of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism at the moment of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, for the hundredfold repetition of all the crimes committed by them against the proletarian revolution—that is the essence of this apparently radical programme of the social fascists. This programme declares that the social democrats "will refuse to lend themselves to any self-vivisection which, by idle discussion of the problem of the use to be made of a victory not yet achieved, will perpetuate the dissensions among the working class, who are the best protection of the dictatorship." But this question of the use to be made of the victory of the proletarian revolution is of the same decisive importance as the question of achieving this victory. It is not by means of passively waiting for the spontaneous uprising, not the replacement of the proletarian dictatorship by any new form of bourgeois democracy, that fascism and all its aiders and abettors will be annihilated, but only by means of Bolshevism, by means of organising the proletarian revolution, by means of the armed revolt and the establishment of the Soviet power of the workers and peasants. Clearness on these questions is the pre-condition for the revolutionary unity of the working class. It is therefore our task to create this clearness in indefatigable comradely enlightenment work among the social-democratic, christian and non-party workers. Whoever renounces clearness on these questions, hampers the victory of the proletarian revolution, whoever deliberately avoids clearness on these questions, does the work of the fascist counter-revolution, and wishes to bar to the workers the only path which leads to freedom and socialism: Lenin's path of Red October.

Protest Against the Fascist Terror

By Willy Frostel (Zurich)

To the Workers of the World! To all Hand and Brain Workers!
To all Anti-Fascists!

Whoever is still capable of indignation, whoever is still capable of human thought and human solidarity, whoever would save human life, whoever respects and admires loyalty to convictions, whoever is an anti-fascist from feeling and conviction, must now give energetic expression to his indignation and disgust.

Three thousand eight hundred people have been murdered in

one year of the Hitler terror in Germany, shot down like dogs, tortured to death, shot "whilst attempting to escape," sentenced to death by the terrorist courts of fascism and dragged to the block and decapitated by the fascist executioners. Our comrades died like heroes, loyal to the working class to the last, with their faith in the proletarian revolution on their lips.

Over a hundred thousand anti-fascists, workers and intellectuals, non-Party workers, social democrats and Communists, are being held in concentration camps and prisons where they are treated worse than the victims of mediaeval torture. They are being systematically tortured, maltreated, physically and mentally broken.

Hundreds of thousands of families, women and children, mothers and wives live in constant dread and anxiety for the fate of their dear ones in the grip of the fascist terror machine. They are themselves suffering under the fascist terror and are subjected to brutal arbitrariness and chicanery. They are being robbed of the means of existence. They are suffering starvation and living in misery and need.

Dimitrov, who won the sympathy and respect of the whole world as a result of his courageous and undaunted attitude at the Leipzig frame-up, is still in a fascist prison despite the fact of his acquittal under the pressure of world public opinion and the protest demonstrations of millions of workers all over the world. Together with his comrades, Torgler, Popov and Tanev, he has now been transferred to Berlin—into the hands of Goering, the man who declared brutally and cynically at the trial that he would murder Dimitrov and his friends as soon as he got them outside the power of the court and who will certainly put his threat into action at the first opportunity.

In addition, Dimitrov is seriously ill and is not receiving the necessary medical attention at the hands of the fascists. His two Bulgarian comrades are also ill.

A day or so ago four of the leading officials of the Communist Party, including Johannes Scheer, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, two prominent officials of the Red Aid, Erich Steinfurth and Eugen Schönhaar, and a prominent official of the Young Communist League, Rudolf Schwarz, were murdered. They were taken out and shot "whilst attempting to escape" as revenge for the killing of a renegade and traitor to his class, a common informer who was the object of popular hatred. Four of the finest fighters of the working class have been destroyed by the fascist murderers. Four comrades have been murdered in a particularly brutal and cowardly fashion. Four workers who had devoted their lives to the revolutionary class struggle and who had remained undaunted at their posts in the period of illegality and terror and who remained loyal to their class, to the revolutionary class struggle and to Communism despite the tortures and maltreatment to which they were subjected by the fascists in prison and concentration camp.

Thaelmann, the leader of the German working class is faced with a process for "high treason" which is to end in his sentence to death and "legal" execution. Not only that, but his life is in urgent danger as is that of Dimitrov and his comrades and as was that of our four murdered comrades. At any moment we may receive news that Thaelmann, Dimitrov and the other leaders of the revolutionary working class movement have been "shot whilst attempting to escape."

But despite the terror and despite the mass murders the revolutionary working class movement in Germany is still alive. It is invincible. There is no power, no terror, no matter how murderous, which can destroy it. It is alive and it will be victorious! The best sections of the German proletariat are fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany with heroic courage and incomparable steadfastness against fascism and against the bloody fascist terror despite prison, concentration camps, torture and death. Not hundreds, or even thousands, but hundreds of thousands are taking part in the struggle with an unbroken confidence in victory, knowing that the proletarian revolution and socialism must triumph over decaying capitalism.

The bloody fascist terror, the cowardly murder of our four comrades, the continued imprisonment of the "acquitted" Dimitrov and his comrades, the daily death sentences and executions and the danger in which Thaelmann is living in the hands of the fascist executioners must rouse the working masses all over the world to protest indignantly, to express their disgust and anger, to show their solidarity and fighting spirit in the struggle against fascism.

Flesh from our flesh, and blood from our blood is at stake. The wives and children of our comrades are trembling for their lives daily. Our best and bravest comrades are carrying on the fight in Germany.

Thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands are sacrificing their peace, their living, their freedom and their very lives in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from the slavery of capitalism and the bloody scourge of fascism.

And what about us? We are going on as though nothing had happened. We report at the labour exchanges as usual, or observe the capitalists cutting down our wages. We see the advance of fascism. We see the armaments for a new imperialist war, for an armed intervention against the first land of socialist construction. We observe the growing fighting spirit of broad masses of the toilers.

But where is the elementary indignation, where is our protest, where are our demonstrations, where are our fighting actions? Where is the millionfold force, the tremendous power which could not only save our comrades and put a stop to the murderous terror, but which could lift the whole world out of its sockets?

If we recognise this force, if we develop the will to power then we can save not only our comrades who are faced with death and torture, we can help not only the fighting German working class, but we can save ourselves.

Protest against fascism! There must be no factory, no labour exchange, no working class quarter, no town and no village where the toilers who are class-conscious, proletarian and anti-fascist do not go onto the streets in powerful demonstrations against fascism, mass before the buildings of the German consulates and embassies and express their indignation and protest with resolutions and deputations.

One is helpless, but many demand attention and millions represent an invincible force. We are this force and we must be it. Therefore each of us must do his part to make this force effective and to demonstrate it.

Let every factory, every organisation, whether trade union, Red Aid, Party, W.I.R. or other class organisation of the working class do everything possible to mobilise its supporters and its influence to save Dimitrov and his comrades and to defend the lives of Comrade Thaelmann and the other imprisoned anti-fascist workers, to release them from prison, to protest against the cowardly murder of four of the leading officials of the Communist Party, and for the struggle against international fascism.

In this way we can defeat fascism in our own countries. In this way we are linked up with the fight of the workers of all countries.

With the courage of Dimitrov, the conviction of Liebknecht, the spirit of Lenin and the iron will of Stalin we shall be victorious.

Protest against fascism! All forces to the front! Death to fascism! Long live the revolutionary class struggle and the victory of socialism!

Arouse the Masses Against the Murderers of Comrade Scheer!

By Fritz Heckert

The blood-stained fascist executioners have committed another brutal crime against the German working class. They have murdered in cold blood Comrade *John Scheer*, member of the Central Committee of the heroic Communist Party of Germany, and with him Comrades *Erich Steinjurtz*, *Eugen Schoenhaar*, and *Rudolf Schwarz*. They have added to the thousands of murders already committed four more brutal assassinations, killing four of the best and sincerest revolutionists, eminent and leading functionaries of the C.P.G.

The working class—not only of Germany, but the whole international proletariat—must realise the fact that the murder of *John Scheer* in the given situation in Germany has a special significance. During the last few weeks a fresh wave of intensified terror has swept over the Germany of Hitler, of Goering and Goebbels, of Thyssen, Krupp, and von Stauss. Hundreds of revolutionary workers are being arrested, and brutally maltreated in the Storm Troop barracks and concentration camps. The rulers of the "Third Reich" stand with empty hands after a year of their accomplished "national revolution." They have not been able to redeem a single one of their promises. Under their rule the rich become richer, the poor poorer. They have grovelled before pre-

datory imperialism, have pursued a fulfilment policy "as far as possible," and have done nothing to wipe out the disgrace of Versailles.

And because all this is so, no phrasemongering about "national re-awakening" and "community of the people" has been able to hold down the working class and to "convince" it. The proclamation of the unrestricted despotic rule of the exploiters in the works and factories, the impudent robbery of the last remnants of the workers' rights, the brutal whip of forced labour held over the unemployed, have generated a bitter hatred which had already found expression in action in many places. Disappointment and mistrust have crept into the ranks of the millions of petty bourgeois adherents of the fascists, and disruption is spreading in these ranks. Even in the elite troops of the fascists, the S.S. and the S.A., open rebellion is raising its head.

The heroic Communist Party of Germany stands unshaken at the head of the anti-fascist struggle. It organises all the resistance actions in the works and factories, at the labour exchanges, and in the labour service camps. Its bold and courageous attitude is gaining for it the daily increasing confidence of the people, also in the ranks of the former social-democratic workers and former members of the shattered reformist trade unions. It is penetrating into the broad strata of the middle class. In illegal newspapers and leaflets it appeals daily for the assembling of all forces against the fascist executioners. It continues to undermine the already tottering foundations of the structure erected by the ruling myrmidons of capital.

Pale fear and trembling have seized the bombastic dictators. Not even their pompous and high-sounding phrases can conceal their growing uncertainty. It is only by means of the steady intensification of their terrorist methods that they have been able to maintain their power, the unrestricted power of financial and monopolist capital. Now they know that their murder of over 3,000 revolutionists, and the cruel tortures of 150,000 anti-fascists imprisoned in the jails and concentration camps, have not accomplished the pacification they have hoped for, have not "exterminated Communism and Marxism." On the contrary, a fresh wave of revolutionary upsurge is rising all over Germany, especially in the decisively important working-class districts. The impending end of the bloody dictatorship of fascism is casting its shadow before.

Faced by this situation, the bloody rulers intensify their brutal terror. They are specially anxious to deal a blow at the revolutionary leaders of the working class, at the illegal C.P.G. They are endeavouring to deprive the Communist Party of its leadership by murdering the members of the Central Committee; they hope to frighten the anti-fascists now gathering to form the united front.

Hence the murder of Comrade *Scheer* has a special significance. It is not one of the customary fascist murders. Comrade *Scheer* was shot down treacherously on orders from high places, on orders from the incendiary Goering and the other blood-stained fascist rulers. His death sentence was passed because he was a leading member of the Central Committee of the C.P.G., member of its Political Bureau and its Secretariat. The fascist dictators, trembling for their positions of power, have determined on the physical extermination of the leading Communists. The murder of Comrade *Scheer* is intended to deal a blow at the whole Central Committee of the C.P.G.

Great danger is impending. The leader of the C.P.G., Comrade *Thaelmann*, is in the clutches of the bloodthirsty haters of Communism, and with him other members of the C.C. and thousands of Communist functionaries. Comrade *Dimitrov* and his three companions, despite their acquittal, are still kept in prison by the fascists. Daily the fascist rulers utter threats in their speeches, their proclamations, and their newspapers, evidencing clearly that:

The life of Comrade Thaelmann, the life of Comrade Dimitrov, the lives of thousands of sincere and courageous Communists are in immediate danger!

In this hour it is the highest revolutionary duty of the whole working class to arouse a storm of mass protest against the brutal murder of Comrade *Scheer*, against the threatened murder of the leader of the C.P.G. and many thousands of its functionaries.

Comrade *Scheer* was a faithful son of the proletarian class. A workman who worked his way up to the position of a leading member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, thanks to his ardent enthusiasm for the working class, and thanks to his own energy, aided by the confidence placed in him by his comrades. He was a courageous fighter, and remained at his post in the midst

of fascist terror, faithful to his Party and to his class, and giving his life for them.

The leader of the C.P.G., Comrade Thaelmann, whose life is in danger, is a workman, whose firm diligence has equipped him with all the qualities of the proletarian fighter, and who represents the true type of the leader of the revolutionary workers' party of Germany, the C.P.G.

Fascism has thousands of these comrades in its clutches, and is determined to slaughter them brutally, to deprive the working class of their leadership.

An impassioned appeal goes forth to the whole working class to thwart by mass action the intentions of the blood-stained fascist murderers.

The Communist Party must strengthen on every front the struggle against fascist terror.

Workers in the workshops and factories! Exact atonement for the murder of your class Comrade John Scheer, prevent the murder of Comrade Thaelmann, by means of strikes and mass protests.

Unemployed at the labour exchanges and in labour service camps! Spread the truth about this brutal murder by means of mass discussions and thousands of leaflets, organise protest actions in the centres of compulsory labour.

And to you, social-democratic workers, an especially urgent appeal goes forth, an appeal to join the ranks of the united front with your Communist class comrades. Do not let yourselves be prevented from doing this, in this dark and dangerous hour, by the manoeuvres of your leaders. The new programmatic declaration of the party committee of the C.P.G., which is called a fighting programme, merely pretends to advocate the revolutionary struggle. In reality the old slogan is maintained of democracy for the whole people, and therewith also for the capitalists. This is the same social democracy in whose name Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogisches, Eugene Levine, and tens of thousands of other revolutionists were struck down and murdered, the same democracy which has paved the way for gory fascism.

Remember the murder of Comrade Scheer, remember the threatening murder of Comrades Thaelmann, Dimitrov, and the thousands of faithful revolutionists, and weld together the united front of the proletarian class for powerful resistance against the fascist murderers. Remember that the murdered Comrade John Scheer made the creation of the revolutionary class front of the proletariat for the joint struggle his highest aim in life.

Comrade John Scheer

Moscow, February 5.

The press publishes the following obituary statement:—

Pain and anger are once more aroused in the hearts of the workers of all countries by the news of the fresh vile murder committed by the German fascists. Comrade John Scheer has been shot. He was one of the best leaders of the German working class, a member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P.G. The cowardly executioners of the fascist regime murdered him in accordance with the traditional rites of the White Guardist secret police. Comrade Scheer, who was arrested two months ago, was taken from Berlin in a motor-car, and shot dead in the forest, and with him three other active functionaries of the C.P.G., Comrades Erich Steinfurth, Eugen Schoenhaar, and Rudolf Schwarz. The fascist leaders, drunk with the blood of the workers, announce cynically "shot whilst attempting to escape." The murder of Comrade Scheer is a fresh stab in the back of the German working class, for Comrade Scheer was of the flesh and blood of the German workers. He was one of those workers' leaders who have risen out of the masses, and who have been placed by the fighting proletariat at the head of its vanguard.

Working indefatigably in the midst of the working class, struggling with Bolshevik determination for the winning over of the masses, Comrade Scheer advanced to the foremost ranks of the leaders of the heroic C.P.G. Talented, proletarian and unassuming, irreconcilable against enemies and traitors, Comrade Scheer was elected to the C.C. of the C.P.G. at the Wedding Party Congress, in 1932 he was elected secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.G. Under the leadership of such undaunted leaders as Scheer, the C.P.G. was enabled to continue its work with unbroken ranks, as a mass Party, after the blows dealt by fascism forced it into illegality. In profoundest illegality, and losing its best fighters day by day, the

C.P.G. reorganised its ranks. Without losing one single day, it continued to work unwearingly, and is organising the German proletariat for the struggle against fascism. This brilliant organisational and tactical reorganisation, carried out by a mass Party under the sweeping fire of the enemy, is the great historical achievement of the leaders of the C.P.G., among them Comrade John Scheer.

The fascists were well aware of this. For nine months their bloodhounds hunted him. The ring drawn by the police around Comrade Scheer drew closer and closer. His Party comrades urged him to go abroad, but this undaunted revolutionist, relentless against himself, refused to leave his illegal work in Germany. When the fascist scoundrels arrested Scheer, they did not venture to publish the fact, fearing the mass protest of the working class. In the case of Dimitrov, whose murder had been already planned, the wrath of the toiling masses had already forced them to a cowardly retreat and to the hypocritical acquittal of Leipzig.

It is not difficult to imagine what tortures Comrade Scheer had to suffer at the hands of the fascist sadists in the Storm Troop barracks and torture chambers of the German Secret Police. But the fact that they have killed him by cowardly shots in the dark shows that they were afraid of this German proletarian, who had become the leader of hundreds of thousands of proletarians, and that they are afraid of the wrath of the working class of the whole world. And they will not escape from this wrath. The toilers of the whole world will rise against these fascist murderers of the age of imperialist barbarity, who set up scaffolds and stakes in the centre of "civilised" Europe as in the Middle Ages, and who place the latest achievements of technics, medicine, and physiology at the service of morphinists and degenerates drunk with the blood of the workers.

The name of John Scheer will be remembered by the workers of the whole world. Though he is dead, he continues to live in the hearts of the workers, fighting for the cause of proletarian revolution. In all countries he calls the workers to the flag of the Communist International. The toilers of all countries raise the banner of struggle against German fascism higher than ever, over the mutilated corpses of the latest victims of the fascist executioners, for German fascism embodies the whole brutality of the classes doomed to extinction, the whole fear of death of capitalism faced by the advancing proletariat, the whole war madness of the imperialist system confronted by the building up of socialism on one sixth of the globe.

Let us strengthen the international struggle for the release of Dimitrov, Thaelmann, and the other prisoners of fascism.

Down with fascism! Long live the heroic C.P.G.!

(Signed) Kuusinen, Heckert, Bela Kun, Wan Min, Okano, Bronkovski, Knorin, Rust, Roncoli, Dolerez, Kolarov, Haaken.

Appeal of the International Release Committee

Paris, February 3.

In Germany fascist terror is raging as never before. During the last few days the world has heard of the cruel murder of four more defenceless political prisoners, and has received much perturbing news about the fate of the thousands of prisoners in German jails and concentration camps.

Yesterday the world learnt that the Leipzig prisoners, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev, have been conveyed unexpectedly from the Leipzig prison to Berlin. All the attempts made by Dimitrov's mother to obtain contact with the prisoners, or to gain an idea of their situation, are in vain.

The news of the cruel fourfold murder has spread like wildfire: Thaelmann's deputy, John Scheer; Eugen Schönhaar, already frightfully maltreated for months; Erich Steinfurth, secretary of the Red Aid, already in a concentration camp for ten months; and the courageous anti-fascist, Rudolf Schwarz, were suddenly conveyed to Nowawes, near Potsdam, for an alleged confrontation, and were shot on the way in accordance with the customary formula of German fascism "whilst attempting to escape."

Endeavours made by authorised persons to ascertain the situation of the incarcerated leader of the C.P.G., Thaelmann, have proved fruitless. In Berlin extremely perturbing rumours are circulating with regard to his fate. The German authorities refuse to reply to any questions. But the deeds being committed are sufficient evidence.

The newspapers refer to a fresh campaign of murder and torture in all concentration camps and prisons. It is self-evident that Hitler, Goering, and their political police, are initiating a fresh wave of maltreatment of hostages, tortures, and murders.

All ways go to show that the fate which has been dealt to the four murdered anti-fascists threatens Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, Tanev, the imprisoned leader of the C.P.G., Ernst Thaelmann, and many thousands of prisoners in the concentration camps, jails, and prisons.

In this dark hour, when the freshly-shed blood of these men calls out to the conscience of the world, and raises its sinister indictment against this rule of murder, in this hour the International Release Committee for Dimitrov, Thaelmann, Torgler, Popov, Tanev, and all anti-fascists imprisoned in Germany, appeals for an energetic and determined action to save the lives of these prisoners.

Never before have the sadists of Hitler Terror raged so savagely as now! Never before has the resolute struggle of the workers of the world, of all anti-fascists and all sympathisers with socialism, been so imperatively necessary as now. Our appeal is made to all human beings, all organisations, committees, and institutions, who are ready to co-operate with us: Immediate declarations of protest, telegrams, delegations to the German embassies abroad, to the fascist governmental authorities, to the managements of the concentration camps, prisons, and jails! All must help to secure the mobilisation of all workers, all toilers, all intellectuals, all human beings who still have hearts in their breasts and a sense of justice and freedom!

Now it is not only a question of moral support, but of direct financial aid and the powerful development of rescue action!

We must intervene in Germany by means of delegations of jurists. We must form watch committees and inquiry committees: the families of the murdered and incarcerated prisoners, who find no justice and no lawyer in Germany, and who have no financial means to fall back upon, must be aided by our mighty solidarity action.

Save the victims from the executioners! Take up the struggle against the Goering system of murder! Send immediate aid to the threatened champions of the anti-fascist movement in Germany! Prevent fresh murders!

International Release Committee for Dimitrov, Thaelmann, Torgler, Popov, Tanev, and all anti-fascists imprisoned in Germany.

International Protest Movement for the Release of Thaelman, Dimitrov, Torgler, and all Anti-Fascist Prisoners

Stockholm, February 8.

A demonstration convened by the W.I.R. in Trondhjem, taken part in by over 400 persons, a demonstration of the Swedish C.P. in Hälsingborg (700 persons), in Lund (250), in Arlöv (250), in Enköping (350), in Täby (60), in Stockholm South (150), in Njurunda (350), in Norrköping (400), and a demonstration of 350 persons in Sundsvall, protested unanimously against the bloody terror of the Hitler government, and demanded the release of the political prisoners, especially of the Bulgarians and Torgler. The C.P.S. meetings protested at the same time against the impudent action of the social democratic police, and demanded from the social democratic government the strict observance of the right of asylum for all political refugees.

A public meeting at Kalmar, taken part in by 600 workers, protested vigorously against the Hitler government, and demanded the release of the men acquitted at Leipzig.

At the general meeting of the dockers of Sundsvall, a protest resolution moved by the Communists against the terror of the Hitler government and for the political prisoners was adopted unanimously.

Gothenburg, February 7.

In many places the leaders of the Nazi organisations of varying trends have convened discussion meetings, which have been converted into anti-fascist demonstrations by the Communists.

In a small village, Ehret in West Sweden, some Communists organised a collection among the forest workers, who live in very poor circumstances, for the political refugees from Germany. These forest workers raised twenty-one crowns.

A meeting of seamen in Hälsingborg, and another in Gothen-

burg, also passed resolutions against the Hitler government and for the political prisoners.

Vienna, February 7.

On January 30 four deputations were received by the German Embassy, and gave the Ambassador a memorandum in which they stigmatised in the strongest terms the year of Hitler's rule, with its murders of thousands of workers, and demanding from the German government the immediate release of Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev, Thaelmann, and the sixty-four workers now in the condemned cells. The Ambassador replied to the delegates that he could not forward their memorandum, as its contents were too sharp. The deputations then sent the memorandum by post to Hitler in Berlin. The following undertakings had taken part in the delegations: Bally Shoe Factory (XV. District), Friedrich Siemens (XXI. District), Vienna taxi drivers, socialist students of Vienna. A day later delegations were sent to the German Ambassador by the Red Falcons (X. District), by the Socialist Working Youth (X. District), and the Red Falcon leaders of Vienna.

Up to the present nine delegations have entered protests with the Embassy. An evening newspaper reports this as a sensation.

Prague, February 8.

The proletarian sportsmen of Prague-Vysocan, at a meeting, adopted a sharp protest against the further incarceration of Dimitrov and his comrades, and against the murder of revolutionists.

Perth (West Australia), February 1.

The emigrants from Yugoslavia, working in the goldfields of Boulder City, Kalgoorlie, and Kurrawang (West Australia), held a great joint demonstration, attended at the same time by many Australian workers, and sent a resolution to President Hindenburg, protesting against the brutality, the lapse into barbarism, and the sadist madness of the Hitler government.

Moscow, February 11.

On February 8 the Bulgarian citizen Danoffski, the interpreter of Dimitrov's mother (who cannot speak a word of German), having been expelled from Germany, arrived here. He gives the following details on the dangerous situation of Dimitrov, and also of Popov and Tanev:—

"Since their transference from the prison at Leipzig, the position of the three Bulgarians is much worse in Berlin than during their custody on remand and during the trial. They are incarcerated in the cellar of the buildings of the State Secret Police, in cells without light, and are unable to read, write, or have intercourse with one another. Their food is given them without knives and forks. When their relations are allowed to visit them, three police officials are present, a magistrate, and an interpreter, who interprets every word. The conversation is written down, and frequently interrupted. The prisoners may not say anything "political," or state whether they feel well or ill. The whole buildings of the State Secret Police are swarming with Storm Troopers and S.S. men, making the likelihood of a treacherous attack on Dimitrov almost a certainty.

"Since the American lawyer Gallagher was expelled from Germany, now followed by the expulsion of Danoffski, the relations of the Bulgarian revolutionists, Dimitrov's old mother and Tanev's wife, are left without advice or protection. They cannot speak German, they are waiting in Berlin in a state of growing alarm for their relations. Every day they expect to be turned away from the Secret Police headquarters, as they were in Leipzig, with the words: "The prisoners are no longer here!" They are even afraid that the worst may happen in the cellars of the Secret Police without the authorities telling them. If they get to know anything, they may not tell anybody, for the authorities threaten to expel them from the country if they communicate with the foreign press. Even in Leipzig vengeance was taken on Dimitrov's old mother for every word of information reaching the foreign press about the conditions under which the prisoners were living.

"Now that the situation is considerably acuter, for the three Bulgarians are in Goering's hands, the national socialists will do their utmost to impose complete silence regarding the fate of these men. Danoffski declares that he was expelled from Germany on the grounds that he had given information to the foreign press: I was taken to the Police Presidium, and had to stand behind an iron railing till the expulsion document was given me. I was forced to leave Dimitrov's old mother in a perfectly helpless position, and in such a weak state that any fresh great excitement is bound to kill her."

Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Report of Comrade Manuilsky

Disintegration of Social Democracy—Growing Strength of the Communist Parties

Moscow, February 7, 1934.

Speaking of the treacherous role of the Second International, Comrade Manuilsky stated:—

Not only the Wesels and Leiparts of Germany are to blame for fascism coming to power, but so also are the socialists and reformists of France, the General Council and Labour Party of Great Britain and the whole of the Second International. The Second International is the main support of world reaction. Under the conditions of the growing world revolutionary crisis, it plays the same role that the church played in the course of centuries as a means of deluding the masses.

To destroy the influence of social democracy is one of the most essential conditions of accelerating the growth of the revolutionary crisis. And one of the major signs of such growth of a revolutionary crisis is the crisis which has begun in the Second International. The rupture of capitalism is becoming deeper, the rupture of the social democracy is growing. The pre-war accentuation of imperialist contradictions brings disintegration to the Second International as an international organisation even before war begins, as distinct from what happened in 1914. Neo-fascist groups are emerging; there is discord in the upper layers of the social fascists, reflecting the struggle within the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The advanced social democratic workers of such countries as Germany are turning more quickly, and those of other countries more slowly to Communism. The social democracy of Germany, the leading party of the Second International, has committed suicide as a political party, even if it is continuing its attempts to rally together the remnants of its cadres. The socialist party of France has split into three parts. The Independent Labour Party of Great Britain disaffiliated from the Labour Party in 1932 and disaffiliated from the Second International in April, 1933; the membership of the reformist trade unions dropped by 400,000. In nearly every capitalist country there exist two or three social democratic parties.

But even more characteristic of the present position of international social democracy is its ideological confusion. Its slogans of to-day represent hysterical leaps from one extreme to the other, bearing witness to great confusion in its ranks.

"We are for socialism, but without the proletarian revolution," the Second International announces.

We are for the proletarian revolution, declares the German social democracy, but without the proletarian dictatorship. We are solely for the restoration of democracy.

We are for the proletarian dictatorship, but we ask the Comintern to make an exception in the case of Scandinavia, where democracy is still possible, declares Friedrich Adler. We are for organisational unity, but against the united front, declares the Second International.

And the former Spanish Minister, Largo Caballero, comments on this thesis in the following manner: There exists no difference between us and the Communists. What is the use of amalgamating if we are already quite the same. (Laughter.)

The Roosevelt programme is our programme, declares the Second International.

The Roosevelt programme is the programme of Italian fascism, replies Mussolini.

Not reforms, but the question of power is on the order of the day, blusters the Second International.

We are prepared to seize power, if the President of the Republic calls on us, replies the socialist party of France. (Laughter.)

Referring to the position of the section of the Comintern, Comrade Manuilsky continued:—

The confusion and crisis in the ranks of social democracy proceed not automatically, as the action of the blind forces of decaying capitalism, but as a result of a constant daily tireless struggle of the Communists for winning over the majority of the working class. The crisis of social democracy is first of all the

result of many years of struggle of the Comintern and its sections against the Second International. Nevertheless, if the Communist Parties have not yet overthrown social democracy, it only shows inadequate work on the part of the Communist Parties, which have not availed themselves fully of the world economic crisis to undermine the influence of social democracy and to strengthen their own positions in the world labour movement. If the Communist Parties would not lag in winning over the majority of the working class, the rate of development of the world revolutionary crisis to-day would be other than it is, and the whole course of events both in Germany and the world over would be different.

It is true that the Communists were the internal driving force of all the revolutionary movements, that they were the only Party which headed the unemployed movement; they bore all the volleys at Geneva, and the entire burden of repression which came down upon these movements. But it is also true that the Communists often did not lead these movements, and did not lead them because they had not carried out the preliminary daily routine work of gathering and organising the forces of the working class for large mass movements. Great events often took the Communist Parties by surprise. The words spoken by Stalin, that the orientation of some Communists was directed to a spontaneous victory of the Revolution, aptly applied to some of the fraternal Communist Parties. And in the sections of the Comintern there are Communists to whom such sins as that of "honest prattling," which was so severely criticised here by Comrade Stalin, are not foreign. This sin especially is often to be found in several Communists of the Latin countries who suffer from great shortsightedness in their organisational work.

Many Communists are prepared at any moment to die a heroic death on the barricades, but the heroism of slow daily work they cannot understand.

The years of the crisis were the hardest years of the work of the Communists in factories and plants out of the entire fifteen years of the existence of the Comintern. Manufacturers utilise the crisis in order to rid their undertakings of Communists. Despite this, during the last year the Comintern has achieved serious successes in the work in the enterprises in Germany and Japan. But this cannot be said of other Communist Parties which have not yet overcome their weaknesses in this direction.

However, even where the Communists are carrying on the struggle in the enterprises to win over the majority, they are not always doing this in a satisfactory manner. Communists are filled with the most sincere organic hatred of the social democrats; the agents of capital within the working class movement. But this healthy revolutionary hatred must be correctly handed on to the workers. It is necessary that the traitors' role played by the social democrats, which is clear to the Communists, should also be clear to the social democratic workers. For them this is not yet an axiom, but a theorem which has to be proved. It sickens an honest Communist working man to refute the base sophisms of the social democrats, he has rejected them long ago in his class consciousness, but he demands just such decisive consistency from the social democratic workers who are only beginning to waver.

He knows that waverings in the Party are inadmissible, that they are nothing else than a sign of opportunism, that waverers in the Party as those who leave Communism have to be unmasked, it is hard for him to understand that waverers outside the Party, who are only coming to Communism, have to be correctly won over, making them strong, reliable supporters of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Communist Party, supporters who will never waver.

Our Communists are not always versed in the subtleties of the crafty manoeuvres of the social democrats, especially of their so-called left wing, and often in their united front tactics they fall into a trap prepared for them. Such a trap caught the French comrades in the beginning of 1932, when they began negotiations

with Blum by discussions on the abstract theme of "unity." The French Communists overlooked the fact that such negotiations weaken the pressure of the Party on the social democrats, and that at a time when German social democracy opened wide the doors to fascism, and when the entire Second International was in a state of the greatest confusion. The Geneva organisation in Switzerland was unable to strengthen the influence on the working masses it had gained as a result of the Geneva shootings, because it did not repel in time the line of the right-opportunist Humbert-Droz, who was dragging the organisation to the weakening of the struggle against the "Left" social democrat Nicole. And this Right opportunism is to-day all the more the main danger, because the "Left" groups which have sprung up from disintegrating social democracy, are attempting to hold back the revolutionising of the social democratic workers by means of the "Left" reformist intermediary platforms, such as that of the English independent, Brockway. If at the present time the crisis of social democracy has not yet assumed more acute forms, this is due to the fact that in the spring of 1933, after the bankruptcy of the German social democracy, the Comintern sections did not proceed energetically enough to the attack against the Second International and did not sufficiently utilise the rejection by the social democracy of the proposal of the Comintern of March 5 in order to unleash a storm of indignation of the workers of all countries who were eager for revolutionary fighting unity against capital.

But these weaknesses cannot cloud the achievements attained by the Comintern during three and a half years since the Sixteenth Congress in widening the mass basis of its sections.

The Comintern has a total of 860,000 Communists in the capitalist countries. But it is not so much the numerical growth of the Communist Party that is important, as the growth of its influence. And yet this growth in the influence of the Communist Parties is taking place when the overwhelming majority of the Comintern's sections are working illegally and only fifteen sections, including Soviet China, are more or less able to carry on their work openly. In the majority of capitalist countries Communists are working under conditions of the cruellest persecution.

The burning of the Reichstag by the fascist provocateurs shows to what depths and baseness the dying classes will sink in the struggle against the proletariat. That which is taking place now in the fascist torture chambers in Germany eclipses the methods of the white terror which have existed till now. The fascist Storm Troops and their methods exactly resemble the ferocious faces and brutality of the drunken White Guards in the Denikin intelligence service.

And in these conditions the German Communist Party not only preserved 100,000 of its members, but is still growing. (Applause.) Surely each Communist of such underground-proletarian gold, in the scales of history, will weigh more than tens of thousands of those who voted to the end for social democracy. Honour and glory to the German Communist Party, to its Central Committee and to its leader, Thaelmann, for producing such cadres. (Applause; all stand and applaud for a long time.)

Such cadres the Comintern has in many tens of thousands in the capitalist world. The world has admired the behaviour of Georg Dimitrov. (Prolonged applause.) The behaviour of Dimitrov is behaviour worthy of a Communist, a behaviour which thousands of Communist rank and filers in all capitalist countries have shown in more modest circumstances, a behaviour which Lenin and Stalin have taught to the Bolshevik Party and which other sections of the Communist International have learnt from it. (Applause.) Equally the Hamburg worker, Luetgens, who died under the fascist axe with the cry "Long live the world proletarian revolution," is he not such a tempered-steel Bolshevik as is Dimitrov?

The importance of the road taken by the Comintern is that the voice of Liebknecht is not an isolated voice as it was in 1914—thousands of Liebknechts in the capitalist countries are to-day holding high and will to-morrow hold still higher in the event of a new imperialist war, the banner of the world proletarian revolution. (Applause.) It is a question here not of the fiery test of separate persons. Whole Parties have already stood such a historical test. Is not the conduct and work of the German Communist Party under conditions of fascist terror the truest proof of the Bolshevik mettle of the Communist Party of Germany?

The Party, three members of whose Central Committee have been killed, each leading worker of which is virtually "condemned,"

more than 10,000 members of which were arrested in one week in November last year, has not ceased its work for a single day. Since the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, it has circulated about two million printed publications, its illegal central organ, the "Rote Fahne," although it appears irregularly, is read by much larger circles of people than when the "Rote Fahne" was published legally. (Applause.) For the freedom of Communist speech people are dying with as much courage as did the Bolsheviks at the front in the Civil War. In Thuringia, an inconspicuous Party worker, barricading himself in his apartment, opened the window and transmitted a speech from the Moscow radio before a gathering crowd until the fascist beasts killed him on the spot. In conditions of severe illegality, the initiative of the lower Party organisations, which are quickly and independently reacting to every event in the country, is widely developing.

New Party cadres are growing which enable the Party, after big raids, to replace arrested comrades fourfold. Such a Party cannot but win the confidence of the workers, such a Party rallies millions.

Has not another Communist Party, playing at present an important role, the Communist Party of Japan, passed such a Bolshevik test? In nine months alone, according to very incomplete data which filtered through the bourgeois press, about 8,000 Communists and Young Communists were arrested in Japan. Nevertheless, in place of one arrested in Japan arise tens of new Communists. The Japanese Communist Party is producing a steel-like Bolshevik generation. A Young Communist girl tortured for six weeks not only gives no evidence, but to the embarrassment of the police hangmen, does not utter a groan, does not pronounce a single word! The Communist Party of Japan is conducting a courageous struggle in the country against the war in China. It is showing to all sections of the Comintern a model of mass Bolshevik work, carrying out to the smallest details the methods of work of our Party when it was illegal.

In recent times the activity of the Communists in munitions factories has increased enormously. Was it not the same Bolshevik fiery test and steeling of the sections of the C.I. when the majority of the section in the last few years carried out their transition to illegality in a well-organised manner? But if the sections of the Comintern have passed this historical test, it is because from their great teachers Lenin and Stalin, from the model Party, the C.P.S.U., they have learned Bolshevik irreconcilability to all kinds of opportunist waverings and deviations. In the struggle against the right deviation as the chief danger, and the "Left" deviation, the Comintern during the fifteen years of its existence, and ten years without Lenin, grew, strengthened, and became Bolshevikised. Not one section of the Comintern faltered at its post with the coming to power of the fascists in Germany. Rempele and Neumann in Germany could not bind together the defeatist groups in the ranks of the German Communist Party. Guttmann in Czechoslovakia was politically eliminated in twenty-four hours, not taking with him a single person after his expulsion from the Party. And this iron unity is the great force of the Comintern in face of the Second International, which had begun to go to pieces before the war.

The "Left" reformist leader of the British Independent Labour Party, Brockway, in his correspondence with the Comintern, proposes that we form a new International, with the inclusion of his split-off groups, with the aid of which the bourgeoisie are trying to dissipate the forces of the working class. The road of these groups leads into the camp of the bourgeoisie and we do not need a new International, for Leninism cannot be exchanged for Brockwayism.

The way to the unity of the working class lies not through the creation of new, interim internationals, but through the political liquidation of social democracy as a party betraying the working class, and through strengthening and reinforcing the Communist International.

Therein alone lies the salvation of the working class from fascism and imperialist war. The World Congress of the Comintern to be convened this year must become a congress of the rallying of the revolutionary forces of the working class for the fight against fascism and imperialist war, for the fight against capitalism.

Millions of social democratic workers, standing with bitterness and pain before the bankruptcy of their big mass organisations, are more and more often asking themselves the tormenting question: Where is the way out?

And the Seventeenth Party Congress, the Congress of the lead-

ing section of the Comintern, to whose voice the whole world is listening, answers this question. We know the way out, the way out from menacing catastrophe, this way out was shown seventeen years ago by Lenin, the greatest genius in the history of mankind, along with Marx and Engels, by the toilers of our country—this is October, it is the victory of the workers and peasants over the forces of the old world. We already know, from the experience of a great nation, the means with which to put an end to fascism, and war, and capitalism which generates them—this is Soviet power, the slogan which—in accordance with the theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.—has now become the central slogan of all the mass work of the Communist Parties. We know the way leading to victory. It is the united front of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party in the different capitalist countries—it is the united front of the world working class under the leadership of the Comintern, the front which, united with the U.S.S.R. and Soviet China, represents an invincible force.

Following this road, we were victorious in October because Lenin forged the Bolshevik Party, regarded by the world Party of Leninism, the Communist International which he created, as its model. He not only armed this Party with the theory of revolutionary Marxism, but he enriched and developed this theory for the new epoch of proletarian revolutions and wars. We were victorious because he produced such Bolshevik cadres, the concentrated embodiment of the best quality of which can be expressed in one word: STALIN. (Applause; all rise. Stormy ovation.) We were not only victorious, but sustained and strengthened this victory because the genius Lenin led the toilers of our country through

the most dangerous moments of our Revolution, through wars of dying, and therefore desperately resisting classes, through wars of international interventions. But we not only sustained and strengthened our victory, we extended it, strengthening in every way the proletarian dictatorship and victoriously building a socialist society under the inspired leadership of the successor of Lenin, Comrade Stalin.

Under the Leninist leadership of Stalin, for ten years without Lenin, the U.S.S.R. is to-day not only an armed part of the world proletariat, but armed in new technique. Under the leadership of Stalin, the U.S.S.R. to-day is not only a state organisation of part of the world proletariat, but a state organisation with its might moving the levers of history and hastening the destruction of capitalism. Under the leadership of Stalin there has been built in the U.S.S.R. a socialist economy of the foremost detachment of the world proletariat.

Now that the bourgeoisie is driving the world towards imperialist wars, that it attacks the disarmed working class in the capitalist countries, it is particularly clear what the theory of building socialism in one country means to the world revolutionary movement. It has been and is a theory of profound proletarian solidarity, of the greatest internationalism of the C.P.S.U. Armed with this theory, the proletariat has been and is incessantly preparing the victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world. Lenin brought the toilers to the October revolution in Russia. Stalin leads them along Lenin's path to victory the world over. (Applause.)

Speech of Comrade Voroshilov

Comrades, the Seventeenth Congress of our Party will be noted in history as the first Congress of Bolshevik unity and of great victories of socialism. Such victories as those which our leader, Comrade Stalin, reported, we have never had as yet.

Ten years ago Lenin ceased to be. The whole burden of his historical work rested on the shoulders of his pupil, friend and faithful armour-bearer, Stalin. (Applause.) Stalin did not waver, was not afraid of the difficulties of the unprecedented tasks, and proudly raised the banner of Lenin on high, leading the Party, the proletariat, the people of the U.S.S.R. forward in struggle to new victories, to great glory.

The unity of our Party, achieved at the price of struggle and through our successes, has guaranteed us not only a rapid advance in the construction of our socialist industry, collective farming, defence, transport and culture; the unity of the Party has also consolidated and welded together the toiling masses of our Union, organised materially and spiritually the whole people of our country. The unity of the Party has, in the most salutary manner, affected and is affecting our international position. The strength and monolithic character of our Party is reckoned with not only by the international proletariat, not only by the fraternal parties, this strength is seriously reckoned with by our class opponents in their relations with the Soviet Union.

Proceeding to the question of defence of the country, Comrade Voroshilov declared:—

Our armed forces fully correspond to the level of development of our country, with whose impetuous growth they have kept pace and not dared to lag a single step behind.

A vast amount of work on the fundamental reconstruction of the Red Army has been carried out during the period between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Congresses. During this period the Army has completely changed and become both as regards quality and quantity of armaments, organisational structure and the fighting training of its men a fundamentally new Army.

My report would be incomplete if I did not dwell upon the great work that we carried through in relation to some of the auxiliary measures for strengthening the defence of the Soviet Union. I have in view the fortified regions, by which we have already covered not only our Western frontier from Lake Ladoga to the Black Sea, but in the most threatened direction, in our Far East and Eastern Siberia. I also have in view the considerable work we have carried through in strengthening the shore

defence of the U.S.S.R. on the Black and Baltic Seas, in the region of Murmansk and especially in the Far East. All these fortifications represent considerable difficulties for those adventurers who take it into their heads to fall upon the land of the Soviets.

In recent years we have not only reinforced and strengthened the naval forces of the Baltic and Black Seas, but, taking advantage of the linking up of the White Sea with the Baltic by the White Sea-Baltic Canal, we dispatched a number of ships along the new canal to the North in order not to be defenceless in this part.

Besides that, the direct menace of an attack on the Maritime Province compelled us to begin to create a naval force also in the Far East. It is necessary to say that we cannot now boast of the might of these young fleets. I have in mind the North and the Far East. We have no battleships and aeroplane carriers, these means of naval attack, but surely we, as is known, are not getting ready to attack anyone at sea, just as we are not on land. We only want to defend our coast and frontiers, and are convinced that those light naval forces and coast defences which we already have there, and chiefly our naval aviation and submarines, can vitally cripple an attacking enemy.

I must say a few words about our industry. The creation of a powerful socialist industry is the greatest achievement of the working class. Our industry is the best section of our national economy, the pride of all the toilers of our country. Our industry working for defence has guaranteed the technical reconstruction of the army. It gives us good fighting technique, and with each year still better and better models. But Bolsheviks, and that is why they are called Bolsheviks, are never satisfied with their achievements, but demand still more and better.

The Red Army has adopted technique with loving affection, zeal and interest. During the period reviewed the Red Army has considerably changed its social face, the proportion of workers in it growing particularly. The working class and the collective farm peasantry at present constitute an overwhelming majority of the Red Army personnel. During this period the proportion of Party men and Y.C.L. members has increased in the Army. At the present time the number of military faculties and academies has considerably increased.

The struggle for culture, knowledge, socialist culture and the culture of the fighters and the commanders of the Red Army, is the most important factor and premise of the further growth of

the fighting, political and special military-technical preparation of the Red Army.

There has been an increase in the number of cultural and educational establishments serving Red Army men together with commanders and the members of their families. In addition to the growth in the network of cultural and educational establishments, the number of technical means of political work has grown.

The struggle for socialist culture and enlightenment of the Red Army men and commanders of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, for the education of a new socialist man, is the most important task of the Army Party organisations and the commanders. This task also stands before the entire Party, and especially before the Young Communist League.

On the Position in the Far East

Before saying a few words on our special Far Eastern Army, and on what we have done in order not to be caught napping in the Far East, it is necessary briefly to touch upon our Far Eastern neighbours.

It has now become clear to all that Japan was the first to take up the path of a solution to the crisis with the aid of war. It has come out as the principal buyer of military equipment and military industrial raw material on the world market. Together with this, the tremendous work which it is carrying through by way of political preparations of the country for a war more serious than the one it is waging in China, may be seen with the naked eye.

Japanese military writers and simply military men, journalists and scientists, manufacturers and politicians, public men and statesmen, have written and spoken, during the last two years, so much and so openly about the necessity for war against the U.S.S.R., they sometimes, in articles and speeches, discuss with such cynical frankness the details of conquering our maritime provinces, Trans-Baikal and even the whole of Siberia, that it would be strange if we pretended that we are not noticing anything and that we are trusting our dear neighbour as much as before. Japan has not only now become the actual master of Manchuria, but having become such it has, so far from safeguarding the Soviet interests on the Chinese Eastern Railway, which it has undertaken to do on its own initiative and which it was its duty to do—so far from doing this, it has, on the contrary, helped in every way to injure our interests on the Manchurian side of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

It is remarkable that while preparing for war against us and not hiding it, but, on the contrary, proclaiming it through the press in front of the whole world, the Japanese men "of affairs," in violation of all decency, are not averse from accusing us of military designs against Japan. The measures for the defence of our frontiers and cities are literally an eyesore to the Japanese. Of course it would be more pleasant for our neighbours if our frontiers with Manchukuo were just as defenceless and as badly covered as the frontiers of China in 1931, but with all our courtesy, we have no intention of affording such pleasure to anyone.

The preparations of Japan for war are proceeding along the line of preparing a military-economic base, along the line of the reorganisation, rearmament and quantitative strengthening of the armed forces and along the line of preparing a jumping-off ground in Manchuria.

The preparation of a military-economic base finds its expression in foreign purchases of stocks of "strategic raw materials" which Japan has a shortage of, and in the preparation of its industrial productive and economic apparatus, and also in the growth of the official military budget, which has increased from 443 million yen in 1930 to 937 million yen in 1934, i.e., to 44.5 per cent. of the entire state budget.

War industry—tank construction, aeroplane construction, etc.—is developing at a terrific rate. Simultaneously, the land, sea and air forces of Japan are being reorganised, re-equipped and numerically strengthened. (Comrade Voroshilov cites a number of facts and figures.) All this is generally known, the whole world now knows this.

At the same time Manchuria is gradually being converted into the strongest base of Japan. The Japanese military forces in Manchuria have already reached such a size as is not required for the "protection of Japanese interests" in this "independent" state.

The growth of armies and armaments in Manchuria con-

tinues. All this, in the light of what has taken and is taking place in Manchuria and China, cannot but dictate to us the need for being on our guard, closely watching everything taking place there, taking the necessary measures at home, being prepared for anything.

Comrades, heretofore the wise policy of our Central Committee and of Comrade Stalin primarily, in the field of international relations, has given us freedom of manoeuvring and we have not allowed ourselves to be drawn into a war. At the present time, as Comrade Stalin has stated, we are a factor of peace throughout the world. Around us are grouping and cannot but group themselves all those states which for one reason or another, whether for a short or long period, do not want to fight. We are the pivotal point, around which these states rally to guarantee themselves against an attack, against war which they either do not desire or are unable to conduct.

Comrade Stalin in his report enumerated all the countries and gave a dispassionate estimation of our relations with them. In the Near East our position is excellent. Our relations with the Turkish Republic are most friendly, most firm. Our relations with Persia and Afghanistan are also fairly good. The relations with the European neighbours are known to you, Comrade Stalin reported on them in detail. But the Far East is covered with clouds. There a war storm may break out.

Despite the efforts displayed by our diplomats, we have not yet succeeded in making the ruling circles of Japan see that peace is better than war, that a war with us will be to the Japanese imperialists no easy, no simple and no little thing. A war, should it be forced upon us, will be a big, serious war. It will be a war against Bolsheviks, and against the new time. This war will cost its initiators very dearly. This should not be overlooked by those of our distant neighbours who hope easily to profit at somebody else's expense. (Loud, prolonged applause.)

I do not at all mean to say, comrades, that a war with Japan will be an easy war. Should the Japanese imperialists decide upon a military adventure, which must in addition be a very risky and difficult war for them, they will venture forth of course after preparing properly so as to stake all, as it were. A war therefore will be a serious one.

What have we done in order that the advanced detachment of our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the Special Red-Bannered Far Eastern Army stationed at our Far Eastern borders, should be capable of destroying the enemy if he should invade our territory?

During the past two years the Central Committee, and Comrade Stalin primarily, has given constant attention and is still devoting itself to the Far East. The armed forces in this region have been strengthened by us just a little. Permit me not to name figures.

I have already told you that in the Far East we have also taken some measures to strengthen the borders. We have erected barriers on the more responsible sectors through which it will not be so easy for the enemy to step over into our Soviet land.

Speaking on November 19, 1922, in the Moscow Soviet, after the Japanese army left Vladivostok, Lenin said: "Vladivostok is far away, but then it is our city." And this, our city, like all our maritime provinces, like our Northern Sakhalin, like our Kamchatka, like every strip of our Far Eastern land, we must defend at all costs, and we will defend it without fail! (Stormy and prolonged applause.)

I know, comrades, that all of us, as one man, are convinced not only that we will defend our Far East but that we will come out victorious from any war, should it be forced upon us.

In conclusion, I must say that it is only by their infinite stupidity, by their profound ignorance and hopelessness that it is possible to explain their dreams of any conquests on our account, of any destruction of Communism. It is only narrow-mindedness and stupidity, which, obviously, is an inevitable consequence of the doom of capitalism, that can inspire our class enemies with such ideas.

Our Party, the working class, all the toilers of the Soviet Union, represent at the present moment, such a force, such an immensity, such a might, such an army of organised fighters, that those petty deficiencies which still accompany our construction are the merest scratchings on the huge edifice which we have already erected. We have built, it is true, only the foundation of socialism, we have still only laid the plinth, but, comrades, there

is already a colossal edifice in which we are living to-day. Its name is—the U.S.S.R. We are living in this edifice not so badly. Having such a powerful Party, such a splendid and organised working class, such as our working class is, having such wonderful allies as are our collective peasants, having such an experienced.

wise and great leader as is our Stalin, we fearlessly face the future. From day to day we will attain newer and newer victories and no swinish or even worse snout, wherever it may appear, will be able to scare the Bolsheviks and will not stop our irresistible onward march. (Outbursts of applause. Cries of "hurrah!")

Speech of Comrade Bluecher

Comrade Bluecher, the Commander-in-Chief of the Special Far Eastern Red Army, made the following speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:—

"The Seventeenth Party Congress enjoys the close attention not only of our working class and of our collective peasantry, but of the whole of the international proletariat and of the oppressed masses throughout the world. The workers of the world are following the proceedings of this Congress with the closest attention, interest and pride.

"Our success in carrying out the first Five-Year Plan and creating all the necessary preliminary conditions for the successful fulfilment of the second Five-Year Plan, was the result of an irreconcilable Bolshevik policy on the part of the Leninist Central Committee of our Party and of the great strategist and leader of the world's workers, Comrade Stalin. (Cheers.)

"The Far Eastern district which I represent at this Congress is one of the most outlying areas of the Soviet Union, not only that, but at the moment it represents one of the most acute sectors of the international political front. It now has a common frontier with Japanese imperialism which is feverishly preparing for war. Comrades Voroshilov and Stalin have described in detail and with great clarity the situation in the Far East. I wish to add only that we in the Far East experience in particular the advantage of that wise and yet firm policy which our Leninist Central Committee is pursuing, the policy which is directed to avoiding war and utilising the capitalist contradictions to the advantage of our socialist constructive work. We have observed that the Central Committee of our Party has taken all possible measures to relieve the growing tension of our relations with Japan. Unfortunately, however, the policy of the Japanese imperialists fills us with anxiety. Despite all our attempts to avoid war, we cannot be certain that we shall succeed in doing so.

"The crux of the situation is that there is an abyss between the official policy of the Japanese government towards the Soviet Union in words, and its actual policy in deeds. Despite the expressed peaceable intentions of the official controllers of Japanese foreign policy we observe that feverish preparations for war are being conducted, that Northern Manchuria is being transferred into a base of military operations, and that Japan is preparing itself with desperate energy and straining its whole State apparatus in order to make an attack from Northern Manchuria on the Far Eastern district of the Soviet Union.

"Comrade Voroshilov has already given you the most important details of these Japanese preparations for war. In dealing with these preparations I shall confine myself to showing you that despite the official statements of the official controllers of Japanese foreign policy, these preparations are not being made for defensive purposes and that in fact they are preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union.

"I shall give you three facts which prove conclusively that these preparations are directed against the Soviet Far Eastern district.

"The first important fact is the *railway network* of tremendous strategic importance which is being built by the Japanese in Manchuria during the last two years. I must inform you that within the short space of two years the Japanese engineers have succeeded in laying down over a thousand kilometres of track. Out of these 1,000 kilometres of track which lead up to our frontier at the most no more than from 30 to 35 per cent. can be justified on economic grounds. This fact clearly shows in what direction the military activities are expected and Japan is now investing all its national resources in the preparation for them.

"The second important fact is the network of *roads* of strategic importance which Japan is building in Manchuria. During the last two years no less than 2,200 kilometres of roads have been built. If we observe the direction of these roads we shall see that

they are either in the district near our frontier or that they lead from Inner-Manchuria up to our frontiers, in other words, just in the direction most favourable for future strategic operations against us.

"The third fact is the construction of numerous air bases by the Japanese in Manchuria. The Japanese have built no less than fifty air bases in Manchuria. A glance at their position on the map shows that they are all situated to the north of Mukden, that they are all in the triangle Mukden-Harbin-Tsitsikar, and at that in the north of this triangle.

"In an interview given to the press on February 3 the Japanese War Minister Hayashi declared that the Japanese military forces in Manchuria were not so strong as our forces and he accused us of having made tremendous troop concentrations on our Far Eastern frontiers. He declared: 'We Japanese occupy in Manchuria an area equal to the territory of France, Germany and Belgium together and yet we have no more than 50,000 men there, whilst the Russians have 100,000 men and 500 aeroplanes on their Far Eastern frontiers.' This untrue information must be categorically contradicted. We are in the possession of absolutely reliable information concerning the strength of the Japanese military forces in Manchuria. Prior to the general occupation of Manchuria there were 10,000 Japanese troops there, but at the moment there are no less than 130,000 or about a third of the whole Japanese army. In addition there are from 110,000 to 115,000 troops of the Manchukuo army, and 12,000 armed Russian White-Guardists who have been equipped and trained by the Japanese. It is also interesting that since the Japanese occupation of Manchuria the war fleet on the River Sungari has been increased by 24 units.

"Hayashi complains in the same interview that the Soviet military authorities have concentrated 300 aeroplanes in the Far Eastern district. We shall not quarrel with him about this figure. Perhaps we have more, perhaps we have less. But I will say this much, and that is that our Party and our government is prepared if necessary to concentrate so many aeroplanes in our Far Eastern district that they will probably exceed the numbers at the disposal of the Japanese. (Protracted applause.) However, despite Hayashi's modesty, I must tell you that the Japanese have 500 aeroplanes in Manchuria, although they are anxious to conceal the fact.

"Each of you understands the significance of the facts I have enumerated. There is not the faintest doubt that Japan is preparing for a war on a large scale. We are very well aware that the rapid growth of the Japanese military budget and the rapid growth of the Japanese war industry is directed against us.

"When we take a glance at the direction of the strategic railways and roads which have been built, at the situation of the air bases which have been constructed, at the situation of the supply depots which have been established, then we can see perfectly clearly that all these preparations have not been taken with a view to defending Manchuria, but with a view to attacking our maritime provinces. If you believe the official statements of the Japanese authorities they want to establish friendly relations with us, but if you look for any facts to support this suggestion you will find none. Before we believe their words, however, we want to see them supported with hard facts. The Japanese War Minister Hayashi declared in the same interview that Japan would not dream of going to war with the Soviet Union unless the Soviet Union attacked Japan. I am expressing the unanimous opinion of this Congress when I declare that we have not the faintest intention of attacking Japan. Such an attack would do us no good. We need no new territory and we are not hard up for raw materials and mineral wealth and we do not need to go elsewhere to seek them, for we have enough within our own frontiers. Our own natural resources and mineral wealth will last for hundreds of years even with intensive utilisation. We are faced with the

tremendous task of carrying out our second Five-Year Plan. We have to build new power stations, new blast furnaces and foundries, new railways, and we have simply no time for war.

"It is, however, perfectly clear that we cannot ignore these widespread preparations of Japanese imperialism for war, that we cannot regard them passively as though they were of no interest to us. Therefore the Party and the government decided to take all the necessary measures for the defence of our Far Eastern frontiers. What measures have already been taken in this direction?

"Above all we have consolidated and strengthened the measures to repulse an invader. As Comrade Voroshilov pointed out here, our frontiers have been fortified with ferro-concrete and they are strong enough to break the teeth of anyone who dares to try conclusions with them and to break the skull of any rabid imperialist who likes to run his head against them. (Cheers.)

"Secondly, a series of measures have been taken to increase the strength and consolidation of our Far Eastern army. The army has been filled up with our best cadres. I do not think it necessary to give you any figures or to indicate the percentage increase, but I can tell you that our Far Eastern army is in such a condition both with regard to quality and quantity that we can continue our work here in calmness and confidence. (Cheers.)

"Further, we know very well that when our Party and its leader begin a task they are in the habit of pursuing it to a victorious conclusion, and our defensive task in the Far East will also be carried out in this fashion." (Cheers.)

"Our technical strength is also considerable—I am thinking of tanks and aeroplanes. If we are compelled to measure our strength with that of the enemy then I am confident that our army and in particular our modern technical equipment will give us the victory. (Cheers.)

"War has not been considered in the framework of our second Five-Year Plan. We do not want to wage war against anyone, but if we are compelled to fight, then we are prepared to measure our strength with any attacker, and under such circumstances the attacker must not complain if we answer his blows with corresponding blows delivered by our army which has already been tested in battle and which is politically united and strong, not to forget the children of the first Five-Year Plan, our tanks and aeroplanes. (Cheers.)

"What is the fundamental difference between the attitude of the Japanese military authorities in Manchuria and the measures which we have been compelled to take? The difference is that all the measures taken by us have been subordinated to one aim—the defence of our Far Eastern frontiers, whilst the measures taken by the Japanese military authorities are entirely aggressive. We are doing everything for our defence, and they are doing everything for the attack. This is the fundamental difference between the measures of both parties.

"In his report on the situation in the Far East Comrade Stalin declared: 'We have not the least intention of making any retreat in the Far East; on the contrary, it is our intention to push forward the cause of socialist construction there with all energy.' In the name of the army I declare also that we have no intention of abandoning the maritime provinces. My conviction that we shall succeed in defending our frontiers is based not only on the strength of the Red Army and its technical equipment and on the unshakable loyalty of all ranks which are unanimously devoted to the cause of the proletarian revolution and to our Party, but also on the tremendous change which has been achieved in the economic basis of our Far Eastern area itself.

"During the period of the first Five-Year Plan we invested more resources in our undertakings in the Far Eastern area than Czarism invested there during the whole period of its existence. The second Five-Year Plan represents a tremendous programme of socialist industrialisation in our Far Eastern area.

"The second Five-Year Plan provides for the development of a powerful large-scale industry in the Far Eastern area, including the building of foundries, the development of the metallurgical industry, the development of shipbuilding, and the development of our means of transport and communication, the manufacturing and the foodstuffs industries. One of the most important tasks of the second Five-Year Plan in the Far Eastern area is the develop-

ment of the coal basis in the Bureya district. When we remember that according to the report of the Association of Geologists this area has coal resources amounting to about 100 milliard tons and that it also has iron-ore resources amounting to about two milliard tons and copper resources in addition, then we shall realise the tremendous importance of the tasks drawn up by Comrade Stalin for the industrial development of the Bureya district.

"In fact, it is not too much to say that the solution of the Bureya problem, together with the extension of transport and communication in the district east of the Baikal lake, will turn the Bureya district into a second Kusnetz Basin. This is the centre problem around which the whole question of the socialist industrialisation of our Far Eastern district revolves.

"The task of transforming our Far Eastern district into a big industrial area also faces us with the task of rapid settlement in this area and the building up of a powerful cattle-breeding and agricultural industry. The decision of the Central Committee, of historical importance for the Far Eastern area, to grant special privileges, coupled with the correct Bolshevik work of our Far Eastern Party organisation and the daily assistance rendered to us by the Central Committee in the form of instructions, tractors and machinery, investments and seed grain, will create all the preliminary conditions necessary for the solution of all our Far Eastern economic problems within the framework of the second Five-Year Plan.

"We representatives of the Far Eastern area must stress with particular satisfaction at this Congress the correctness and tremendous importance of the decision of the Central Committee at the initiative of Comrade Stalin to grant us special privileges in our work. This decision has spurred on the collective peasants in the Far Eastern area in their work to solve the tasks facing them. This decision has created all the necessary preliminary conditions for the rapid growth of our agricultural and cattle-breeding basis there. The Party organisation in the Far East is well aware of the tremendous responsibility which it bears towards the whole Party and the whole country. The demand for a reorganisation of our work, for the liquidation of our weaknesses and deficiencies and for the consolidation of the basis for future victories refers above all to the Far Eastern area. The Party organisation, the workers and the collective peasants will fight with determination and energy to secure the frictionless working of every piece of machinery, every tractor and the full utilisation of every ton of coal, in short for the correct Bolshevik fulfilment of the tasks set to us by the Party.

"And finally, the whole body of troops stationed in the Far Eastern area enthusiastically takes over that section of the responsibility which devolves upon it in consequence of the complicated situation which exists there. Recognising these circumstances we began the present year with the firm determination to perfect ourselves in our military handiwork with its tremendous and complicated technique in the shortest possible space of time and to prove ourselves worthy of the powerful weapons which the Party and the country have placed in our hands. The members of the Party and the young Communists in our Far Eastern army are working heroically to lead the masses of the troops in their struggle to obtain the best possible results from their military training.

"The army as a whole has set itself the task of carrying out the order of the People's Commissar for War, our beloved leader Voroshilov, in the shortest possible space of time.

"The whole army will be on guard unceasingly and prepared for action at a moment's notice.

"In conclusion I wish to assure the Party Congress as Commander of our Far Eastern Army and in the name of the Party organisations in the army, in the name of all members of the Red Army, officers, men and political officials, that should war break out in the Far East, the Special Far Eastern Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, from the rank and file up to the general staff, is utterly devoted to the cause of the revolution, and under the direction of the beloved Commander-in-Chief of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov, and under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and its great leader Stalin, it will answer the attack of the enemy with such a blow that the pillars of capitalism will burst and collapse in certain places. (Storms of protracted applause.)

The Second Five-Year Plan—Speeches of Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev

Moscow, February 4, 1934.

At the morning session of February 3, the chairman, M. I. Kalinin, gave the floor to V. M. Molotov, whose appearance was greeted with a storm of applause. Comrade Molotov began his exhaustive and interesting report on the economic programme of the Second Five-Year Plan. He gave a deep analysis of the ways and means of building socialism and the great programme of tremendous work with which the Soviet Union is still faced. The report gave a grand panorama of construction, the fighting programme of action which organically issues from the results of the First Five-Year Plan and the historic points of Comrade Stalin.

In the first part of his report Comrade Molotov analysed the fundamental tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The first task consists in the liquidation of the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union, as well as classes in general; the abolition of the causes which give rise to the class distinctions.

The second task is further to promote the well-being of the workers and collective farmers, to increase the consumption by two and a half to three times.

The third task is the completion of technical reconstruction of the whole of economy—of industry, transport and agriculture.

Comrade Molotov enumerated these tasks, the solution of which will convert the Soviet Union into a homogeneous country of one socio-economic formation, i.e., a country of classless socialist society.

The programme of new construction contains still greater works than those carried out in the First Five-Year Plan. Comrade Molotov spoke of the capital investments which amount to double and treble the capital investments of the First Five-Year Plan; he mentioned the sources of these tremendous sums, the increasing growth of the output-capacity of socialist industry, the revival and prosperous development of remote districts of the vast Soviet country, as a result of which fresh industrial bases have been set up.

In the next part of his speech Comrade Molotov dealt with the raising of the material condition of the toilers and cultural construction.

In the concluding part of his report the speaker enumerated the tasks in the struggle against the remnants of the exploiting class: "We have achieved great victories by means of the First Five-Year Plan, because the Party has kept faithful to the flag of the class struggle, the flag of Marxism-Leninism. Under this banner the Party is marching to the victory of the Second Five-Year Plan. This banner is in sure hands, in the hands of Comrade Stalin, the leader and pride of the working class."

Comrade Molotov's concluding words were drowned by thunder and prolonged applause.

The long-continued applause of the Congress expressed the fighting readiness of the whole Party to give of its creative energy for the construction of a classless society, for the realisation of the historic tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan.

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G. I. Petrovsky presided at the evening session of February 3, which was devoted to a report by V. V. Kuibyshev, who was greeted by prolonged, stormy applause.

Comrade Kuibyshev in his comprehensive report put into words the detailed figures and concrete principles, the gigantic perspectives of the Second Five-Year Plan, which were developed in Comrade Molotov's report. Comrade Kuibyshev gave a detailed characteristic of the development of the branches of national economy in various regions, republics and provinces.

The Soviet Union will become a country technically-economically quite independent of the capitalist world: it will become a country of the greatest and most advanced agriculture. The Second Five-Year Plan is the plan of construction of the socialist edifice. The speaker then dealt with each individual branch of economy and its development, and designated the following as the main tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan: the complete liquidation of the lagging behind in the transport system, intensification of the labour processes, the reconstruction of the light and food industries, the development of cattle-raising, and increase in the harvest yield.

Comrade Kuibyshev ended his report, begun at the evening session of February 3, at the morning session of February 4.

In the second half of his report Kuibyshev analysed the programme of the Second Five-Year Plan from a territorial standpoint. He entered in detail into the tasks of individual republics, into the plans of their socialist reconstruction during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan.

To the accompaniment of prolonged applause from the delegates to the Congress, Kuibyshev ended his report with the words that under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party, under the leadership of Stalin, who embodies all that is best in the workers' movement of the world, the great Soviet Union is surely and cheerfully marching onwards towards a bright future.

Discussion on the Reports of Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev

After that a discussion was opened on the reports of Molotov and Kuibyshev, in which the first to speak was Griadinski, a delegate from Western Siberia. The greater part of his speech he devoted to the question of turning the Kuznetsk Coal Basin into a second Donbas. Griadinski told of the new socialist cities which are quickly growing up in Western Siberia. At the same time he pointed out the necessity of improving the quality of dwelling house construction work.

Comrade Chubar, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, in his detailed speech brought forward several amazing facts bearing witness to the tremendous socialist development of the national economy of the Ukraine during the First Five-Year Plan.

The Ukraine, with all other republics of the U.S.S.R., has overcome the difficulties of progress in agriculture, has completely destroyed the class enemies. During the Second Five-Year Plan the Ukrainian Republic will achieve new and still greater victories in socialist construction.

Kadatski, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet, devoted his speech to the tasks of Leningrad industry. Its significance in the Second Five-Year Plan is, as formerly, tremendous.

The Congress applauded the appearance of D. E. Sulimov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. Sulimov spoke in detail on the question of the economic development of the R.S.F.S.R.

Musabekov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Transcaucasus, pointed out that thanks to the correct fulfilment of the Leninist nationalist policy, in the Transcaucasus, national and economic equality between the various nations has been liquidated, and the Transcaucasus is becoming one of the foremost republics of the Soviet Union.

The discussion on the reports of Molotov and Kuibyshev was continued at the morning session of February 5, under the chairmanship of Comrade Chubar.

Lobov, People's Commissar of Timber and Forests, who was the first speaker, laid particular emphasis on the further development of the timber industry, as pointed out by Stalin in his report. It must be remembered, said Lobov, that on the fulfilment of the plans in the timber industry depends the development of transport and machine building.

The next speaker was M. M. Kaganovich, Assistant People's Commissar of Heavy Industry. Applause greeted his remark that the Soviet Union is now able with its own labour resources and material to manufacture any machine. We have not only successfully freed ourselves from imports, said Kaganovich, but we have begun to supply mechanical equipment to other countries as well.

Faizul Khodzhaev, delegate from Uzbekistan, spoke of the successes of the socialist reconstruction of economy in Uzbekistan. Over 77 per cent. of the local dehqan (peasant) individual farmsteads have joined the collectives, he reported. The basic task of the Second Five-Year Plan is the cultivation of high-grade Egyptian cotton.

Comrade Grinko, People's Commissar of Finance, spoke of the growing financial resources of the U.S.S.R.

The question of the reconstruction of the city of Moscow and the development of the city economy was discussed by Bulganin, chairman of the Moscow Soviet.

The last to speak was Zinoviev, who dwelt at some length on his political mistakes. I have understood, said Zinoviev, that I made not one mistake, but a whole chain of mistakes. The Party, in the words of Comrade Kaganovich at the Moscow District Party Conference, has set forth quite correctly that it is

necessary to keep an eye on such people as I, that such people must prove by an active struggle against their past mistakes that they have outgrown them.

Had the Party not resisted such mistakes, he continued, the country would have met with disaster, and we at this Congress would be discussing anything but the Second Five-Year Plan of socialist construction.

Zinoviev went on to express the hope that he would in future be able by practical work to atone for the errors for which he was responsible to the Party. In conclusion, Zinoviev declared that were it not for the iron leadership of the Party, the Party itself, the working class, the whole country and the entire cause of Lenin would have been endangered.

At the commencement of the evening session Comrade Selensky spoke, dealing in particular with the speech of Comrade Zinoviev. Selensky declared that the future will show how far Zinoviev's recognition of his mistakes is sincere. The Party knows that Zinoviev and Kamenev repeatedly acknowledged their mistakes, but soon afterwards again raised the banner against the Party. They must now show not only in words, but also in daily practical work, that they are prepared to fight for the general line of the Party.

A delegation of the Moscow auto factory "Stalin," carrying red flags and tempestuously applauded by the Congress delegates, then appeared on the platform. Comrade Barjukov, in the name of the delegation, conveyed the greetings of the workers' collective of the factory which proudly bears the name of Comrade Stalin. Since its establishment the factory had supplied 36,000 motor cars. The annual plan for 1933 was fulfilled before the scheduled time, as was also the January programme for 1934.

Another delegation of the Tula workers, headed by Comrade Artemjev, then mounted the platform. Comrade Artemjev brought the greetings of 100,000 Tula metal workers.

There followed a delegation of the members of the collective farm "New Village" of the Moscow district. Comrade Novodelov, the speaker for the delegation, related the achievements of the collective village and the growth in the prosperity of the collective peasants.

The next speaker, Comrade Rosenholz, delivered a report on the achievements of the Party in the sphere of foreign trade. He referred to the diminution of the debts in foreign bills of the Soviet Union in the capitalist countries for the purchases made in these countries. We are the only country in the world which meets its obligations fully and punctually. In the First Five-Year plan the Soviet Union had a favourable trade balance of 150 million gold roubles. Our victories are due to the fact that we maintained the Foreign Trade Monopoly, which is one of the main pillars of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The next speaker, Comrade Budjonny, was greeted with enthusiastic applause. He devoted the greater part of his speech to the questions of cattle-breeding.

The last speaker in the discussion was Comrade Kamenev. He declared that all the reports at this Party Congress, and in particular the report of Comrade Stalin and the speeches in the discussion, were a demonstration of the unexampled achievements on the path of socialist construction. "I appear at this Party Congress with a chronicle of my own defeats, errors and crimes against the Party and the working class, defeats which cannot be avoided by those who divorce themselves from the Party and betray the great teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. If I come forward here to speak of my defeats, it is for the reason that they represent a stage of the past." In characterising his errors, he declared that they had developed into an anti-Leninist theory, the theory of Menshevism, of social democracy. These errors opened the door to the Counter-revolutionary ideology of Trotskyism and the kulak ideology of the Right opportunists, and would as a final result have led to serious consequences for the Party, for the country and for the proletarian world revolution. It was only due to the political discernment and the firmness of Comrade Stalin that the opposition, including that oppositional group led by himself, Kamenev, was shattered and the victory of world-historical importance secured. In conclusion, Kamenev declared that he deserved to have lost the confidence of the Party, and that he would endeavour to regain it by his daily practical work in order to prove that he had really overcome his mistakes.

Comrade Molotov then delivered his concluding speech. Comrade Kuibyshev considered it unnecessary to deliver a concluding

speech. The Congress, at the suggestion of the chairman, Chubar, unanimously resolved: To accept in principle the thesis on the programme for the Second Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., and to hand it over to a commission for consideration, taking into account the exchange of views at the Congress. It was unanimously decided to elect a commission of 29, composed of the following: Molotov, Stalin, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Ordjonikidse, Kalinin, Kossior, Andrejev, Jakovlev, Shvernik, and representatives of a number of district organisations.

Concluding Speech of Comrade Molotov

Moscow, February 8, 1934.

The lively discussion of the reports of Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev revealed the complete unanimity of the delegates in regard to the big works planned in connection with the second Five-Year Plan. In his concluding speech Comrade Molotov dealt with the proposals brought forward by Comrades Ordjonikidse, Mikojan and Lubimov with the knowledge and approval of the members of the Political Bureau of the C.C. These proposals suggest fixing the annual general increase of industrial production in the Five-Year Plan at 16.5 per cent. instead of 18.9 per cent. as originally laid down.

The point here is to display increased care in the projects of the second Five-Year Plan. Is this proposal correct?

Let us first of all put the question: Are the tasks, put forward in the theses of the Central Committee to the Seventeenth Congress, capable of fulfilment? Yes, they are. The Congress discussed the programme of the second Five-Year Plan for three days, and not a single Congress delegate said that the programme and the tempos indicated in it are impossible of fulfilment. On the contrary, all the speeches at the Congress said one thing: Yes, this programme, which has been mapped out by the Central Committee of the Party in the theses to the Congress, is capable of fulfilment. The entire Seventeenth Congress has expressed the firm unanimous opinion: Yes, we undertake to fulfil this programme, these tasks are acceptable for us, they can be fulfilled, we will fulfil them. (Applause.)

At the same time, comrades, we are faced with the question of the general situation in which we are working, in which we will have to fulfil the second Five-Year Plan. The question also concerns such things and circumstances as do not entirely depend upon us. The point is that in finally adopting the programme of the second Five-Year Plan we should reckon with both the internal and external situation. In this connection, serious attention must be given to the proposal made at the Congress to display a certain amount of caution in the tasks for the new Five-Year Plan. This is necessary because the tasks on which we will decide at the Seventeenth Party Congress must be accomplished under all circumstances. This is the main thing. We must adopt at the Seventeenth Party Congress decisions which the Party, the working class, the toilers of the Soviet Union will fulfil regardless of all complications in the situation, which will be fulfilled in their entirety, which we will fulfil in a Bolshevik fashion. Herein is the task. (Applause.) We know what it means to fulfil a five-year plan. When we undertook the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan, we took up the matter seriously. We have not only insured the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan, we have insured its fulfilment in four years.

Now the question is this, taking into account all of the circumstances of the present period, to decide on such a range of work as should in any case be entirely fulfilled, and under all conditions in the five-year period which is called the second Five-Year Plan.

What was said at the Joint Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. in January, 1933? I will quote the words of Comrade Stalin on the second Five-Year Plan and its rates of growth:—

"I think that we will have to take for the second Five-Year Plan an average annual increase of industrial production of 13 to 14 per cent. For capitalist countries, such a rate of growth of industrial production represents an unattainable ideal. And not only such a rate of increase of industrial production, even an annual average increase of five per cent. now represents for them an unattainable ideal. But this is exactly why they are capitalist countries. It is another thing when you have a Soviet country with a Soviet system of economy. With our system of economy we have full opportunities and we must

realise a 13 to 14 per cent. annual increase of production as a minimum."

In accordance with this, the Joint Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. in January of last year decided that:—

"The average annual increase of industrial production must be projected for the second Five-Year Plan, not at 21 to 22 per cent., as was the case in the first Five-Year Plan, but a little less, approximately 13 to 14 per cent."

And so, in discussing now the proposal to fix the rate of annual growth of industrial production at 16.5 per cent., we will proceed in advance of these rates.

And, finally, in placing before ourselves such tasks in the second Five-Year Plan, which must be fulfilled under all conditions, we must adopt practical measures in order that these tasks should, in our annual plans, not only be prepared in Bolshevik fashion, but should, so to say, be reinsured. In our annual plans of the second Five-Year Plan we must insure not only the fulfilment but also the overfulfilment of the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan.

This must also be applied to the current year—the second year of the second Five-Year Plan. We must entirely retain, without reducing it by one per cent. or even a tenth of one per cent., the task adopted by the Party and government for 1934—the second year of the second Five-Year Plan. And this task, as is known, is fixed at 19 per cent. This means that we are already taking a higher rate for 1934 as against the average rates of the tasks in the second Five-Year Plan. By this we show how we want to prepare the fulfilment of the programme of the annual increase of industrial production by 16.5 per cent. in the second Five-Year Plan.

What does the adoption of the proposal, introduced here by the comrades named by me, mean? It means the following: It gives an annual increase in industrial production of 16.5 per cent. throughout all industry in the second Five-Year Plan. In the industries producing the means of production the annual increase will amount to 14.5 per cent., and in those producing articles of consumption, the annual increase will be 18.5 per cent. As you see, in conformity with the theses of the Central Committee, this proposal insures not only an immense growth of all industry, but a specially intensified growth of the industries producing the articles of general consumption.

In regard to the general volume of gross industrial production, this proposal means that while at the end of the first Five-Year Plan, in 1932, all industry gave us a production of 43 milliard roubles value, our industry will have to give a production for 92.7 milliard roubles at the end of the second Five-Year Plan, in 1937. It means that the general annual volume of industrial production will increase in the second Five-Year Plan by more than twice. All the tasks on the growth of capital work in the second Five-Year Plan, as set down in the project of the theses to the Congress, remain in force in their entirety. In this way, the general volume of capital work in the national economy is increased from 50.5 milliard roubles in the first Five-Year Plan to 133.4 milliard roubles in the second Five-Year Plan, i.e., an increase of capital work in the second Five-Year Plan as against the first Five-Year Plan of 164 per cent. over the entire national economy by 180 per cent. throughout industry as a whole and by 360 per cent. in light industry.

While leaving entirely all these tasks on capital work and not changing in them anything as compared with the theses, we also thereby display good Bolshevik caution, such a caution which, by the tremendous range of construction in the second Five-Year Plan, will insure for us the fulfilment of the programme on industrial production in the second Five-Year Plan and are preparing a powerful base for a huge growth of the national economy in the third Five-Year Plan.

The adoption of this proposal will be a manifestation of Bolshevik caution, which requires that the whole situation in which we are living should be seriously taken into account.

If we accept the theses to the Party Congress with these corrections, we will display both Bolshevik caution and Bolshevik firmness in the main line of the second Five-Year Plan. This line guarantees entirely the interests of the working class in its struggle for socialism.

After the adoption of the programme of the second Five-Year Plan, a real struggle must still be developed for its realisation. The Five-Year Plan, even though it is the second Five-Year Plan, will not conquer by itself. Our task is to organise the victory, our task is to win this victory with strong Bolshevik hands. (Stormy and prolonged applause, turning into an ovation.)

The "Pravda" on the Discussion on the Second Five-Year Plan

In a leading article on the reports of Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev on the second Five-Year Plan, the "Pravda" writes as follows:—

"It is not the first time that our Party has adopted a plan for a large-scale concentration of economy. Already in the year 1920 the Party adopted the first plan of large-scale new construction, the State Electrification Plan. According to Lenin's definition, its task consisted in raising Russia to an economic level necessary for Communism. This plan actually became the second Party programme. The Sixteenth Party Congress adopted the first Five-Year Plan of grandiose economic construction. This was the plan for the laying of the foundation of socialism in our country. To-day, at the Seventeenth Party Congress, the Party adopts the plan for the final liquidation of all capitalist elements and classes in general, the final liquidation of private property in the means of production, the plan for erecting the edifice of socialist society.

The main political task of the second Five-Year Plan consists in the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and classes in general, in the final abolition of those causes which give rise to class differences and exploitation, in overcoming the remnants of capitalism, both in economy and in the minds of the people and in the conversion of the whole of the toiling population of the country into active builders of the classless socialist society.

This main task will be fulfilled on the basis of carrying out the programme of the second Five-Year Plan, which is the pride of our country. The productive forces of socialism will develop at a rapid rate. We shall create such a technical basis for production as will enable us to produce enormous quantities of goods for satisfying the growing requirements of the builders of socialist society.

The second Five-Year Plan provides for a two and a half to threefold increase in the consumption of the toilers. Such an increase in consumption and such a rapid raising of the material well-being of the toilers can only be achieved by the socialist revolution, only by the power of the toilers. The collectivisation of all the peasant farms and the organisation of all the home workers into productive co-operatives will be concluded. The socialist form of economy will be the only mode of production. As Comrade Molotov declared in his report, after the realisation of the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan our country will become a homogeneous socialist Republic. The mechanisation of agriculture will be completed. Agricultural work will be converted into a category of industrial work, and by this a great advance will be made in the sphere of overcoming the contradiction between town and country. Tremendous changes in the cultural sphere will correspond to these great changes in the sphere of economy. It suffices to point to the complete liquidation of illiteracy of the whole of the population which is provided for in the second Five-Year Plan. The Soviet Union will be the only country in the world without a single illiterate.

"Let the hypocritical 'bearers of culture' of bourgeois philistinism ponder this simple, but at the same time magnificent perspective. The whole population of the country will not only be able to read, write and work sums. The second Five-Year Plan also provides for the carrying out of general obligatory polytechnical education, at first within the limits of seven years schools in town and country. The fulfilment of the second Five-Year Plan will ensure a tremendous development of all branches of economy and in all spheres of material and intellectual life of the population of the country. Our country is advancing to the first place in Europe in regard to technique. As regards to the state and degree of utilisation of the new technical basis, a number of branches of industry in the Soviet Union are already surpassing the most advanced capitalist countries. The Soviet Union will become a classical industrial country, a country of general literacy, a country of active and conscious builders of socialist society. The Soviet Union will tower up like a powerful rock of world Communism, as a firm and unshakeable basis of the proletarian world revolution, which will be able to repulse and thwart all the attacks of the enemies of socialism."

Report of Comrade Kaganovitch and Discussion

Moscow, February 7, 1934.

Yesterday Comrade Kaganovitch delivered his report on the third item of the agenda: Organisational Questions—Soviet Construction. He declared that to work out the organisational questions means to sharpen the weapons for the victorious carrying out of the historic tasks set by the report of Comrade Stalin.

Kaganovitch summed up the results of the tremendous organisational work of the Party during the years of struggle for socialist construction and then proceeded to deal with the struggle of the Party for the creation of economic and technical cadres from the ranks of the workers. He then passed on to the question of the organisation and working methods of the State apparatus. Supported by a tremendous wealth of facts he exposed the faults and shortcomings of the apparatus and showed the way it could be converted into an operative, frictionless and faultlessly working tool of the proletarian dictatorship.

The next section of the report was devoted to the question of Party construction. Kaganovitch gave an exhaustive analysis of the state of Party work and the leading activity of the Party organs. He dealt with the proposals contained in the theses of the Central Committee on the organisational questions, which will thoroughly change the work and life of the Party. In conclusion Kaganovitch spoke of Stalin, under whose gifted leadership the Party is marching forward, shattering its enemies and is victorious in all struggles. These words called forth a storm of applause.

Comrade **Khitarov** (Stalinsk) was the first speaker in the discussion. He was followed by Comrade **Nikolajeva** (Western Siberia), who gave a number of examples from Party work showing that a fundamental change in the methods and form of organisational leadership is necessary at the present time. The speaker dealt especially with work among the women. The task of the emancipation of the women had been solved in the Soviet Union. Women must be promoted to higher positions much more than hitherto.

Moscow, February 9, 1934.

The discussion on the report of Comrade Kaganovitch was continued yesterday. All speakers were of the opinion that the theses on the report of Comrade Kaganovitch represent a remarkable document—summing up the tremendous experience of the Bolshevik Party and showing the surest way to overcome the shortcomings in the Party and Soviet construction.

Comrade **Andreyev**, People's Commissar of Ways and Communications, devoted his speech to the organisational questions in the transport industry. The Seventeenth Party Congress, he said, had sharply criticised the work of transport; this criticism was correct and appropriate. It was now the task of the Party to carry out the recent decisions of the C.C. of the Party and of the government and to remove the shortcomings, thus raising transport to the same level as the other branches of economy.

A tremendous ovation was accorded Comrade **Kalinin**, one of the most popular leaders of the Party. Our Party, he said, had always devoted the greatest attention to the organisational questions. We had been victorious in the year 1917 not only because our political line was correct, but also because our Party possessed big cadres of good organisers.

A number of delegates then dealt with the questions of organisational Party work in the factories and collective farms.

The Party Congress was then addressed by a delegation of Leningrad working men and women, who were greeted with prolonged applause. Comrade **Podresov** of the Red Putilov works, the representative of the Leningrad workers, declared that the proletarians of Lenin's town had sent them to this Congress in order to convey to them, the best Leninists and organisers of our victories, their warmest proletarian greetings and to express to Comrade Stalin the unbounded love and veneration of the Leningrad working men and women. The delegation then handed to the Presidium the model of a tractor plough, the construction of which has now been mastered by the Leningrad industry.

Comrade **Balkova**, a working woman of the Leningrad textile factory, "Red Flag," addressed the Party Congress in the name of the Leningrad working women. She was followed by a delegation of Leningrad engineers and technicians who brought greetings on behalf of 60,000 engineers and technicians of Leningrad.

Comrade **Afanasij Kim** (Far-Eastern district) dealt with the work in the Possijet district, situated on the borders of Manchuria

and inhabited by Koreans. In reply to the insolent attacks of the Japanese imperialists the Korean collective peasants had decided to collect means for the construction of an aeroplane.

The discussion on the report of Comrade Kaganovitch closed on February 8. Most of the speeches dealt with the successes and the tasks of the Party with regard to the organisation and education of millions of the builders of socialism. The leader of the Agit-Prop Department of the Central Committee, Comrade **Stetzki**, dealt in detail with the ideological and political development of the masses and the preparation of the technical cadres. "Our Party," he declared, "has set itself with the Second Five-Year Plan a task of world historical importance—the establishment of a classless socialist order of society. This tremendous task places increased demands on every Communist with regard to mastering the weapon of Marxist-Leninism. We still have to reckon with the resistance of the remnants of the capitalist elements in our country who will continue to do their best with all the means at their disposal to hold up and sabotage the advance of socialism. In our own ranks also there are still vacillating elements. This must cause us to regard the theoretical front with particular attention and care. During the past few years our Party has won tremendous successes on the theoretical front. These successes are being consolidated in revolutionary practice. Our cause, the cause of socialism, is shining over the whole world, and not even the thickest and heaviest clouds of slander will succeed in darkening it. At the conclusion of Comrade Stetzki's speech there were bursts of applause.

The next speaker was the well-known author **Panferov**, whose chief work, the "Co-operative of the Have-nots," has been translated into many foreign languages. Panferov dealt in his speech with the work for the education of the former small owners who are now finding new interests and a new life in the collective farms. Panferov then referred to the words of Stalin, "Let our authors be an accurate mirror of life, let them write of the truths of life," and declared that they pointed out the path for the creative efforts of Soviet authors—socialist realism. "This Party Congress," declared Panferov in conclusion, "and in particular the instructions of Comrade Stalin in his report to the Congress, fills us with even greater creative energy to describe truthfully the life which is pulsating around us." Comrade Panferov was rewarded with rounds of applause.

After Panferov Comrade **Radek** took the floor. He dealt with the victory of the Leninist organisational principle and with the struggles of the various oppositions against the Party line. As a result of the victory of the Party, millions of toilers had rallied to the struggle for socialism, to the struggle for a new culture. These masses were storming the heights of science and modern technique. Only the wilfully blind could fail to realise this. Radek then declared that the Party had been absolutely correct when it had used methods and an organisational policy against the enemies of the general line of the Party which had assisted him and many other members of the opposition to realise their errors and to abandon them. There was no struggle for socialism and no struggle for the cause of the working class apart from the struggle of the Bolshevik Party under the banner of Lenin and under the leadership of Stalin. Whoever attempted to oppose the Party of Lenin automatically placed himself on the other side of the barricade.

The chairman of the Congress then gave the floor to the commander of the Special Far Eastern Red Army, Comrade **Bluecher**. Bluecher was welcomed with storms of applause and cheering and repeated shouts of "Long live the Red Army!" which finally developed into a tremendous ovation. Bluecher's speech was listened to with close attention and repeatedly interrupted with bursts of applause.

The next speaker was Comrade **Shaburova**, who dealt in her speech with the tremendous achievements on behalf of the toiling women of the Soviet Union which had been won in the period between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Congresses.

Comrade **Krshishanovski**, one of the oldest members of the Party, then took the floor and was greeted with great applause. He declared: "After 42 years of Party membership I consider it as the greatest pleasure of my life to be able to take part in such a magnificent Party Congress." He then dealt with the newly developed proletarian force, the cadres of young technical specialists.

The chairman, Comrade Kalinin, then declared the discussion

on the report of Kaganovitch closed and informed the Congress that the latter was of the opinion that it was unnecessary for him to make any concluding speech in view of the fact that none of the delegates had in any way opposed the fundamental principles of his report.

The theses of the Central Committee on organisational questions (Party and Soviet construction) were then placed before the Congress. They were unanimously adopted as a basis and handed back to an editorial commission of 43 members to draw up the final resolution.

Concluding Session of the XVII Party Congress

Moscow, February 11, 1934.

Comrade Kalinin opened the concluding session on February 10. Comrade Molotov, received with loud applause, reported on behalf of the Commission on the amendments made to the draft of the resolution on the second Five-Year Plan. Comrade Kalinin put these amendments to the vote. The whole of the draft resolution was then put to the vote. Both the amendments and the resolution were carried unanimously, not a single vote being given against and not a single vote being withheld.

Comrade Kaganovitch reported on the amendments proposed to the draft of the resolution on the organisational questions, and concluded as follows: "I hope that after this Party Congress the Party organisations, under the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Stalin, will proceed with still greater energy to the organisational consolidation of the Soviet, Party and trade union organisations." The amendments as well as the final text of the resolution were carried unanimously.

Comrade Satonski then read out the results of the elections of the leading Party organs carried out the previous day.

The composition of the leading party organs elected at the Seventeenth Party Congress is as follows: 71 members and 61 candidates were elected to the Central Committee. The members of the Central Committee are:

Alexeyev, Andreyev, Antipov, Badayev, Balitzki, Baumann, Beria, Bubnov, Wareikis, Voroshilov, Gamarnik, Yevdokimov, Yeschov, Yehukidse, Shdanov, Shukov, Selenski, Ivanov, Ikramov, Kabakov, Kaganovitch, Kalinin, Kirov, Knorin, Kodatzki, Kossarev, Kossior, Krchichanovski, Krinitzki, Krupskaya, Kuibyshev, Lavrentyev, Labeled, Litvinov, Lobov, Lubimov, Manuilsky, Mechlaik, Mikoyan, Mirsoyan, Molotov, Nikolayeva, Nossov, Ordchonikidse, Petrovsky, Postychev, Piatnitzky, Rasumov, Rudsutak, Rumyanzev, Ruchimovitch, Ryndin, Stalin, Stetzki, Sulimov, Uchanov, Chatayevitch, Chiruchutchev, Chernov, Chubar, Chuvyrin, Chudov, Schwernik, Scheboldayev, Eiche, Yagoda, Yakir, Yakovley.

Candidates: Shubrikov, Kaminsky, Mussabekov, Tovstueha, Unschlicht, Blüecher, Bulganin, Kalygina, Kalmanovitch, Losovsky, Tuchatchevski, Posern, Eliava, Ossinski, Popov, Yurkin, Mechlis, Rosenholz, Serebrovsky, Budjonny, Poskrebychev, Satonski, Sokolnikov, Bukharin, Polonski, Uborvitch, Kubyak, Grinko, Rykov, Lubtchenko, Tomsy, etc.

Sixty-one members were elected to the Commission for Party Control, among them being Comrades Kaganovitch, Shkiriyatov, Jeshov, Yaroslavski, Akulov, Peters, Robushevski, Karavayev, Kachiani, Korotkov, Rabitchev, Sacharova, Sachianova, Stavski, Saftanov, Sharangovitch, Shaburoba, Yurevitch, etc.

Seventy members were proposed for the Commission for Soviet Control at the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade Kuibyshev. This proposal will be submitted to the Executive Committee of the Soviet Union and the Council of People's Commissars according to the regulations adopted by the Party Congress.

Twenty-two members were elected to the Revisions Commission, among them being Vladimirski, Adoratski, Suchomlin, Redens, Janson, etc.

Closing Speech of Comrade Kalinin

In his closing speech the chairman of the Congress, Comrade Kalinin declared:—

At this Congress the Party has reviewed the results of its work over a period of over three years, and at the same time worked out and adopted a plan for a further socialist offensive. The chief tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan consist in the final liquidation of the kulaks as a class, in the completion of the technical reconstruction of the whole economic system, and in the further increase in the material and cultural standards of the working masses of the Soviet Union. Side by side with our

struggle for the liquidation of the classes, we are also working energetically for a socialist attitude towards work, for conscious discipline and for the abolition of the last remnants of the petty-bourgeois ideology—laziness and slovenliness. We shall have a long and serious struggle to conduct in this respect. In carrying out the Second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union is making a further tremendous step forward both in the increase of its economic strength and in the consolidation of its independence of the capitalist countries. During the course of the Second Five-Year Plan the production of our economic system will be more than double in comparison with its production during the First Five-Year Plan. The Soviet Union will be strengthened with a great network of new factories, new engineering giants, and new chemical factories. During the course of the Second Five-Year Plan the mechanisation of all forms of heavy labour in industry and agriculture will be practically concluded. The prehistoric curse of heavy labour will no longer weigh down the workers of our country. The reconstruction of our whole economic system will increase our productive capacities in town and country to a tremendous extent, and at the same time it will greatly increase the material and cultural standards of our workers and peasants.

At the end of the First Five-Year Plan our industry as a whole produced to the value of 43 milliard roubles, but at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan this total will have increased to 92.7 milliard roubles. Not only in its technical level, but also in the volume of its production, the Soviet Union will take first place amongst the countries of Europe, and it will remain behind the United States in one or two branches of production only. Thousands of new and talented organisers and other forces will arise out of the masses of the people. All this will offer still clearer proof of the advantages of socialism over capitalism.

The tasks which face us in the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan are tremendous, and their fulfilment will face us with great and numerous difficulties. However, the difficulties with which we will have to contend in the future cannot compare with those we have overcome in the past. The task of liquidating the classes and giving our economic development a new and tremendous impetus demand the greatest possible degree of organisation and class watchfulness from the Party and the working class. The Party and the country as a whole are completely and unshakably confident that the Second Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled to the full. The guarantee of our ultimate success is the fact that the basis for the exploitation of man by man has been abolished in our country, that labour has now become a matter of honour for millions of toilers, that the last possibility of restoring capitalism has been destroyed, and that we have obtained great successes in the strengthening of the defensive capacities of our country and will obtain still greater successes.

The resistance of the remnants of the class enemy against our socialist offensive is inevitable, and the class struggle will take on new and more complicated forms. Therefore the greatest possible watchfulness on all fields of our socialist constructive work and the greatest possible consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the necessary preliminary conditions for our continued victorious advance. With regard to organisation work, the Congress has adopted a series of decisions which will raise the level of the organisation work of the Party to the level of its political tasks. The reorganisation of the apparatus of the Party and the economic organs will undoubtedly increase the efficiency and accuracy of our work and create a vital connection between the leading organs of the Party and the various districts, and at the same time it will increase the personal responsibility of the leaders. The greatest historical importance of this Party Congress is that whilst consolidating the forces of the Party to the highest possible pitch it demonstrates the unanimity of the leadership and the unity of its Bolshevik ranks under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. (A storm of applause begins and the delegates rise and give Comrade Stalin an ovation.)

All the prominent leaders of the former oppositions have declared their political bankruptcy and abandoned their platforms. To-day the Communist Party is stronger and more united than ever in its history before. (Protracted applause.) The banner of Marxism-Leninism leads the working class and the peasantry from one victory to another. Let us draw the ranks of our Party still more closely together, and, together with the millions of toilers throughout the Soviet Union, form a wall of rock around the great leader of our People, Comrade Stalin, a

wall against which all the forces hostile to socialism will break helplessly. Forward to new victories for Communism! (Storms of applause.) The delegates rise in their seats, singing the "International," and Kalinin closes the Party Congress.

**The Plenum of the Newly-Elected Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.
Election of the Executive Organs**

Moscow, February 11.

After the conclusion of the Party Congress there took place a plenary meeting of the Central Committee newly-elected by the Party Congress. The Plenum elected the following comrades to the executive organs of the Central Committee: To the Political Bureau of the C.C., Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovitch, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Ordshonikidse, Kuibyshev, Kirov, Andreyev, and Kossior; candidates of the Pol-Bureau, Comrades Mikoyan, Chubar, Petrovsky, Postychev, and Rudzutak.

Comrades Stalin, Kaganovitch, and Kirov, as well as Comrade Shdanov, were elected to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Comrade Kirov remains secretary of the Leningrad District Party Committee. Owing to his new function, Comrade Shdanov relinquishes his post of secretary of the Gorky District Party Committee.

Comrades Stalin, Kaganovitch, Kirov, Shdanov, Yeshov, Shwernik, Kossarev, Stetzki, Gamarnik, and Kuibyshev were elected to the Organisation Bureau of the Central Committee.

Forward to Creative Work for the Fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan

(Taken from the "Pravda")

The ovations of the delegates at the Seventeenth Party Congress for Comrade Stalin and the new Central Committee have hardly died down and already the Congress has a secure place in the history of the international working class movement.

The report of Comrade Stalin on the work of the Central Committee, which has become the decision of the Party Congress and the law of the Party, lays down the further path of development in the Soviet Union and determines more than a little in world history. The reports of Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev on the second Five-Year Plan, an incomparable undertaking which creates new conceptions, the report of Comrade Kaganovitch on the new organisational type and new institutions of leadership and of the new style of work in accordance with the new productive forces of socialism, the report of Comrade Manuiski on the growth of the revolutionary movement over the whole world, on the incomparable heroism of the successful Chinese revolution, the thorough and valuable discussions which followed all these reports, the flaming enthusiasm of the speeches of greetings delivered to the Congress by the delegates of the workers, working women and the collective peasants, by the engineers and the fraternal Communist Parties of other countries, the powerful demonstration of the Moscow workers in honour of the Congress in the Red Square, the imposing parade of the Red Army—this is the mingled yarn which has gone to weave the banner of the revolutionary struggle of millions and millions all over the world and has become for them a source of new hope and enthusiasm in their struggle.

The Seventeenth Party Congress was a congress of iron Bolshevik unity, of determined and splendid proletarian revolutionaries. The Congress mirrored the unity of the working people who have destroyed the exploiting parasitic class. This unity has won the final victory of socialism on the agricultural front, has liquidated the Kulaks as a class and consolidated decisively the collective agricultural order. However, the class struggle in our country is not yet at an end. The remnants of the exploiting classes are still striving to sabotage the building up of socialism. They have not yet been utterly destroyed. Remnants of capitalism are still present in our economic system and in the consciousness of the people. However, the working masses of the Soviet Union are more united to-day than ever before in their determination to pursue the great campaign for the establishment of a socialist society to a victorious conclusion.

The Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated this fact magnificently. It was the first congress in the history of our Party without an opposition, without fractions and without groupings. The unity of the Party, secured by the leadership of Comrade Stalin and by a devoted struggle to maintain the integrity of Leninism in the Party, the determined

struggle for the fundamental thesis of Lenin on the possibility of the construction of socialism in one country alone, for socialist industrialisation and for the new collective agricultural order, compelled the leaders of the former oppositions which mirrored the interests of anti-proletarian classes and groups but which were defeated and broken up by the course of history, to appear before the Party Congress and do penance, to declare their solidarity with the policy of the Party, and in full public to beg forgiveness for the slanders they had made against the Party and against its leadership. The greatest triumph of the Party, the integral unity of its Leninist ranks, will not, however, go to the heads of the Bolsheviks. Before the Party Congress Comrade Stalin pronounced a warning in this connection. He declared:—

"The Party cannot regard itself as something apart from the people who surround it. It exists and flourishes in its environment. It is not surprising that sometimes unhealthy ideas penetrate into it from outside. The basis for such ideas and opinions is undoubtedly present in our country because there are still middle sections of the population in existence both in the towns and in the rural areas, and they provide a fruitful basis for the development of such ideas and opinions."

The necessary preliminary condition for our continued advance is a determined struggle against these capitalist remnants, against the forms of ideology hostile to the proletariat, against the various relapses into opportunism. The duty of every Bolshevik is to adopt the real Stalinist irreconcilability towards any and every deviation from the Party line and towards all those who infringe the iron discipline of the Party and the State.

Stalin! The name of the greatest man of our times is bound up with the hopes and dreams of the workers of the whole world. Great historical eras create their own geniuses in whose hands history is laid. What would the working class movement be without Marx and Engels? What would the proletarian revolution and socialist constructive work be without Lenin and Stalin?

The Seventeenth Party Congress adopted a vote of complete confidence in the Leninist Central Committee and in the leader of the workers and peasants, Comrade Stalin. The Party Congress instructed all Party organisations to refrain from adopting endless resolutions and to be guided in their work by the theses and by the tasks formulated in the report of Comrade Stalin. No one can formulate our tasks better, more clearly, more accurately than Comrade Stalin. The Seventeenth Party Congress was a congress of victors. However, the Bolshevik victors are also human, and both Lenin and Stalin have warned them seriously against the great danger of superciliousness and the failure to take in all sides of a development, both the favourable and the unfavourable sides. The Seventeenth Congress not only enumerated the great victories of socialism, but it was at the same time a congress of Bolshevik self-criticism. In his speech Comrade Stalin showed how ruthlessly mistakes and deficiencies must be exposed when he dealt with the question of cattle-breeding. In this connection also the speech of Comrade Stalin gave the tone to the Congress which was conducted in a deep spirit of self-criticism. The Congress declared to the whole country that the main question for the moment is the increase in the quality of production on all fields. Comrades **Molotov** and **Kuibyshev** also dealt with this question as the fundamental preliminary condition for the successful carrying out of the second Five-Year Plan.

The decisions which the Congress has taken and the plans which it has adopted must be carried out in an exemplary fashion and to the full. In our planned economy the quality of our whole economic life, so to speak, depends upon the strictest carrying out of our plans. The second Five-Year Plan which was adopted by the Seventeenth Congress must be carried out in all respects. The report of Comrade **Kaganovitch** on organisational questions was also directed towards the increase in the quality of production and on the improvement of leadership. It was characteristic for the Seventeenth Congress that organisational questions were dealt with as a special point. The reorganisation of the Party, economic and State work, the organisation of a centralised Party and Soviet control, the operative character of the control of the carrying out of all decisions, are all in accordance with the new era of development of our revolution and the new stage of development of the productive forces of our country.

The Seventeenth Congress was a congress of strengthening the defensive capacities of the country. Not only the equipment of the Red Army with the best and most modern technical apparatus, but also the perfection of our organisation on all the fields of socialist

construction and in all parts of our great country, will decide the question of the consolidation of our defensive capacities. The Seventeenth Party Congress is now ended. Forward to creative work! Never in world history was such a great field of activity open to talented and disciplined people with the will to work as presents itself to-day in the Soviet Union. Forward to creative work for the fulfilment of the second Five-Year Plan! For the further strengthening and consolidation of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship and of the defensive capacities of the country! For Bolshevik self-criticism! For improved quality! For the Party spirit and for Marxism! Raise higher the banner of proletarian internationalism! Long live the invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

The Parade in the Red Square

The Seventeenth Party Congress is approaching its end. In an extremely concrete and clear fashion it has sketched the tasks to be carried out in the immediate future for the realisation of the second Five-Year Plan and the tasks for the building up of a classless society and for the tremendous increase of the physical and cultural well-being of the working masses. With unexampled energy and unity a tremendous country is proceeding to carry out these gigantic historic tasks. The Party Congress also showed clearly and concretely the international situation in which these tasks must be fulfilled. The classless society must not only be built up but also defended against its enemies.

An illustration of the situation was given by the grand parade of the armed forces of the Soviet proletariat which took place in the Red Square before the delegates to the Congress.

The parade gave an excellent idea of the force which is behind the peaceful policy of the Soviet government, a force based on the masses of the toilers and on the socialist development of the potentialities of the country. The parade demonstrated a section of the forces which are building up and defending socialism. Not only the rank and file of the army, but the corps of commanders right up to its head, the metal worker Voroshilov, consists of, to use Voroshilov's phrase, "the heroes of yesterday and to-morrow in the building up of Dnieprostroi and Magnitostroi, yesterday's and to-morrow's shock brigades in the collective and Soviet farms." This is the character of the Red Army whose Moscow garrison marched past the delegates to the Party Congress.

Side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the uniformed members of the Red Army marched the great masses of the Moscow factory workers, also bearing arms. They came directly from the factories where they toil for their own class and for their own well-being. Whilst they demonstrated their preparedness to defend socialism with their lives, if necessary, their working clothes in which they marched illustrated the statement of Bluecher that the Soviet proletariat does not dream of attacking any other country. It has simply no time for that sort of thing.

Column after column of technical instruments of war drove through the Red Square in tremendous numbers; the motorised and most modern instruments of warfare which the Soviet proletariat has produced in its own factories for its own defence. Such weapons in the hands of the victorious proletariat represent a serious warning to the war-mongers. On the field of warfare also the proletariat have mastered the secrets of modern technique. These weapons are now in the hands of Soviet proletarians who have learned to concentrate their whole forces into the service of socialism and in the cause of the emancipation of the international proletariat. The Party Congress of the Bolshevik Party took the parade of this demonstration of military power as an indissoluble part of the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat as a whole.

The Party Congress can close its proceedings with the firm conviction that the cause of the defence of socialism is in strong and capable hands. The Congress delegates saw a part of those forces march past on the Red Square which will victoriously defend the building up of socialism against any and every imperialist attack. And a few days previously the delegates to the Congress had listened to the speeches of the representatives of the other section of the world proletariat. Okano, Heckert and other delegates from the sections of the Communist International informed them how the defence of the building up of a classless society in the Soviet Union was being organised in the workers' quarters of Tokio, Berlin and other towns by a proletariat whose only guiding star out of impoverishment and misery is the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union.

An Order of the Revolutionary War Council of the Soviet Union

A parade of the troops of the Moscow garrison took place in the Red Square on February 9 in honour of the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The following is an extract from an Order of the Revolutionary War Council of the Soviet Union signed by Voroshilov and published in all the newspapers:—

"To-day the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army is demonstrating its unshakeable loyalty to the cause of socialism, its fighting strength and its preparedness to defend victoriously the socialist fatherland at a moment's notice. The parade is taking place before the delegates to the Seventeenth Congress of our Bolshevik Party.

"For over thirty years the Bolshevik Party, created by our great leader Lenin, has been at the head of the revolutionary working-class movement. The working class has tested its party in years of struggle against all the enemies of the proletarian cause. The workers of the Soviet Union and the whole world know our Communist Party as a Party of undaunted proletarian revolutionaries, as a Party which knows where its cause is to lead to and which knows how to overcome difficulties. The fighting banners of the Party of Lenin waved victoriously over the barricades of the October Revolution and over the battlefields of the civil war. Under these flags and under the leadership of the greatest personality of our age, Stalin, the toilers marched into a socialist offensive against capitalism and won the victory.

"The Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party will go into the history of the world struggle for Communism as a Congress of Bolshevik unity and as a Congress of great socialist victories. The basis of socialism is being laid down in our country to the accompaniment of tremendous labour and the heroic efforts of the emancipated working class and in bitter class struggles. Socialism in our country has been victorious! Unfurl before the whole world the fighting banner of the second Five-Year Plan—the great programme for the building up of a classless socialist order of society.

"Lenin was never tired of teaching the working class that in the last resort the great questions of the class struggle would be settled by the force of arms. From the first day of its existence the Party of Lenin prepared the working class for the armed struggle and formed the first fighting groups of workers which laid the basis for our present Red Workers' and Peasants' Army. In the class struggles which took place on the numerous fronts of the civil war when the fate of the proletarian revolution in our country was being decided by force of arms, the glorious Bolshevik Party, with Lenin at its head, organised the first Red Army in the world, developed it into a mighty power and made it into the army of the victorious proletariat. Hundreds of thousands of Bolsheviks joined the Red Army, imbued it with Communist ideas and with the unbending spirit of iron discipline, Bolshevik firmness and Bolshevik organisation. The whole Party, its Leninist Central Committee, and in particular Comrade Stalin, worked daily to consolidate and strengthen the Red Army.

"Parallel with the socialist reconstruction of our country took place the technical reconstruction of our armed forces. Together with the whole country the Red Army has developed and changed out of all recognition. To-day the Red Army is equipped with the last word in modern war equipment. The first Bolshevik Five-Year Plan, inspired by the genius of Comrade Stalin, transformed our country into a fortress, into an invincible bulwark of socialism which not all the attacks of the enemy will be able to subdue.

"The powerful weapons provided by modern technique are in the loyal and capable hands of the soldiers of the Red Army, who are utterly devoted to the Party of Lenin and Stalin and to the great cause of socialism. The heroes of Magnitostroi and Dnieperstroi, the heroes of to-day and to-morrow, the past and future shock brigaders on the Bolshevik fields, in the collective and Soviet farms, are to-day in the ranks of the Red Army and learning enthusiastically the use of our modern fighting weapons. The heart of each member of the Red Army, each commander and each political organiser beats in the same enthusiastic rhythm as those of the workers who have mastered modern industrial technique and produced miracles of labour heroism up and down the country.

"In the days of the civil war Lenin declared: 'For the first

time in history an army has been built up in closest contact with the toilers; one can even say that the Soviets and the army are one. The Soviets unite all the workers and all the oppressed. Their army is built up on the principles and in the consciousness of socialist defence.' It was on this unshakeable basis that the Red Army was built up and on which it has grown powerful. Its connection with the working masses and with the Bolshevik Party is indissoluble. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party the Red Army is not only an efficient and first-class school of Bolshevism producing heroic and trained fighters in its ranks, but also conscious and valuable builders of socialism.

"With the rest of the country the Red Army welcomes enthusiastically the historically important speech of Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Red Army gains new force and new confidence from the instructions of our beloved leader and teacher in its further struggle for the mastery of military technique, science and culture, in the struggle for the further growth of its political and fighting training. The words of Comrade Stalin, 'We are in favour of peace and we defend the cause of peace, but we are not afraid of threats and we are prepared to answer any below delivered by the war-mongers with a counter-blow,' express our firm will to peace and at the same time our staunch preparedness to defend our socialist fatherland. The Red Workers' and Peasants' Army is the only army in the world which is not devised to conquer and occupy the territory of other peoples. Together with the whole of the country and the Bolshevik Party the Red Army wants to maintain peace, but our sword is sharp and prepared at a moment's notice to cut down anyone who should dare to interfere with the peaceful work of socialist construction in our country. Whoever dares to cross our frontier will be smashed. We shall carry out this task under the fighting standards of Bolshevism, under the red flag of the class struggle, under the flag of the international solidarity of the workers of the world.

"Fighters of the Red Army! In your name I greet the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! In your name three Red Army cheers for our Party and its great leader, the beloved teacher and friend of the Red Army, Comrade Stalin!"

The Labour Movement

Attack on Wages of the Swiss Metal Workers

By M. Bodenmann (Zurich)

The wage reduction announced by the union of machine building and metal industrialists of Switzerland is the most important constituent of the general attack of the Swiss capitalists on the working class. This general attack has been commenced by the attack on the wages of the civil servants and by the financial programme of the government. The wage cut announced in the metal industry is to amount to 5-15 per cent. of the wage hitherto paid; 23,000 metal workers, employed in the most important metal working undertakings, are affected by this reduction. Wages in this industry have been reduced repeatedly since 1931, when the first general wage reduction was carried out in the metal industry. Since this time over one-third of the workers have been discharged who were still employed in the metal industry in 1930. Those who are still in work are reduced in their overwhelming majority to short time. The average degree of occupation is 34 hours weekly.

The wage cut now announced has aroused intense indignation among the metal workers. The general spirit prevailing is extremely militant. This militant spirit exists, although the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. have only a weak foothold in the metal working undertakings in question. Our fighting slogans and our sharp criticism of the reformist leaders are awakening widespread echoes among the metal workers to-day. The trend of feeling among the workers is so strong that the social-democratic leaders and the trade union bureaucrats do not venture to combat openly the proposals of the R.T.U.O. at the general meetings of the metal workers.

These leaders are, however, concentrating all their forces on sabotaging the struggle of the workers. To a great extent they are carrying on their activities for the employers under the cloak of radical phrases. They cause ultimatums to be adopted, and even strike resolutions. By means of their radical speeches at the metal workers' meetings they are endeavouring to allay the

mistrust existing among the workers against the reformist leaders, and to prevent the independent organisation of the struggle by the workers themselves. They have already taken the first steps on the path of reformist betrayal, in that they have applied to the authorities with the request that these should form an arbitration court for the settlement of disputes. The authorities have acceded to this request of the trade union bureaucrats. The arbitration court has been set up, and its first decision has been the postponement of the award on the wage question for two weeks. The object of this postponement is to tire out the workers and to restrain them from immediate militant action. The social-democratic leader Ilg assured the participants in these negotiations that so long as the negotiations were going on, the press "would exercise the utmost reserve, in view of the great importance of the questions dealt with, so that negotiations would not be disturbed." By means of this agreement the reformist leaders have ensured a state of peace, also in visible form, with the wage-cutting employers.

This movement has again shown that the party of the renegades, under the leadership of Bringolf, represents an actual tool of the reformist leaders and at the same time a valuable support for the employers. Bringolf takes up the defence of the leaders of the metal workers' union. He has formed a united front with the metal workers' secretaries, who organised scab work at the last struggles, and have betrayed the workers in the most despicable manner. Thanks to the influence still exerted by the renegades in Schaffhausen, he has prevented the setting up of fighting committees among the workers there, and, wherever it has been possible for him to do so, he has personally prevented functionaries of the Communist Party or R.T.U.O. from addressing the metal workers.

The revolutionary trade union opposition has initiated a broad campaign against the wage cuts in the metal industry. By means of a number of leaflets, some relating specifically to certain undertakings, others applying to the whole metal industry, and by means of meetings, it has demonstrated to the workers the necessity of the struggle, the indispensability of the organisation of the strike. The strike must be prepared by the election of fighting committees from the workers of the whole of the undertaking, organised and unorganised, young workers and apprentices, and composed of the most militant workers, irrespective of their organisation. The readiness to strike of the workers should be promoted by a number of militant measures, such as mass delegations to the management, large united demonstrations against the wage cut, protest strikes of limited duration, etc. The struggle will only be possible against the will of the leaders of the metal workers' union, and by excluding these leaders from the fighting and striking committees. The militant slogans of the R.T.U.O., which have met with the wide approval of the metal workers, are as follows: Not a penny wage cut, abolition of piecework, speed up, minimum wages for all workers, withdrawal of the worsened conditions introduced during the last few years, 40 hours' week with wage compensation. The R.T.U.O. and Communist Party are also set the important task of consolidating their position in the metal working undertakings in the course of this campaign, and of securing an organisational foothold for the ideological influence which they already possess.

The metal workers possess the sympathy of not only the working class, but of other broad strata of the working population. The strike of the metal workers will arouse the whole of the Swiss working class, which will place itself solidly on the side of the metal workers, and take an active part in the struggle. And it is necessary, for the attack is not only directed against the metal workers, but against the whole working class. Notice for the termination of all agreements in the building trade has been given. The civil servants have just received their first reduced monthly wages. The staffs of the municipalities and cantons are being subjected to steady wage reductions. Negotiations are going on with regard to far-reaching retrenchments in unemployment benefit. These facts, and the further effects of the financial programme on the position of the workers, demand that the whole of the working class should support the metal workers. The defeat of the attacks being made by the metal and machine building industrialists is of decisive importance for all the workers of Switzerland. The support of the rest of the working class in the struggle against the wage cuts intended by the metal industrialists is extremely necessary, not only in aid of the metal workers, but for the defence of the interests of the whole of the workers.

India

A Few Facts of History

(CONCLUSION)

One of the most important problems of the Indian revolutionary movement, demanding a clear answer, is that of the class nature of Gandhism and its evolution. The solution of this problem is directly linked up with the correct Bolshevik policy on the question of the hegemony of the proletariat and the struggle against national-reformism.

A number of Indian comrades gave the following answer in their speeches of 1931-1932: Gandhism is now a bourgeois theory, but "by origin" it is clearly a petty bourgeois philosophy directed against the machine.

Such an estimation of Gandhism is wrong and it complicates the working out of a correct strategic and tactical policy of the Communist Party of India.

It is not true that the petty bourgeoisie was at the head of the movement in 1919-1922; and that in 1919-1922 the bourgeoisie was not able to retain control of the popular movement in its hands. It is not true that the working class "stood aside" from the mass independence movement. The slogan of "non-violence," as a matter of fact, represented the interests of the coalition of the bourgeoisie and the liberal landlords who feared an anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. Even Gandhi himself and other leaders of the National Congress admitted this repeatedly, although they succeeded in utilising the backwardness and submissive psychology of considerable stratas of the toiling masses.

It is not true that the essence of Gandhism was the struggle for "the spinning wheel" and agitation against the machine. To prove this it is enough to cite an extract from the resolution of the Calcutta Session of the "National Congress," 1920 (not to speak about the entire practice of Gandhism) wherein it is said:

"The Session of the National Congress advises that swadeshi be adopted on a large scale (the movement in support of national industry.—Ed.) as far as cotton goods are concerned and, since the existing mills of India with national capital and control do not produce enough yarn and material to satisfy the needs of the nation and can hardly satisfy them for still a long time to come, the Session of the National Congress advises that hand-spinning in every house, hand-weaving by millions of weavers who stopped work because of lack of support, be immediately stimulated on a large scale."

A study of all the decisions of the National Congress for this period, including also the resolution (Bardoli) on calling off the non-co-operation campaign of 1920-22, adopted in answer to the revolutionary activities of the workers and the peasants show that the National Congress, like Gandhism, represented the interests of the bourgeoisie and the liberal landlords. Moreover, Gandhism put the defence of the interests of industry, interests of capital above all, advocating at the same time liberal and reformist methods of "fighting." "The ideal of the Indian National Congress is the establishment of Swaraj by legal and peaceful means." (Calcutta Session of the National Congress, 1920.) And this remained the policy of I.N.C. till now.

The following statement of Comrade Stalin can serve as the correct point of departure for the definition of the class essence of Gandhism:—

"As to assistance (of imperialism—Ed.) such as Gandhi, tsarism had a whole flock of them in the form of liberals of all kinds which, however, resulted in nothing but confusion." (Report at the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The same point of view is expressed by the Platform of Action of the Communist Party of India which says:

"The policy of Gandhism on which the programme of the Congress is founded, uses the cloak of vague phrases about love, meekness, modest and hardworking existence, lightening the burden of the peasantry, the national unity, the special historic mission of Hinduism, etc. But behind this cloak it preaches and defends the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie. . . preaches the interests of capitalist development of India on the bones and sweat of the toiling masses of people, oppression in alliance with world imperialism."

Several circumstances helped Gandhism to draw to its side the masses in 1919-1922 and at the later period. The fact is that Gandhism entered the arena during the breakdown of social relations, growth of native capital (during the war and after), in the period of the World War which tore millions of peasants out of the village, in the years of the awakening of the peasantry and the proletariat, of the tremendous flood of hatred for British domination. Gandhism was able to use the influence of religion, of patriarchal-caste traditions, the naive, "non-resistance to evil," submissiveness characteristic of the more oppressed peasant masses, it was able to exploit the temper and the demands of the petty bourgeois masses, the ruined handicraftsmen and artisans, the unemployed elements, the office workers, etc.—all this was utilised and reflected in the early agitation and the slogans of Gandhism. Gandhism was able to exploit the growing protest of the masses, their awakening to active struggle, stimulated in part by the World War, influenced by the October Revolution. Gandhism, in putting forward its slogans, was able to utilise the vague desires of the toiling masses to change the existing conditions, it was able because the proletariat lacked the consciousness that it represented a revolutionary force, the interests of which were in a direct opposition to the interests of the reformist bourgeoisie.

It is wrong to say that the proletariat in 1919-1922 was asleep and stood aside from the mass movement. Facts contradict this. It is wrong to assert that in 1919-1922 and after the conditions for the existence of a Communist Party, for a struggle for the conquest of the hegemony in the emancipatory movement by the proletariat, did not exist. We must not lump everything together in one pile, we must not lose sight of the differences between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, we must not regard them as one and the same thing and thus weaken our struggle against the influence of the bourgeoisie, which lead the National Congress.

Such wrong views lead to the glossing over of the fact that the basic condition for the victory of the Indian revolution is the isolation of national reformism, the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat, able to draw democratic allies (chiefly peasantry) over to its side. In order to carry out this condition the process of the transformation of the proletariat into an independent class force, must be clearly understood; we must see that it is the condition for the organisation of a mass Communist Party. Only being clear on this point and having complete confidence in the proletariat, we will be able actively and consciously to lead the struggle for proletarian hegemony and draw over to the side of the proletariat all the allies, use all the democratic movements for the development and the preparation of the popular revolution.

The end of 1929 and 1930 was the turning point in the organisation of the Communist Party. Local committees of an illegal Communist Party began to be organised; leaflets began to be published in the name of the Party; the Platform of Action was published. An organisational and ideological rupture of the Communist groups from "left" national-reformism took place. The Communists carried on in the open a struggle against "left" national-reformism, considering it as the chief obstacle on the path of the formation of the Communist Party and the mobilisation of the toiling masses for the revolution.

The rupture between the Marxists and the "left" national-reformists was historically an absolutely necessary action long overdue. Without this rupture, the transformation of the proletariat into an independent class force, into the leader of the toiling masses, would have been inconceivable. As long as the illusions of united all-national front, and the super-class nature of the National Congress were widespread, it was, especially in view of the manoeuvres of the "left" national-reformists, not easy to carry through this rupture. It was connected with temporary "sacrifices." However, only the fact that the cadres of the Indian Communist movement were so young, inexperienced; only the fact

that they were not sufficiently trained in Marxist-Leninist sense, explains why this rupture with "left" national reformism temporarily severed to a no small extent, the Communists from the mass independence movement in 1930-1931. Having broken with national-reformism, the Communists proved by themselves unable to establish wide contacts with the mass anti-imperialist movement of 1930. The illusions of all-United national front with the bourgeoisie swept all over the country, and the Communists did not succeed in carrying through simultaneously two tasks of taking the most energetic part in the anti-imperialist movement and expose, fight and isolate the national-reformists. And this weakened the growth and even isolated somewhat the Communists from the toiling masses.

The Indian proletariat is confronted with the need to organise a party entrenched in the mass movement, to organise through the most active participation in it.

The weakness of the Indian Communists lies in the fact that they have not mastered yet the most important Bolshevik principle and that is that the fight for the transformation of the proletariat into an independent class force and the consolidation of the positions of the Communists in the working class, the winning of the decisive strata of the proletariat, and transformation of the proletariat into the leader of the toiling masses, can take place only on the basis of most active participation of the Communists in the mass movement, of the working class and peasantry and toiling masses in general. The Communists must come forward at the head of all democratic movements, use all democratic issues to develop and extend the mass movement, to isolate the reformist elements, to raise the class consciousness of the proletariat, to organise and teach the toiling masses, to draw them to the side of the Communists and prove in deeds that the only leader of the revolutionary people is the proletariat headed by the Communist Party, that the only path to free the country and destroy the landlord-moneylending system of exploitation is the path indicated by the Communist Party. The Communists must be able to win the confidence of the worker and peasant masses.

The mistakes of the Indian Communists are various. Some of the Communists saw only the need to convert the proletariat into an independent class force and organise an illegal Communist Party; others saw only the need of taking part and utilising the mass democratic movements. Both of them approached the question *onesidedly*. In fact it signified certain distrust in the proletariat, it meant that the task of fighting for the proletarian hegemony in the people's movement was not clearly understood. These deviations have not yet fully disappeared and represent the chief obstacle on the path of formation of a mass Communist Party of India.

These wrong views led also to a number of other mistakes such as the refusal to work among the mass organisation led by the national-reformist leaders whose rank and file supporters were misled, to lumping into one heap the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, to a legalistic deviation on one side and to the actual refusal to build up an underground party on the other side. These views brought in their train the inability to manoeuvre and to use the temporary, vacillating, even unstable, allies in the fight against imperialism, it led to attempts to slow down the struggle against national-reformism, etc.

The various Communist groups made different mistakes, but behind these mistakes there was the lack of understanding of the fact that the organisation of an underground Communist Party not only does not contradict but, on the contrary, presupposes a struggle for its hegemony, presupposes participation in the revolutionary-democratic movements, and its fight for leadership and the attraction of all democratic allies, even though for only a certain part of the way, over to its side.

Only in this way can a powerful Communist Party be organised, only in this way can the development and the preparation of the Indian revolution progress.

How wrong the approach of some of the Indian Communists is can be illustrated by their idea of the relations between the working class and the peasantry. In one of the documents (1932), it is true, of a legal organisation, it is said:

"We do not propose to take any steps now in regard to the peasantry. This is not because we do not sympathise with the peasant movement or because we do not recognise its importance. But we think that our immediate task is to improve our position in regard to our own class (i.e., the pro-

letariat—Ed.). Each of these classes must be united, strongly organised and must realise its interests and aims."

The most important task is that of consolidating the position of the Communists in the working class. However, now when the agrarian and anti-imperialist movement is growing this task can be solved not only through day-by-day economic and trade union activity. The position of the Communists can be consolidated in their class only providing that they participate both in the daily economic struggles as well as in the anti-imperialist and agrarian movements. There is no other way. All other paths consolidate the position of national-reformism, will introduce confusion in the ranks of the revolutionary movement, limit its role to a position of an appendage to the bourgeoisie and, strengthening the position of the reformists (such as the economists, etc.), weaken the Communist ranks.

The formation of Communist groups was preceded by the organisation of reformist trade unions and it had effect on the development of the Communist movement. The first groups of revolutionary intellectuals, having discarded the ideology of the National Congress, joined the trade unions. It is here (and not in the field of the independence movement) that they clashed with reformism, clashed chiefly on questions of the strike struggles. The trade unions began to replace the Party. The Gairi Kamgar (the Bombay Textile Trade Union "Red Flag") led political demonstrations of the workers. This substitution of the Party by the trade unions led to a position where the Communists allowed themselves to be provoked by the reformists to accept without strong resistance, splits of the trade unions. In a number of cases, both unnecessary and untimely. In a number of places where Communist groups were formed, their appearance in the political field was followed by some splits in the trade unions. Thus it appeared that some Communists did not understand the differences between the Party and the trade union, which was utilised by the "left" national-reformists who carried the split into the trade unions. And this led on the part of some comrades to an increased tendency towards sectarianism, toward isolation, it led to the refusal to fight for the masses, to the inability to isolate the national-reformist leaders and draw the rank and file over to the Communists' side. The Communist groups, therefore, did not succeed to carry through the tactics of a united front and take a lead in a true fight for the unity of the working class. Many Communists did not understand the fact that a fight against national-reformism, which should be led consistently and constantly, does not mean at all that Communists should not work in the national-reformist trade unions, does not mean at all that we should object even to amalgamation of the red trade unions with some mass national-reformist trade unions when it is in the interests of the working class. But such an amalgamation not only does not mean a retreat from Communist positions; but on the contrary, it means increased efforts to propagate our ideas and if the Communists maintain a correct policy, it will only help to isolate the national-reformists and to develop the proletarian movement.

The substitution of the Party by the trade unions has increased the tendency to reject the anti-imperialist struggle, to reject the organisation of an underground Communist Party; has increased the danger of a peculiar form of economism, has increased the danger of harmful ideas that a Communist Party can be organised only through the trade union activities, that all attention must be turned only towards "one's own class," i.e., only towards the proletariat. Actually this led to the rejection of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat and helped to consolidate the position of national-reformism and imperialism.

The origin of the main weaknesses of the Indian Communist Movement was indicated above. They are connected with the history of the movement. One of the biggest is the underestimation of the organisational problems, the lack of understanding that the movement cannot develop, that the Indian revolution cannot be victorious unless a strong, centralised party organisation is built.

The Indian Communists have increased their ranks through the trade unions, by organising Communist groups within the trade unions. Consequently the Communist groups have become the organisations of a few active members of the trade union movement. The organised formation of these groups did not go beyond loose trade union fractions. Such a situation is clearly abnormal. Every Communist must clearly understand that if a strong Communist Party is to be organised in India, city, district committees, factory nuclei must be organised; i.e., a Party organisation must

be organised which would carry on work in the trade unions and in the mills, among the peasantry and among the revolutionary youth, an organisation which would not only build trade unions, but other organisations as well, which would publish beside the trade union papers an official organ of the Party as well, which would publish leaflets not only in the name of the trade unions, but also in the name of the Party itself and of the Party organisations.

Only such an underground Party organisation can develop legal and underground work, can use the legal forms of the movement, not falling in the trap of economism and not adapting itself to legalism, i.e. to a refusal to defend revolutionary positions.

Without this we cannot build up a party, we cannot win the proletarian hegemony in the all-national movement, we cannot develop proletarian methods of fighting, we cannot set ourselves more and more revolutionary tasks.

The organisational question is of first rank political significance for the Indian Communists. We must resolutely put a stop to the petty bourgeois inheritance of the past, with the influence of the Congress organisational principles, with the lack of confidence in the working class.

These tasks are tremendous and extremely difficult. The Indian Communists are yet extremely weak. But it would be wrong, none the less, if somebody would claim that a preliminary period of local circles is necessary, who would recommend to concentrate all attention of the Communists on local tasks and to shift the centre of gravity of all the work exclusively to the trade union organisation. This would lead to Khvostism (tailism), to Menshevism, to the loss of initiative, to isolation. We must remember that the masses have accumulated tremendous experience of the class struggle. Not only the workers, but the revolutionary intellectuals and considerable strata of the peasantry have also accumulated this experience. And the process of the realisation of this experience, of transforming it into deeds can go on with exceeding speed; this will depend on the practical work, the energy, and the correct policy of the Communists. The rapidity with which a mass Communist Party will be organised depends entirely of them. The Roy group try to utilise the mistakes of the Communists to justify their anti-proletarian, anti-revolutionary policy. This will bring the Roy group no success. It will not fool the revolutionists. The latter will soon understand that the mistakes of the Communists are exactly the result of the remnants of Roy's ideology in the ranks of the Communist movement, and the sooner they will get rid of them, the sooner the Communist movement will develop.

The picture of the development of the labour and anti-imperialist movement and the changes that took place will be far from complete if we do not explain the general role of the "left" national-reformists. It would be wrong to assert that Gandhism was the only obstacle on the path of the revolutionary awakening of the toiling masses that prevented the exposure and isolation of the reformist bourgeoisie. From 1928, "left" national-reformism began to play a particularly harmful role in the general mass movement. It crystallised more or less like a definite stream of reformism in 1927-1928. With the growth of class differentiation, and the revival of the fighting spirit of the masses, the difficulty to maintain the influence of the bourgeoisie began to grow, and the "left" national reformists, as agents of the bourgeoisie, assumed a considerable significance. In 1928-1929 the "League of Independence" of young Nehru and Bose was formed and played an important role. It tried to retain control over the petty bourgeois and toiling masses who were dissatisfied with the Nehru constitution and pressed the fight for freedom. In 1930-32 they were joined by a new variety—of Kandalkar-Roy-Karnik and Co. The "left" national-reformists developed recently frenzied activity and succeeded for a time to disorganise to a considerable extent the ranks of the proletariat, split the trade union movement, etc.

And now when a general disillusionment with Gandhism among the toiling masses and revolutionary intelligentsia is taking place, it naturally found its expression among the followers of "left" national-reformism as well. The "left" Congressists feel this and correspondingly try to change their tactics, adopting new "left" slogans, and some of them sometimes even openly criticising the leadership of the National Congress, etc. That explains the new programme of Nehru, Bose, Kandalkar, etc.

The bourgeoisie is turning more and more to the right and trying to divert the attention and the energy of the wide masses

to isolated reform activities (Harijan campaign, etc.). It is explained by its fear of the growing disillusionment of the masses and the ripening of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. The toiling masses are dissatisfied with the old forms of the movement. They look for new paths, new leadership, new programme, new methods of fight. The anti-imperialist movement is not waning. As a matter of fact a new wave of the revolutionary movement is approaching.

The newspaper "Advance" wrote in its March 1 issue that in Allahabad an illegal terrorist organisation called upon the population to come out with a hartal in memory of Chandrashekhar Azad, the revolutionary-terrorist killed by the police in 1932.

"In the evening—writes the paper—a crowd gathered; the police dispersed it. The police were set on guard all through the night. There was a hartal in the city although a few Muslim shops were open."

This communication is a typical sign of the temper of the broad strata of the town petty bourgeoisie and of the toiling masses in general. The newspapers are every day full of news of the arrest of individuals, of groups, that carry out illegal revolutionary activity, making weapons and explosives, etc. And these are not a few isolated acts; they begin to assume a mass character.

Gandhism has again demonstrated now its liberal, anti-revolutionary nature. The working class and the peasantry are going to the left; new battles are maturing.

British imperialism is doing its best to consolidate its landlord-princes support, it gives some slight concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie (so far as the textile, sugar, cotton, and some other industries are concerned), permits them to take part in the distribution of 20 per cent. of the State budget, forms a sham reserve bank, i.e., throws some crumbs at the expense of the increased exploitation of the masses. While making some constitutional concessions, British imperialism at the same time adopts all possible measures to consolidate its yoke. At the same time it, together with the bourgeoisie, prepares to crush the revolutionary people, and prepares the country for the impending world war, for the war against the U.S.S.R. It tries to secure the loyal support of the Indian bourgeoisie for the coming war.

British imperialism is faced with a number of difficult tasks; the growing revolutionary movement in India, the growing instability within England itself and the coming armed struggle for the redivision of the world. This determines its Indian plans to strengthen its coalition with the feudal-landlord groups (drawing the princes in, federation scheme, etc.) and thus introduce an Indian element of "stability" into the apparatus of domination and proceeding from this, putting feudal groups against the bourgeoisie, give some small concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie. The anti-revolutionary bourgeoisie in its turn, being mortally afraid of an agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, has adopted in general the policy of adaptation to the feudal-imperialist federation. It hopes to draw the feudal lords and the semi-feudal lords to its side, and press for further concessions from British imperialism. The bourgeoisie hopes to create and to consolidate a bourgeois-landlord coalition. The Indian bourgeoisie grudgingly agrees to make a compromise with British imperialism. It is afraid of a revolution and is afraid of foreign invasion (by Japan, etc.).

British imperialism agreed to give some economic concessions at the expense of foreign competition (Japan, Belgium, Dutch, etc.) that began to undermine British positions. At the same time it is putting through preferential tariffs, that is, consolidates its own position and places a number of additional obstacles on the path of development of productive forces of India. The Indian bourgeoisie accepts the compromise with British imperialism to fight the people's revolution and foreign competition and is seeking to make a coalition with the feudal and semi-feudal groups to carry on a further parliamentary struggle against British government.

That is why, while criticising the new draft in every way and pressing for a number of changes, the bourgeoisie demands to stop the mass movement, and reorientate the masses for the "elections" and new legislative assemblies and harijan campaign.

The most prominent leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie, Birla, Tsakurdas, Hiragand, Shriram—the biggest capitalists and Gandhi's closest advisors—declared in a statement to the press the need of a most rapid introduction of the federation and indicated the demands of the bourgeoisie: (a) That the share of the budget which the representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie have a right

to distribute, be increased. This should be achieved by decreasing military expenses and by shifting part of the expenses to the British treasury; (b) that the export of gold from the country be prohibited and gold be used to establish reserve bank (c) that the administration of the railways be handed over to the Indian Legislature; (d) that the forced subordination of the rupee to the pound be done away with; (e) that legislature be given the right to pass laws against foreign competition.

The bourgeoisie proposes to fight for these proposals within the framework of the constitution, through negotiations, through economic pressure, etc. To characterise the loyalty of the Indian bourgeoisie it is enough to point out that even in 1930-1932 it actively (to the extent of 800 million rupees) supported the internal loans of the Anglo-Indian government which were used to suppress and enslave the country.

The Congress newspaper *Mahratta* wrote on January 15, 1933:

"We must note the fact that to-day the leaders of the Congress are directing the attention of the people to the problem of the liquidation of untouchability (i.e., the pariahs—*Ed.*) and thus are withdrawing the attention of the people from questions that are of direct political significance. . . .

It is not difficult to understand that the concentration of the attention of the people on the question of untouchability, of the right to enter temples is equivalent to a renunciation of the movement for which the Congress leaders and their supporters are now sitting in prison." And this is what actually has happened.

The Congress, covering up with the "struggle" against the pariah system, is helping, as a matter of fact, to put through the Constitution drafted by British imperialism. National-reformism is adapting itself to the new form of the domination of British imperialism. The National Congress is trying, while adapting itself to the new situation, to repeat the manoeuvre carried out in 1922. But this time the bourgeoisie will find it more difficult, because, unlike in 1922, the economic crisis is now growing more acute, the revolutionary movement is growing and the working class has appeared on the scene.

The reformist policy of the bourgeoisie and the formal rejection of the "non-co-operation" movement will undoubtedly increase the class differentiation in the national movement. It is possible that the National Congress will still talk for some time about the boycott of the legislative assemblies. It is even possible that there will be splits and secessions in the National Congress. It is possible that a party such as the former swarajist party, as well as parties "from the left" like those of the former "League of Independence" of young Nehru, will be created outside or inside the National Congress. The results of the Round Table Conference undoubtedly do not satisfy the Indian bourgeoisie. However, its chief groups, headed by Gandhi, have retained their loyalty to the old British orientation. Some bourgeois groups might begin to flirt with the American bourgeoisie. It is also possible that some elements of the bourgeois national movement, linked up with the petty-bourgeois movement, will begin "to make advances" to the international proletarian movement, thinking about the might of the Soviet proletariat. All this is linked up, chiefly, with the class differentiation and upheavals that are taking place in the country.

In short, the bourgeoisie is doing its utmost to retain its influence, advancing its "left" detachments to the forefront. It is also possible that a number of individual national-revolutionary groups, etc., will appear.

The Communists of India must foresee all this so that, while co-operating with, and attracting all elements and organisations that are ready to fight against the imperialists, isolate the national-reformists and develop a revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses for independence, land and power.

The present period of development of the independence movement in India is characterised by a tremendous upsurge of the peasant movement, particularly marked in the native States. In some places this movement took the form of an agrarian uprising, that contained some signs of a national-revolutionary war. The activity of the peasants in Burma, Kashmir and Alwar have not ceased; the peasantry who rose in the Alwar State have forced the royal army to retreat; the British military came to the rescue.

In some provinces the spontaneous movement of refusal to pay debts, taxes, rent, is very widespread. In a number of places the government was forced to lower taxes temporarily, but at the

same time it adopts its own measures; everywhere, particularly in Bengal, garrisons have been stationed, the number of police has been increased, fines imposed, land property, cattle sold at auction. The peasants' activities, the clashes with the police and the landlords, have become typical and this shows the popular nature of the movement. Millions of peasants have been roused out of their "slumber." With the further development of the crisis it will be more and more difficult to pacify, by significant tax concessions, the unrest of the village. The Index of prices for cotton in 1932 fell from 97 to 87; for grain products, from 108 to 87; jute, from 58 to 39. The yield of wheat for the last decade fell from 760 to 600 per acre (Makardji, "Bombay Chronicle," January 10, 1933); the rice yield decreased in 1932 from 877 to 837 an acre. The area under cotton continues to decrease; in 1929 it was 10,480,000 acres, in 1932 it was 8,409,000 acres; the area under wheat decreased for 1932-33 by 4 per cent., while in Punjab, the chief wheat district, by 15 per cent. ("Capital," February 16, 1933.) The following document of the government of the United Provinces testifies eloquently to the ruin of the peasantry during the crisis:

"The tenants preferred to give away their land and renounce their rights rather than to pay the rent which under present conditions has become excessively high. Consequently the number of deserted holdings for the year (1931) grew from 20,860 to 71,430, while the number of forced collections of the land tax amounted to 256,284." (Bombay Chronicle," January 26, 1933.)

In 1933 this process assumed still greater proportions. The production of iron has fallen from 804,000 tons in 1931 to 650,000 in 1932; coal, from 1,752,000 metric tons in 1931 to 1,580,000 in 1932, etc. Some increases can be noted in the sugar industry due to the prohibitive tariffs.

At the same time taxes and indebtedness have increased. The scissors in the prices has increased, the decay and degradation of the social economic system of colonial India went on at a greater pace.

The peasantry is being ruined in greater numbers; it is being expropriated. Gold, "distress gold," a name which describes the true nature of the plunder, is being pumped out of the country. From September, 1931, to December, 1932, 11½ crore rupees of gold were squeezed out of the country. ("Capital," February 9, 1933.) British capital covers the decline in the export of goods with this gold. The trade balance of India is characterised by the fact that exports usually exceeded imports. Imperialism used to maintain the whole colonial apparatus of oppression and receive super profits by pumping out raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. The acuteness of the present crisis, of the crisis of the whole social-economic structure of India manifests itself in the trade balance. The import of gold has become passive.

In 1930-31, exports exceeded imports by 57.54 lak rupees.

In 1931-32 " " " " 29.29 " "

In 1932-33 " were lower than " " 1.71 " "

Only the forced pumping of gold made it possible for British imperialism to retain its economic position. It testifies to the ruin of the peasantry and toiling strata of the city. Even the British economic journal *Capital* (Calcutta, February 2) was forced to admit that

"the inflow of gold came from the largest districts of the United Provinces where the agrarian crisis was most acute. We must remember here that the influx of gold began long before the gold standard had been abolished and the price of gold was not too high."

The increased ruin and disillusionment with the reformist policy of the National Congress leads to the growth of a spontaneous revolutionary peasant movement. It will assume greater and greater scope.

The National Congress sabotaged the peasant movement, demands it should be suppressed. When it takes the form of an uprising, the I.N.C. falsely represents it as a Hindu-Muslim conflict. The Congress organ, *Mahratta* (in the January 8, 1933, issue) qualified the agrarian uprising of the Alwar peasantry in the following way:—

"It is praiseworthy on the part of the British government not to interfere with the affairs of the State, but at the same time it is its duty to prevent provocateurs from without from creating disorders within the State. The Pan-Islam agitator

have achieved their goal in Kashmir and it is evident that they have now chosen a new victim, the Alwar State."

That is how they propose to the imperialists to put down the peasant movement.

The growing agrarian-peasant movement is beginning more and more to be connected with the anti-imperialist movement; the revolutionary consciousness of the toiling masses is growing. In its turn, the national-reformist camp is coming closer and closer to the imperialist camp for a common struggle against the impending agrarian revolution. However, the class consciousness of the working class is growing; the illusions in regard to national-reformism are rapidly fading; the Communist movement is growing (although still insufficient).

The reformists' betrayal of the railway strike on the M.S.M. railway in 1932 greatly lowered the authority of the reformists in the south of India as well, as Giri himself admitted. The workers began to join the revolutionary left wing in increasing numbers. In a number of places the left wing was partly able to isolate the reformists and consolidate its positions among the working masses. The situation now is changing considerably.

The textile workers of Bombay are again faced with the gravest attack of the capitalists. The mill owners, taking advantage of the worsening conditions in industry, have again lowered wages of the workers and increased the number of looms and spindles per worker. The mill owners of Ahmedabad have announced a 25 per cent. cut in wages. Mills are being shut down; unemployment is growing. The strike movement, to resist the attack, is spreading not only in Bombay, but in the other centres, too. The same can be observed all over the country. To-day the workers are striking in Bombay, Nagpur, Cawnpore, Viramgaon, Baroda, etc.

A new stage in the struggle is approaching. The conditions are changing. The vanguard stratum of the proletariat is ridding itself of its illusions about the Congress; the backward stratum is more and more falling in line; the revolutionary intellectuals are beginning to revise their old conceptions; the trend towards Communism is growing and *all this is taking place at the time when millions of peasants are awakening*, and the national bourgeoisie is becoming more and more anti-revolutionary. The international situation testifies to the rapid change in the correlation of class forces throughout the world, the forces of the international proletariat and the colonial peoples are coming closer. A new period of revolutions and wars is close and finds its expression in the growing revolutionary movement in the colonies. The victorious socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. points the way for the oppressed toiling masses of the colonial countries and of the whole world.

However, in spite of the favourable situation, it will give results only if the Indian Communists will be able to correct their policy and carry out energetically the formation of the Communist Party because that is the basic premise for the successful preparation and victory of the Indian revolution. Here lies the key to the victory of the Indian people.

The capitalist world is again entering a period when it increasingly will apply warlike, armed forms of fighting. War is coming. In the article "Quality Rather Than Quantity," which is of general strategic importance, *Lenin* wrote:—

"The outcome of the struggle depends upon the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., constitute the vast majority of the population. And it is this majority of the population that has been drawn into the struggle for their emancipation with unusual speed during the last years so that in this sense there can be no doubt whatsoever as to the final outcome of the world struggle. In this sense the ultimate victory of socialism is fully and absolutely guaranteed."

The Soviet Union has developed great socialist construction, consolidating itself as the basis of the world revolution. China has passed through a tremendous revolutionary school, having created a Soviet Republic and the Red Army. The Indian people are turning to the true, revolutionary path and the time is not far off when it will follow *Soviet China*. The oppressed toilers of India, under the leadership of its vanguard—the Communist Party of India—will be able not only to throw off the yoke of the British bourgeoisie but to come out on the broad path of the fight for socialism.

The White Terror

For the Release of Gertrud and Paul Ruegg!

By P. P. (Paris)

When, eighteen months ago, Paul and Gertrud Ruegg were threatened with the executioner's axe, such a storm of protest swept the whole world that the Nanking government and their judges were afraid to execute the death sentence pronounced by the exceptional court. The sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. The sole "crime" of Paul Ruegg consisted in having been the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and having devoted himself wholeheartedly to the fulfilment of his task. It could not be proved that he had worked as a Communist and, as the indictment asserted, conspired against the safety of the State. No charge whatever was raised against his wife beyond the fact that she was his companion in life.

The big campaign for Gertrud and Paul Ruegg greatly helped to strengthen the ties between the proletariat of Europe and America on the one side and the militant toilers of China on the other. It was a remarkable upsurge of international proletarian solidarity.

Since then Gertrud and Paul Ruegg have been kept in solitary confinement in the prison in Nanking. They are the only foreigners in this prison; they cannot talk to anybody. The food is inadequate, just as in any other Chinese prison, and harmful to the health. It is small wonder, therefore, that in these circumstances the health of these two prisoners has been very seriously affected; Paul Ruegg is suffering from tuberculosis, and his wife is pining away.

On December 20 Paul Ruegg went on hunger strike; on December 30 his wife joined in. This was the seventh hunger strike carried out by Paul Ruegg during the period of his imprisonment. The two prisoners resorted to this desperate means in order to raise a protest against their imprisonment and the ignoring of all their complaints. They demand the release of Gertrud Ruegg and at least a retrial of Paul Ruegg.

After three weeks' hunger strike they were conveyed in a completely exhausted condition to Nanking hospital. They were told that their complaints would be looked into. Thereupon they broke off the hunger strike. Meanwhile, after a week in hospital, they have been sent back to prison.

That the Nanking government did not want to go to the length of letting Paul and Gertrud Ruegg die—and they were determined to die rather than give in—is to be attributed to the fresh wave of protest on their behalf which spread through the various countries.

The World Committee Against War and Fascism, on receiving the news of Gertrud and Paul's hunger strike, took a number of measures in order to render speedy aid to these two great international fighters.

There was set up a European Release Committee for Gertrud and Paul Ruegg, headed by such personalities as André Gide, André Malraux, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Professors Prenant and Wallon, Madame Gabriele Duchêne, and others. They sent a protest telegram to the Chinese Embassy in Paris and took steps that similar declarations on behalf of the Rueggs should be submitted by various personalities and organisations to the Chinese embassies in London, Amsterdam, Geneva, and other places.

The Committee for the Support of Political Prisoners, to which a number of bourgeois politicians belong, sent a delegation, headed by the famous Professor Levy-Brühl, to the Chinese Ambassador in Paris. The energetic declaration of Levy-Brühl, who demanded the release of the Rueggs, did not fail to make an impression, and was therefore cabled to the Nanking government.

Representations were also made to the Chinese delegation at the League of Nations; its leader, Wellington Koo, declared to the Geneva lawyer, Vincent, Ruegg's former defending counsel, that he also had sent a telegram to Nanking.

Representations were also made by the League for Human Rights and of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom.

When the world delegation to the Far East, headed by Lord Marley, was staying in Shanghai last September, they took the

opportunity to remind the Chinese government that the toilers of the other countries had not forgotten the Rueggs. A member of the world delegation visited the Rueggs in Nanking prison. He was able to see how energetically the Rueggs are continuing their struggle against the Chiang-Kai-shek regime and how they are championing the cause of the workers of all countries with their entire devotion. At that time the Chinese Minister for Justice held out the possibility of Gertrud Ruegg being released. Lord Marley therefore addressed a very energetic letter to the Nanking government, in which he protested against the scandalous imprisonment of Gertrud Ruegg. No reply has been sent to this letter.

Another member of the world delegation, belonging to the Second International, commenced investigations in regard to the fate of the Rueggs. Neefs, a trade union secretary in Brussels, intervened at the Chinese Ambassador in Brussels and was informed that the imprisonment of the Rueggs is perfectly "justified" but that "the possibility is not excluded of an amnesty or an act of favour by which they would benefit." This declaration was given in the name of the Chinese Foreign Minister.

This shows that it is necessary to continue the campaign for the release of Gertrud and Paul Ruegg with the greatest energy. It is not a question of an act of favour but a right which the workers and intellectuals of all countries will enforce as a proof of their practical solidarity.

In the International

The Political Importance of the National Conference of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia

By Karl Neumann (Prague).

On January 30, there took place in Prague a secret national conference of the illegal C.P. of Czechoslovakia. This conference was a review of the party cadres in order to ascertain how far they have fulfilled their tasks in the first months of increased ideological pressure and intensified repression by the bourgeoisie of the working class and its party, a review of the firmness and fighting capacity of the party after the first months of accelerated carrying out of the fascist dictatorship under the slogan of a "strong democracy."

The National Conference showed conclusively that the bourgeoisie has not in the least succeeded, by means of opportunism and renegacy, in bringing about an ideological disintegration of the party in order to render it incapable of fighting. There is no better proof of the soundness of the C.P.Cz. than the thorough and unanimous repulse of the renegade Guttman. The broad campaign against opportunism which the party had conducted during the last few months, has obviously steered the ranks of the party and raised its activity and Bolshevik firmness.

The efforts of the bourgeoisie to gag the party by prohibiting its press were frustrated by the fact that in place of the suppressed papers hundreds of other papers appeared, usually with a larger issue than the legal ones. In the same way as Hitler failed to silence the Communists, so also the Czech bourgeoisie failed, in spite of the assistance rendered it by the social fascists. In spite of the increasing persecutions, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia is at the head of the enslaved toilers, leading their struggles, extending and consolidating its influence over the masses.

The results of the review of the National Conference are of great practical, political importance for the Czech proletariat. They reassure the Czechoslovakian working class that also in Czechoslovakia the Communist International possesses a section which cannot be destroyed by the class enemy, which stands at its fighting post, and that the working class will have a tried revolutionary leadership in its most difficult struggles.

The main work of the National Conference consisted in elaborating, on the basis of the world situation as analysed by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the prospects of the economic and political development in Czechoslovakia as well as

the tasks resulting from it for the C.P. of Czechoslovakia for the next future. The development of events completely confirms the appraisal and conclusions which the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. drew from the world situation. The development of the general crisis of capitalism after the collapse of stabilisation in Czechoslovakia is resulting in a shaking of the capitalist system. In Czechoslovakia there cannot be observed even such a war and inflation revival of production as is to be seen in some other capitalist countries. The class and national contradictions at home, the antagonisms of Czech imperialism with other Powers, have led to such a tension that the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of maintaining its rule with the old methods of bourgeois Parliamentarism and is therefore proceeding to set up the fascist dictatorship. The Czech bourgeoisie is launching more and more fierce attacks on the standard of living of the masses and is setting its hope on a fresh imperialist world war. The development of events in Czechoslovakia clearly shows that we are on the eve of great class battles and collisions of the Powers.

Proceeding from these facts the National Conference has laid down the tasks of the party for the immediate future. It is necessary to exert every effort in order to mobilise the masses for the fight against the establishment of the bloody fascist dictatorship, which can be averted by the force of the militant proletariat, which is only paralysed by the disintegrating influence of social democracy. It is necessary to mobilise the broadest masses against the new imperialist war and prepare them for the proletarian revolution which is on the order of the day. Hence it is imperative that the influence of social democracy, which is so fatal for the working class, is destroyed and that the majority of the working class is won over in the day-to-day struggles for the defence of the immediate interests of the toilers by the C.P.Cz., for their revolutionary aims and the historic tasks of the working class.

The National Conference has performed a work of greatest political importance for the solution of this task. It adopted a programme of action containing those concrete measures which the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will carry out immediately after its victory, and by means of which it will abolish political enslavement, national oppression and the misery of the masses. This programme of action shows to the masses how the working class will capture political power, how it will use this power, and in what form this power will be wielded. The party thereby opposes to bloody fascism, to imperialist war and the collapse of the old capitalist society the concrete programme of the new, future socialist society, and shows to the broad masses the only way out of the catastrophe of decaying capitalism. This programme of the Soviet Power in Czechoslovakia, which was drawn up by the National Conference, will be the platform round which the revolutionary forces will rally for the decisive fights for the overthrow of capitalist rule in Czechoslovakia. The main task which the National Conference set to the party is to win the majority of the working class, the broad sections of the middle strata and of the poor peasantry for this programme in order to prevent the fascist dictatorship and the fresh bloody imperialist war by capturing the political power of the proletariat.

The National Conference also elected the Central Committee of the party. This fresh election was rendered necessary not only owing to a lack of confidence in the old C.C., but owing to the fact that the class enemy must be kept in the dark in regard to the composition of the revolutionary staff of the working class and because the composition of the party leadership must comply with the conditions of increased fascist terror. The new Central Committee, headed by Comrade Gottwald, consists of Communists of all nationalities of Czechoslovakia, two-thirds of whom are workers from the factories, and functionaries of the old guard of the party who held responsible positions since the founding of the party. Under the leadership of this Bolshevik Central Committee the party will fulfil those tasks arising from the political situation and formulated by the National Conference.

Proletarian Youth Movement

The Extraordinary Congress of the Y.C.L. of France

Paris, February 6, 1934.

The Congress, which was preceded by a public meeting attended by several hundreds of young working men and women at which Marcel Cachin delivered an important "address to the youth," was opened on Sunday morning in the Town Hall of the Communist municipality of Ivry in the presence of several hundred delegates.

Two resolutions emphasised the will of the Congress to take on the double task of defending the standard of living of the young workers and establishing better contact with the soldiers. A delegation of young strikers from the Jomain factory in Paris, who are engaged in a wages struggle, greeted the Congress and, in the name of the strikers, thanked the Communist youth and the Communist Party for the support they were giving them in their struggle. On the other hand, a delegation from the Congress took part in a workers' demonstration which was held in front of the military hospital Val de grace, in which a great number of soldiers have died.

The report of the Central Committee was delivered by Raymond Guyot. He pointed to the tremendous efforts which the bourgeoisie is exerting in order to win the youth, to militarise them, and to draw them on to the path of fascism. He further called attention to the numerous opportunist deviations made by the Central Committee, mainly under the leadership of Charriere; it is precisely the task of the Extraordinary Congress to liquidate them. In conclusion, he summed up the tasks of the Communist youth: to get into contact with the masses of youth, to defend their daily interests, to work before all in the factories, and to penetrate into the bourgeois mass youth organisations. All this work must be closely linked up with the widest propagation of the revolutionary way out. Only by this means would it be possible to solve the task of developing the Young Communist League into a mass organisation which must be stronger than the Party.

The composition of the Congress was as follows: 99 delegates with decisive votes and 42 delegates with advisory votes; 16 big enterprises were represented at the Congress, 10 of which possessed youth cells. North France was represented by 11 delegates, the Lyons district by 8 and the Paris district by 35.

Various speakers mentioned that the assistance given by the Party to the youth was insufficient. They stated that the young workers are quite ready to fight, but they often do not know what they should do, a result of the lack of sufficiently skilled cadres. Comrade Carré of Belfort declared that there was to be recorded a general failure to realise the seriousness and the rapid sharpening of the situation.

The discussion on the report of the Central Committee was continued on Monday. It revealed a certain weakness. Too many of the delegates contented themselves with giving a short report on the situation in their district without approaching the decisive political questions; hardly any of them reported on experiences in factory work.

Géraut, delegate from Paris, showed the good work of the young Communists in the fight in the Jomain factory, and a delegate from Calais their participation in the big mass demonstrations of the unemployed. Both delegates, however, had to admit that if the Communist youth had gone into the masses, they would not have been able to appear at their head openly as Communists. Berthelot, from Paris, touched on the chief mistakes of the Communist youth: in the strike of the young Citroen workers, who are engaged in a wages struggle, owing to insufficient contact with them, they did not know at first what demands should be proposed; the fight against the opportunist deviations was conducted only feebly; there were still considerable cadres who had not been tried in the struggle; approval in words of the decisions of the Central Committee without carrying them out in practice; lack of really functioning factory cells (only two out of youth cells in the Paris district).

Delaune exercised good self-criticism of the leadership of the workers' sport organisation, to which he belongs. He declared that for a long time they kept themselves isolated as a sect.

Lebas, who was engaged in organising the young trade unionists, pointed out the great weakness of the Communist youth: they had not recognised the necessity of preparing and organising the daily struggles of the young workers. On the motion of Cernat, the Congress, amidst great enthusiasm, announced its intention to build up the organ of the Communist youth, "Avantgarde," by creating a network of good workers' correspondents.

Organisational Questions

The Party Cell at the Meat and Cold Storage Plant of the "Anglo" Co.

(C.P. of Argentina)

Even before the establishment of the terrorist dictatorship of Uriburu, the C.P. of Argentina began to realise the necessity of re-organising all Party work with a view to concentrating on the workers in the main branches of industry, among whom are the workers of the cold storages and slaughterhouses. The latter are big capitalist enterprises where 100 to 3,000 workers are concentrated, and before the crisis there were over 5,000 workers in some of them, e.g., the meat and cold storage plant of the "Anglo" Company.

The big trusts, monopolists of the meat industry and trade, organised production in such a way as to make the organisation of the workers more difficult. A large part of the workers were foreigners and form a real mosaic of nationalities (Lithuanians, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Czechoslovakians, Italians, Spaniards), originating in the main from the ruined peasants of Central Europe. But the lower paid workers are recruited from among the local population. The employers gave every encouragement to chauvinist feelings among the workers, and at the same time, in order to make organisation among the workers more difficult, they formed their own private police and spies in addition to the police of the government.

In spite of all these measures of the employers, the natural result of the capitalist rationalisation which was carried out on a wide scale, the ruthless exploitation of the workers, the consistent cutting of wages, the increasing engagement of temporary workers and women and the whole system of the increasing exploitation of the workers was the growth of discontent of the workers at the meat-packing plants.

In order to commence work in these conditions in the cold storage plants, the C.P. of Argentina appointed a comrade of the Polit Secretariat of the C.C., who in the past had worked in the cold storage and slaughterhouse industry and who knew the conditions of the work of this industry. Thus with the help of this member of the C.C. an initiative group of a cell was organised in the middle of 1930 in the big cold storage and slaughterhouse firm "Anglo."

At first this group formulated a programme of direct demands of the workers. In the process of working out these demands, several mistakes were made. The comrades at first "set up" these demands themselves. Then it became clear to them that instead of "thinking out" demands for the workers, it was better to listen to the workers themselves and help them to formulate correctly these demands and link them up with the basic slogans of the Party.

At first the work was difficult, as it was difficult to get into contact with the workers. But in proportion as contacts were set up with the most advanced workers, contacts of the cell were established with the mass of workers in the plant. Not all the members of the cell at first were drawn into the work. There were tendencies prevalent that it was impossible to organise the workers in the meat-packing plants owing to the diversity of their origin and owing to the private police, etc. But the work convinced the greater part of these comrades. How did the cell win the confidence of the workers? From time to time it published its organ, "Awakening," in which is reflected the life of the workers, their feelings, cases of exploitation and injustice, related by the workers themselves. There was never a conflict between the workers and the employers and the management, never an incident, in which the cell did not take an active part. In many cases it was possible to compel the employers to make concessions, and obviously the prestige of the cell increased as a result of this.

When the terrorist dictatorship of Uriburu was established and the best activists of the Communist Party were arrested at the

beginning of 1931, the "Anglo" cell suffered a setback. It was necessary to reorganise the work of the cell, bringing in comrades from other districts and helping unemployed comrades from other cold storages to get into the Anglo cold storage. In general, with the growth of the influence and work of the cell, there was also a growth of the repression against it. But it was impossible to destroy this influence and this work. On the contrary, it increased. For example, on May 1, 1931, the cell was able to organise a militant demonstration of the workers, unemployed and part-time workers at the gates of the Anglo meat-packing plant. The propaganda of the cell and its activity had become necessary for the working masses, so that, when it ceased at times to function under the blows of reaction, the workers themselves sought it out and proposed to fill up the gaps.

Right in the midst of the terror of the military dictatorship of Uriburu, the cell steadily developed its mass basis. It set itself the task of developing trade union sections in every shop of the packing plant, and of combining the work among the employed workers with the work among the unemployed and the part-time workers, particularly in order to combat the constant change of workers, which was a method of struggle of the employers against the revolutionary movement in the plant.

At the beginning of 1932, when the power in the country passed to General Justo, a strike was declared at "Anglo" against rationalisation. As it was impossible to hold big mass meetings, the meetings took place in the shops (groups of 15-20 workers). Then meetings of delegates of various departments of the plant were held. At a meeting of 200 delegates elected from 3,000 workers it was unanimously decided to declare a strike. In the first few days of May, 1932, the workers left the factory, organised a big meeting, and marched to other cold storage plants. The independence and initiative of the workers was displayed to a high degree in this movement. Eight hundred workers, including Communists, members of the anarchist organisations, socialists, and non-Party workers took part in the sub-divisions of the general strike committee. Not only the government and the employers acted against the strike, but also the reformist and anarchist leaders, who saw that the revolutionary movement was beginning to squeeze them out and that the Communists were strengthening their positions among the masses.

Provocateurs succeeded in discovering and betraying to the police not only the comrades who were to have acted openly but also the whole strike committee. After this, there were mass arrests of activists, the strike committee, and illegal workers, and severe punishments were inflicted. The movement was thus broken with the help of the reformist and anarcho-sindicalist leaders. In spite of the great importance of this strike, the Party leaders made serious mistakes in it. The chief mistake was that during the strike, the cell as such, as the leader of the masses, was more or less in the background. Everything was done in the name of the trade union and the workers did not hear the voice of the Party organisation which was leading the trade union and the movement. Therefore, in particular, in spite of the growth of the consciousness and activity of the workers in this struggle, there was hardly any inflow of members into the Party. Also the worker activists who came forward in the struggle were not organised around the Party cell.

After this strike the best cadres were forced to leave Avenceleda. Provocation and repression increased. In addition, every two months there was an almost complete dismissal of the staff so as to paralyse in this way the work of the Communists and the revolutionary trade union organisations.

But, in spite of everything, the workers of the "Anglo" Cold-Storage Plant remained faithful to the Communist Party. The workers themselves began to combat the provocateurs. The workers began to prepare for a new struggle.

The cell, which had been reorganised, is carrying on propaganda, again publishing "Awakening," continuing its work for the organisation of trade union sections in the difficult conditions of illegality.

On the basis of the organisation of a Party cell at the "Anglo" meat-packing plant and converting of this plant into a

base point for the Communist Party, the C.P. of Argentina was able to strengthen Party work in all the other meat-packing plants and cold storages in the country.

The strike brought the Party into contact with the workers of metallurgical and textile factories, oil workers, and in this way the Party extended its work and basis. The strike at the "Anglo" plant strengthened the anti-imperialist movement in Avenceleda, which enabled the Communist Party to increase its activity not only among the workers but also among the allies of the working class.

Book Review

Children Under Capitalism*

By Jack Hardy (New York)

There are 43,000,000 children in the United States who are under 18 years of age. A great majority of these are the children of working class parents.

This little pamphlet, prepared by Grace Hutchins of the Labour Research Association, draws a striking contrast in the lives of the children of the two classes in capitalist society. On the one hand there are the capitalist class children, who drink all the milk they need, eat plenty of fresh vegetables and other nourishing food, sleep and play in quiet, airy places, surrounded with every protection needed to preserve health and prevent accidents, and afforded all educational facilities.

In contrast to this picture, the pamphlet draws another one—that of the working class boys and girls. They live their lives surrounded with conditions of insufficient food, without proper clothing, in dark, crowded, unhealthy dwellings, and without any of the health and educational facilities so essential to child well-being.

The pamphlet presents a kaleidoscopic outline of the entire field of "Children under Capitalism." It pictures the working class child at home—denied everything that the normal child so vitally needs and craves. It presents vital statistics on the great number compelled by conditions to leave school at an early age, as well as on the miserable occupations they are forced to enter and the starvation wages they receive.

Bad as are the conditions among the white workers and their children, those among Negroes are even worse, as is further shown. For example, while there is an infant death-rate among native white babies of 93.9 out of every 1,000 born alive, for Negro babies the rate is 152.3 out of every 1,000. This, as the author ably shows, is a direct result of the more intense exploitation of the Negro members of the working class, with the consequential poverty, undernourishment and inability to withstand the ravages of disease.

All this, which was true even during the so-called "normal" times, has been intensified by the present crisis. A graphic picture is presented of the general increase in child misery.

Paralleling this a contrast is drawn with conditions in the Soviet Union—where child labour does not exist, where the number of children in school is constantly increasing and where general concern for children's welfare is a matter of outstanding social concern.

The concluding pages of the pamphlet deal with the struggle against child misery. In the face of conditions as they exist in the United States, workers' organisations have to carry on an unceasing struggle against starvation and other conditions which undermine the health and happiness of the working class youth. These organisations emphasise the struggle for unemployment insurance as the most important of all immediate demands for the protection of the children of the working class. And while these struggles are conducted by the adult workers, all of this work must be related to and linked up with that of the Young Pioneers of America, which organise and lead the struggles of the children themselves.

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