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# The Fight For Indian Independence.

By R. Bishop (London).

The conclusion of the second Round Table Conference in London has been quickly followed by an intensification of the struggles of the workers and peasants of India against British Imperialism, its extortions and its exploitation. It has been as quickly followed by the British Government in India redoubling its repressive measures.

Within the last few weeks Ordinances have been issued in the United Provinces, Punjab, Bengal and the N.W. Frontier Province of the most drastic kind. Hundreds of arrests have taken place all over India, and in the N.W. Province over 1200 have been arrested for their connection with the Red Shirt movement.

In the N. W. Frontier, too, peaceful meetings have been fired on and peasants killed with a wanton brutality reminiscent of the days of Amritsar. And now Gandhi—delegate to the Round Table Conference, and Vallabhai Patel, the Congress President have been arrested, and four new general Ordinances promulgated. In addition the Indian National Congress has been suspended.

The arrest of Gandhi was the very thing that astute politician needed to rehabilitate him with the Indian masses who were naturally very suspicious of his consorting with the Imperialist enemy at the Round Table Conference.

It was precluded by the usual interchange of telegrams between Gandhi and the Viceroy, and when the police came to arrest him Gandhi was waiting for them with his luggage packed ready. He is now in Yevavda Prison, with his spinning wheel, his cooking vessels, a selected library and a personal attendant to attend him. His cell is a suite of three rooms—he has been placed under arrest "during His Majesty's pleasure". His treatment is very different from that meted out to the other prisoners or to any other of the innumerable prisoners by Imperialism in India, but it is sufficient to create an impression once again amongst large masses whose faith in him was waning, that he is an enemy of Imperialism. On

May 5, 1930, Gandhi was arrested in a similar way—with every consideration for his comfort—but when his purpose had been served he was released in January and two months later signed the Delhi Pact with Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy.

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact aimed at bringing to an end the activities of the peasantry and stemming their rapidly-growing political consciousness. The rapid fall in the price of agricultural commodities, the extortions of the rent and tax collectors, however, proved more effective in their results than the signature of "martyr" Gandhi, and the flames of revolt broke out with redoubled vigour in all parts of India. Peasant organisations are to-day springing up with amazing rapidity in the rice fields of Madras and Bengal, among the jute cultivators of Bengal, Assam and Orissa, among the cotton growers of Bombay, Punjab and the Deccan, among the wheat growing areas of the Punjab and the United Provinces.

But the most complete revolt has been in the United Provinces—the heart of feudal India—and in the N. W. Frontier Province, where the sturdy Moslem tribesmen have been flocking to the banner of the Red Shirts who are now computed to number some 200,000. In industrial India too there has been a notable re-emergence of activity. While little news comes through to Britain, there have been numerous strikes of textile workers, railwaymen etc. within the latest period. In the United Provinces the Ordinance was directed against the rapid development of the No-Rent and No-Taxes movement—that is directed equally against the Government and the zemindars, many of whom are pillars of the Congress.

The Ordinances vary from Province to Province. In Bengal special tribunals have been authorised with full power to impose death sentences and sentences of transportation for life to the fearful penal settlement of the Andaman Islands. These courts have been given power to hold their trials in secret and in the absence of the accused. There is no right of appeal against verdict or sentence. The magistrates have the widest powers under the Ordinance. They are empowered at their discretion to delegate their authority to military or

police officers. They have power to levy collective fines on whole districts.

In the **United Provinces** meetings and the publication of leaflets and pamphlets are prohibited, whilst the movements of agitators are strictly controlled.

Throughout India, the Imperialist Government is making an unprecedented show of its armed force. Special parades of troops, accompanied by armoured car columns, machine guns, artillery etc. have been organised in the most remote parts. This has been officially described as "showing the flag", and its purpose has been to intimidate the population into a belief that it is useless to oppose the might of the British Raj. In places targets have been placed in the sea and the village population lined up in the streets to witness the targets being blown to smithereens by artillery. In other places the troops have been accompanied by aeroplanes flying overhead, dropping leaflets which inform the inhabitants that they could as easily drop bombs and will do so if there is any trouble. In **Chittagong** and the neighbouring towns a state of virtual martial law has been reigning for some time. Armed troops make daily house to house searches, rounding up suspects and picketing the town.

Throughout India the toilers find their position, always a terrible one, getting steadily worse. They find that the Congress in which they have, to a large degree, trusted in the past, participating in a Conference with the Imperialist exploiters. They find that the demand for independence has been watered down to one for a constitution within the Empire.

In the light of these facts it is easy to understand the manoeuvres of the Viceroy with Gandhi and his fellows. Gandhi calls for a policy of non-violence, he repeats all the old gestures that he used after the war and again prior to the Delhi Pact, but he finds that he has lost much of his old magic, that the masses are distinctly sceptical. His utterances are in too flagrant contradiction to his utterances and actions in Europe, when he openly supported the retention of British troops in India, when he pledged himself to work for "an amicable settlement".

British imperialism tries two methods, and uses them as occasion demands. Bloody repression at one moment—the pushing to the forefront of individuals like Gandhi, with the object of diverting the real struggle. The Congress is declared illegal. The new Ordinances declare peaceful picketing to be an offence. The Ordinances applied to the United Provinces and the frontier districts are now applied to all India. Gandhi is arrested, Vallabhai Patel is arrested; Jawarhalal Nehru is arrested; the arrest of other Congress leaders is anticipated.

Gandhi's arrest was followed by the declaration of a hartal in Bombay which operated with thoroughness on the following day. The Congress has called for a resumption of civil disobedience—non violent of course.

The role of Gandhi is frankly acknowledged by a section of the British capitalist press, their only doubt is as to whether he has the power to fulfil that role.

Said the "News-Chronicle" on December 29:—

"A heavy responsibility rests, in the situation which has now arisen, upon Mr. Gandhi. What is unfortunately doubtful is whether he possesses the power to implement his own pledges. . . Mr. Gandhi's speech (on landing) stripped of his customary, cautious ambiguities, appears to be an offer to advise Congress to co-operate with the Round-Table Conference."

The fear here, expressed by the bourgeoisie is well-founded. It is extremely doubtful whether Gandhi and his lieutenants will once more be able to check the revolt of the toilers of India. The economic crisis is wreaking such havoc upon the lives of the masses, that Gandhi's non-violent humbug is likely to fall upon deaf ears.

The fight will develop, drawing into its stride ever wider and wider masses, including more and more Congress rank and filers who for long have been dissatisfied with the policy pursued. The issue daily becomes clearer. The Congress fights only for added influence for the Indian bourgeoisie: its leaders have shown on innumerable occasions that they are willing to make a bargain for the common exploitation of the Indian workers and peasants. The masses, on the other hand, are fighting, ever more and more consciously, for the overthrow of exploitation—whether, by British or Indian landlords and capitalists.

The fight is a fight for a free Workers and Peasants India, and in this fight the Gandhis are in the camp of the Imperialists. They realise that a Workers and Peasants India

would have no place for the rich mill-owners and zemindars who provide the Congress Party with its financial backing and determine its policy.

In this struggle against the domination of a foreign Imperialism and capitalist exploitation, the workers of Britain have got to play a more and more prominent role. Particularly amongst the troops has it got to be made clear why they are kept in India. Amongst the workers in Britain there is a growing realisation of the common nature of the struggle of themselves and the Indian toilers. But that realisation has to be spread further yet, until the broad masses of the British workers, in uniform and out, are prepared to unite with the Indian masses on the common demand for the complete independence of India and separation from Britain.

## POLITICS

### From Basle to Lausanne.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The International Conference on Reparations, to which the report of the Basle Special Advisory Committee under the Young Plan must be submitted, is to take place on January 2 at Lausanne on Lake Geneva. From there to Geneva, at which the "Disarmament Conference" is to commence a little later it will be only a short journey. Thus care has been taken that the debts from the past war and the armaments for the coming war shall appear in a very obvious connection.

The United States of America will not be officially represented at Lausanne. Nevertheless they will play a leading role there. At Geneva, which is not far distant, the U.S.A. delegation, headed by General Dawes, the American Ambassador in London and father of the Dawes Plan, and the former Under State Secretary Norman Davis, will be ready to hand, and there therefore exists every chance that between Lausanne and Geneva a game of diplomatic intrigue will develop such as the world has never seen.

The Basle negotiations were not yet ended and the German bourgeois press were still clinging firmly to their belief in the fidelity of the English partner in negotiations when the diplomatic manoeuvres preparatory to the reparations conference commenced. Sir Leith Ross, Under State Secretary in the British Treasury, went to Paris in order, in negotiations with the French Finance Minister M. Flandin, to seek a basis for a compromise, which of course could only be concluded at the expense of Germany. The London "Daily Telegraph" reported regarding these negotiations that, whilst complete agreement had not been reached, it had been agreed that a formula for compromise should be proposed by both sides, and that then the experts on each side would have the task of bringing the two formulae into harmony, when it would only remain for the two governments to express their approval of the same. This report throws an interesting light on the situation: France and England come to an agreement between themselves regarding what reparations Germany shall pay in future, without even asking the German government; as soon as the compromise, the formula has been found, then it will be submitted to the German government for acceptance.

The French press hastened to publish the main outline of the Franco-English compromise. Germany is to be granted a moratorium for three years (the English at first demanded five years), but only for the postponable part of the annuities, i.e., on a sum of 1100 to 1200 millions. On the other hand, Germany shall pay the unprotected annuities, amounting to about 700 million, to the Bank for International Settlements, which would then lend them back as private debts. In addition, Germany shall undertake to fulfil deliveries in kind to an extent not yet fixed. The payment back of the private debts would proceed concurrently with these tribute obligations. Finally, Germany's reparation creditors shall make common representation to the United States in order to induce the latter to grant a reduction of its war debts "in accordance with the sacrifice of the reparations Powers for the economic restoration of Europe".

This plan represents a large-scale manoeuvre on the part of French imperialism in order to sidetrack the whole question of the cancellation of reparations. It is known that the American Congress, at stormy sessions, has pronounced emphatically against any further reduction of war debts, and

that it is not to be expected that Congress will alter its attitude before the next elections. Do the French imperialists really believe that a "European united front" could exert such strong pressure on American imperialism that Mr. Hoover would venture to place himself in sharp opposition to the decisions of Congress? Naturally they do not believe that. But the "united front" manoeuvre of French imperialism is intended to achieve a double aim: to play off England against Germany, which so eagerly accepted the English thesis (priority of private debts over reparations), and to bring dissension between the Americans and the English who, brought together by their similar interests in German bank credits, were in a position to exert pressure upon French finance capital.

The German government has expressed its view regarding this compromise in an official comment of the "Germania" of 31st December. It of course rejects this compromise, and refers to the Layton report, published in August, and the report of the "Special Advisory Committee", published in December, to prove the absolute impossibility to make any payments whatever, and warns "that any attempt to compel Germany to pay must end in financial disaster". In glaring contradiction to this declaration of complete inability to pay, however, is Germany's readiness not only to pay the interest on the private foreign credits, amounting to 2,000 million, but also to pay back these credits by instalments!

In this connection it is interesting to see how once again the social fascist leaders on both sides of the Rhine take up the cudgels on behalf of their bourgeoisie. Writing in the "Populaire", Leon Blum waxes quite enthusiastic over the "European united front" against America, and demands that the governments of France and England should have the courage "to declare quite openly that France and England having granted Germany a postponement and reduction of its debts, the United States, for the same period must not reckon on receiving payments from Europe on the same scale. But Leon Blum goes even further. He declares the Franco-English understanding to be a necessity in order to maintain political and social order in Germany! That is nothing else but a "holy alliance" of French and English finance capital against the proletarian revolution in Germany.

In the meantime, the German leaders of the social democracy showed themselves to be the lackeys of the German bourgeoisie. In an article dealing with the plan for a "European united front", Herr Breitscheid describes this plan as "undoubtedly a very remarkable idea to which, however, one must for the time being adopt a very sceptical attitude. In addition to all sorts of reservations, remonstrances and "statesmanlike" warnings to the national socialists in Germany, Breitscheid formulates his attitude exactly the same way as Brüning himself would: "No matter how much France may insist on the maintenance of the Young Plan, it cannot get over the fact that even if it should succeed in putting through its standpoint, no payments can be expected from Germany for a considerable time."

Reichs-Chancellor Brüning, who at the same time occupies the post of Foreign Minister, has carefully maintained silence regarding his attitude to the approaching conference. But the New Year's speech which he delivered to the world through the mouth of the Reichs President Hindenburg was very badly received in Paris, solely because mention was again made by him of the "equal rights" of Germany, especially in regard to the disarmament question, and because, immediately after this sentence, a reference was made to the battle of Tannenberg. Paris was obviously very much annoyed because the German bourgeoisie still will not realise that there can no equal rights between creditors and debtors. These are bad omens for Lausanne.

## France Preparing for a New Sarajevo.

By Gabriel Peri (Paris).

The monstrous provocation by the Franco-Czechoslovakian agent **Vanek** is one of the most dangerous episodes in the history of the anti-Soviet fight.

For 14 years France has been not only the instigator but also the immediate organiser of every coup de main against the proletarian State. It was France which, immediately after the October revolution, flung its armies against the Soviet Power. It was a French general (to-day he is the chief of the General Staff) who at that time took over the supreme command of the Polish army. Seven years later, Marshal **Foch**, in

the memorable interview which he gave the English journal "The Referee", proclaimed the necessity of settling Bolshevism with one blow.

Thanks to the revelations in the trial of the Industrial Party which brought all these machinations to light, we know to-day that during this whole period the secret agents of counter-revolution in Paris were in constant touch with **Poincaré, Briand** and **Loucheur**. Their plan was so carefully worked out that even a date was fixed for intervention: 1928 and later 1929. In short, everything was ready, and **Miljukov** had informed the war-mongers that war against the Soviet Union would rouse the indignation of the French workers, but that nevertheless intervention would have the support of the social democratic leaders. The support? That is putting it too mildly, for the trial of the Menshevik Party exposed the social-democratic general staff as the shock troop of the intervention army.

These criminal plans did not remain mere plans; a commencement was made with their realisation, namely in the **Far East**. Let us never forget—the accused in the great Moscow trials have admitted this—that the attack on the Chinese Eastern Railway in the year 1929 was to have been a prelude to a far larger operation, which however was prevented by the successes of the Red Army.

For imperialist France 1931 was a year of aggressive anti-Soviet policy. At the commencement of the year, Briand proclaimed that he was "frightened by the successes of the Five-Year Plan". And for twelve months this "fear" has dominated the whole of French policy. France made use of the power of its gold in order to consolidate its system of alliances in Central Europe.

In order to hide its intentions, the French government did not hesitate to don a very imposing pacifist mantle. At the very same moment when it announced its desire to conclude a treaty of non-aggression with the Soviet Union, the French "Revue Militaire" justified beforehand the Japanese coup de main of 18th September.

Since then France's joint responsibility and its role as instigator of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria has become continually more apparent. The cruiser "Primauguet" was sent to Chinese waters. Whilst the fortification works in the harbour town of Saigon were being accelerated, a French general was appointed as a representative of France on the International Committee of Enquiry regarding Manchuria. Briand caused the Japanese robber-campaign to be sanctioned by the League of Nations, and in order to complete the picture French troops have crossed the Southern frontiers of China.

This whole policy was supported unreservedly by the social democracy. It was in the "Populaire", the dirty rag published by **Rosenfeld** and **Grumbach**, that the French bourgeoisie sought their weapons against "Red imperialism", against "Russian hankerings", against "Bolshevist intentions".

When all means of provocation were exhausted, France resorted to the classical method of imperialist robbers and murderers: after provocation murder.

The Quai d'Orsay remembered the tragic precedent of the Sarajevo murder, and wished to repeat the action which set the world in flames in 1914.

It cannot be repeated often enough: The Vanek affair represents an attempt by leading French circles to commit a fresh crime. Czechoslovakia is nothing but a vassal of France, a country which is only able to keep its head above water with the help of French loans, whose army is under the supervision of French officers, whose military apparatus was increased last year by a new arsenal built with French capital, and whose diplomacy is directed by the Quai d'Orsay.

The organ of the social democrat **Blum**, which always eagerly publishes the lying reports from Riga and Warsaw, maintains complete silence regarding the Vanek affair. Vanek and Blum serve the same masters.

The working class of France must realise that never was the war against Soviet Russia so near and threatening as at present, that France never played such a leading role in the organising of this war as at present, and that under these circumstances it would be a crime for the workers to relax their vigilance.

The setting up of the red front against war, the red front for the defence of the Soviet Union, means to prepare our economic struggles, to make unceasing efforts to weaken the chief enemy. French imperialism, on all fronts and prepare for its overthrow.

# THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

## Economic Struggles in Great Britain.

By R. B. (London).

1932 will open with widespread attacks upon many sections of the British Workers. From every angle these attacks will be launched.

The means test and the anomalies act have already prepared the road in that greater pressure has been brought upon the "blackleg proof" unemployed, to get them in the fight for a crust of bread.

In the first month of the new year, cotton textile workers, shipbuilders, dockers and seamen are called upon to accept big wage reductions. If the cost of living does not show a rise of another three points in December there will be a cut in building trade wages in February under the sliding scale agreement.

It is clear that these attacks, if successful, will be followed by attacks upon all other sections.

Cotton workers have been battling against the employers for three years. The great victory of the weavers at the beginning of 1931 put back the attack for a period. But no sooner had the weavers resumed work than the union officials were in regular secret conference with the employers, searching for a new way to get the more loom system into practice.

An agreement was actually signed by the union officials for the working of the more loom system in Burnley, but this had to be cancelled by the union officials in face of the mass anger of the workers.

On top of this, notice has been given in the spinning section of the industry to terminate the 48 hour week. The employers have made clear their intention to lengthen the working week to 55 hours without any extra pay.

The union officials have given no lead to the workers as to what they have to do, and are letting the notices expire, leaving the road clear for the employers to develop their attack either mill by mill or by groups of mills. The union officials will do all they can to ensure that the fight is isolated and lost; when this has been repeated over a wide area, the officials will, on behalf of the members, accept what they themselves will have made "a futile position for a fight".

Particularly unscrupulous have been the manoeuvres in the dock employers offensive. Last June the employers came forward with demands but the opposition of the dockers was so solid that they had to be withdrawn for a period.

Suddenly, in November, it was announced that the union officials had agreed to the employers' terms. The only consultation that took place was a delegate meeting of "trustworthy" delegates who were pledged to secrecy as to all that took place at the council meeting and denied the right to report back to the branches.

The demands of the employers include a reduction of 10d. per day and of 7 per cent. in piece rates. The present rate is 12s. per day.

The overtime rates are to be cut in accordance with day rates.

The new agreement provides that no payment shall be made for the meal hour in cases where the docker is called upon to work into his dinner hour to finish a vessel and re-commence work for the same employer by 1.30.

There will be a greater introduction of mechanised methods, and, of course, the dismissal of many workers who will have to face the means test.

The Seamen and Dockers Minority Movement immediately opened a campaign. Liverpool dockers within a week had turned down the terms and repudiated the union officials. The meetings of dockers were so well attended that the police arrested speakers and did everything to stop the work of preparing strike action for Jan. 4th. when the terms become operative.

In South Shields and London, dock gate meetings have been very successful and clearly in favour of action on Jan. 4th. The union officials have expelled from the union three members who were particularly active in organising resistance. In every way the union officials have organised their forces to disorganise the movement. The District Secretary of the Tyneside area has toured the branches stating that London Dockers were in favour of the terms.

The demands of the Dock employers had hardly been announced before drastic cuts in Seamen's wages were called

for by the shipowners. They demand 30/- reduction in pay per month, 10/- in weekly boats, 1/- off subsistence allowance, 3d. off the overtime rates and railway warrants will be given to men only who have completed six months on a ship and this to cover only sixty per cent. of the fare. The union officials meet in January to discuss operation of these terms.

Shipbuilding workers had a reduction of 2/6 a week accepted for them by the union officials on October 1st. last.

This was to operate in two cuts, the second 1/3 to come off on January 1st.

The union officials killed the resistance movement in October. The London boiler makers were out on strike unofficially for 16 weeks. The boiler makers in the Bristol Channel ports came out on strike and the union officials got them to return to work on the understanding that "special terms" could be secured for them.

The union officials met the employers in London to discuss the Bristol conditions, and here, not only failed to fulfil their promises, but actually, without any consultation with the London strikers came to terms for a restart of work. The London boiler makers repudiated the settlement and the strike went on for many weeks. The strike eventually was broken by union official sabotage.

January will see the restarting of the fight against the shipyard reductions. The employers and union officials are using to the full the stopping of work on the giant Cunard Liner as a means of justifying the cuts and to damp down the spirit of the workers.

In woollen textiles the employers have, in a very subtle manner, introduced the longer working week. Certain mills, stating they have rush orders, ask the workers to do overtime.

In most mills no extra pay is given for "overtime". The situation has actually developed where the workers are coming earlier in the morning, and going home later at night for the same money.

The next month will see the attempts of the employers to concretise this manoeuvre in the shape of a longer working week along the lines of the Cotton Spinning Employers' demands.

The capitalist press have maintained a steady campaign along the lines that transport is too dear. The Railway companies have openly stated that in March a 20 per cent. reduction will be required.

Already by the operation of the Wages Board Award the railwaymen have suffered big cuts (April 1931). This award was not only a 2½ per cent. cut in wages, but involved the spreadover and similar methods of worsening the conditions of the workers. Last year by these methods of speeding up 40,000 railway workers were displaced. Mass dismissals has become the most serious question to be faced by the railwaymen.

Throughout the country the railway workers are clamouring for action. Many workers are actually getting less than the poor law scales of relief.

This feeling for action by the workers was crystallised in the London District Council and the Essex District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen being forced to accept resolutions for organising strike action against worsened conditions.

The District Councils after passing these, handed the militant movement over to the National Officials to kill. All this work of the rank and file culminated in a mass meeting on December 13th. at which the National Union Officials, to cater for the feelings of the workers, made militant speeches, and made those workers who are not in the union, responsible for all the sins of the industry.

In January 100,000 gas workers are due for a wage cut also.

The extent to which successful resistance can be developed will be determined by the extent to which the **Minority Movement** can make progress in entrenching the revolutionary workers in the factories.

There certainly will be strikes, but success in them must be based on the avoidance of the weaknesses that manifested themselves in the S. Wales Miners strike at the beginning of 1931, the weavers strike and the big woollen strike in the previous year.

Valiant efforts are being made to overcome existing weaknesses, to build **Action Committees** in the factories under strong independent leadership and to weld a strong united front of all sections of workers, employed and unemployed, in common action.

**Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union****The Carrying  
out of the Five-Year Plan.****Report Delivered at the  
II. Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.****By V. N. Molotov.****(Conclusion.)**

II.

**The Five-Year Plan in Four Years.****2. The Five-Year Plan in Agriculture.**

The transformation of the whole of agriculture would be impossible without the transformation of its technical basis, without supplying agricultural production with tractors, mowing and threshing machines, sowing and reaping machines. In this connection we have in the three years of the Five-Year Plan accomplished a real turn in agricultural machine construction. From the production of the old types of machines which were adapted to small individual farms, agricultural machine construction has made decided progress and has reached a high level which is above the average level of any capitalist country. In the year 1932 our agriculture must be supplied with new machines, over one million horse power in the form of new tractors, which will be produced exclusively by our own tractor works (Putilov works, Stalingrad and Charkov). In addition, we must produce agricultural machines to the value of 900 million roubles, of which the most necessary are harvesting machines for cereals, cotton, beet-roots, flax, potatoes, etc.

The machine and tractor stations occupy a particularly prominent place in the transformation of agriculture. In the past three years of the Five-Year Plan the machine and tractor stations have become the most popular and necessary organisation of the collective farms.

It was only in the year 1929 that the beginnings made by Comrade Markievicz on the Soviet farm Shewtchenko in the Ukraine began to extend rapidly to other districts, and thanks to the setting up of the Union tractor centre we established by the end of the third year of the Five-Year Plan 1,400 machine and tractor stations. In the year 1932 a further 1,700 machine and tractor stations are to be set up. In this way we shall have by the end of the fourth year 3,100 machine and tractor stations. As there are 2,500 regions in the Soviet Union, these 3,100 machine and tractor stations will enable us to serve all the most important districts of collectivised agriculture in almost every region.

The tremendous advantage of the machine and tractor stations, which constitute a firm technical basis and work according to a uniform plan under the comprehensive leadership of the Union centre, has been already sufficiently demonstrated. In spite of many shortcomings in practice, the machine and tractor stations play an important role in promoting agricultural production. The machine and tractor stations will in the future have still more important tasks to solve in the building up of Socialism.

The experiences of the machine and tractor stations are beginning to get a footing in new spheres of economy.

Thus in the past year about 200 grass-mowing machine stations were established. Organisations of such a type have proved very advantageous. As a result of the experiences of the machine and tractor stations, the necessity of setting up machine stations for the obtaining of timber was recognised. In the near future we shall proceed to organise motorised fishing stations in the fishing industry. In all these particular branches of economy it is possible to turn to account the experiences of the machine and tractor stations in grain

farming, of course, taking into account the peculiarities of the region in question and the branch of production.

The connection of the State organisation with the co-operative collective organisations effected by means of the machine and tractor stations and the creation of an organisation of the type of the machine and tractor stations on this basis and for definite purposes is of prime importance from the point of view of smooth and speedy going over of the mass of small farms onto the path of big socialist economy.

Finally, the setting up of collective dairy farms with the support of the State brought good results. This matter demands further support and greater activity on the part of the collective farms themselves.

How is the slogan "Five-Year Plan in four years" being realised? It is known that in regard to the collectivisation of agriculture we have long surpassed the programme for the fifth year of the Five-Year Plan. According to the Five-Year Plan, 20 per cent. of the peasant farms were to be collectivised in five years. Already at the end of the third year of the Five-Year Plan we have united more than 60 per cent. of all farms into collective farms. Thus the tasks of the whole Five-Year Plan of collectivisation have already in the third year been carried out more than 300 per cent. In the decisive grain districts collectivisation is already practically concluded. There is not the least doubt that in the year 1932 collectivisation will be practically completed in the whole of the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of our Party has accordingly pointed to the necessity of concentrating our attention on the organisational-economic consolidation of the collective farms, on the tasks of organising work in the artels and communes. It must not be forgotten that the extraordinarily rapid growth of collectivisation means at the same time that millions of new collective-farm peasants have in many respects not yet been able to overcome the habits and outlook of the small property owner. Hence the work of socialistically educating the masses of collective-farm peasants and the guarantee by them that the obligations of the collective farms towards the State—especially the delivery of agricultural products—shall be carried out in the first place, is the central task of the Bolsheviks in the village.

With regard to the development of Soviet farms, we have likewise already exceeded the tasks of the whole Five-Year Plan. The network of grain-producing and cattle-breeding Soviet farms, and also of the Soviet farms for the cultivation of technical plants, has developed very rapidly. In the whole collectivisation in our country the Soviet farms played a very big role as the first organisers of socialist large-scale agriculture. We must work with all the greater pertinacity to liquidate the big mistakes which have been revealed with particular clearness of late on the Soviet farms of the Grain Trust and of the Sugar Trust. At the same time it is necessary to offer the most determined resistance to the opportunist vacillations on the question of supporting the Soviet farms.

How is the Five-Year Plan being fulfilled in regard to the extension of the area under cultivation? The tasks of the Five-Year Plan demanded that by the end of the fifth year 141 million hectares should be under cultivation. This task has been successfully carried out as regards the first three years. In regard to the area under cultivation we have already

reached 137,500,000 hectares. The plan for the year 1932 increases the area under cultivation to 141 million hectares, i. e., it ensures the full and complete carrying out of the tasks of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

In regard to the cultivation of cereals we shall be somewhat behind the plan (95 per cent.) in 1932. Notwithstanding this the **grain problem** is practically solved in our country; thanks to the successes in the development of collective farms. On the other hand, we shall already in the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan considerably exceed the task in regard to the area given over to technical plants (133 per cent.). This means, however, that the **raw material** basis of our industry, already in the fourth year, will be widened to a greater extent than was envisaged in the whole of the Five-Year Plan. It must be added that our work must be concentrated not on extending the area under cultivation, but on the struggle for the harvest, for increasing the yielding capacity and in the sphere of organising the harvest.

While we have practically solved the grain problem and at the same time achieved great progress in regard to technical plants and are advancing more rapidly every year, we are nevertheless relatively behindhand in regard to cattle breeding.

We must now concentrate special forces on the task of promoting cattle breeding. Insofar as this is closely connected with the creation of a firm fodder basis, and insofar as we must further accelerate the development of technical plants, the question of increasing the grain production of the Soviet Union will still remain one of the most important questions of our whole work.

Moreover, the **drought** which we had this year in a number of big agricultural districts, namely, in the districts of the middle and lower Volga, in the Urals, Kasakstan and West Siberia, summons us to the fight against these natural disasters. Whilst ten years ago, when the drought led directly to a period of famine for millions of peasants in the South and the East, we were still too weak in order to develop a fight against this disaster, the time has come to-day when we can place this task in a Bolshevistic manner on the order of the day of the Soviet Power.

Finally, I should like to deal with **capital investments** in agriculture. The amount of capital investments in agriculture will increase in the year 1932 from 3,600 million roubles to 4,360 million roubles. This plan secures an increase of capital investments in agriculture which compared with the proposals of the whole Five-Year Plan already guarantees that we shall considerably exceed these proposals (165 per cent.) in four years.

From what I have already said it is to be seen that both in regard to industry and agriculture the proletariat of the Soviet Union is not only fulfilling but also exceeding the tasks of the Five-Year Plan; that the economic plan for the year 1932 means the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan not in five but in four years.

### 3. The Five-Year Plan of Transport.

We are to some extent behindhand in the realisation of the Five-Year Plan in **transport**. In the first three years of the Five-Year Plan a number of tasks have not been carried out.

In the year 1931, the whole Party waged a fight in order to remedy the big faults which have come to light in transport, especially the faults in regard to organising work; the lack of personal responsibility for locomotives and waggons, equal payment for unequal work. In addition, it is necessary to consolidate considerably the technical basis and to carry out important work for the reconstruction of transport, especially railway transport.

For the year 1932 a considerably greater extent of constructive work is contemplated. In addition to the introduction, beginning this year, of more powerful locomotives, waggons with greater loading capacity, electric locomotives, oil-driven locomotives and automatic couplings, the introduction of what is often described as "petty" work, upon which the immediate improvement of the railway transport service on a number of important sectors depends, is of great importance.

The capital investments in railways, water transport, road construction and aviation will amount to 3,330 million roubles in the year 1932. In railway transport, investments will be concentrated on developing the railway line between Moscow and the Don Basin, on the lines running from the Don Basin and on the Moscow-Magnitogorsk-Kusnetzk line.

### 4. The Five-Year Plan of the Working and Living Conditions of the Working Population.

As regards the position of the working masses in the Soviet Union, we shall in **four years** have considerably greater achievements than were envisaged for the whole of the **Five-Year period**.

In the first place I will speak of the general increase of the number of workers and employees employed in national economy.

For the fifth year of the Five-Year Plan the number of workers and employees was put at 15,800,000. Already at the end of 1931 the number of workers and employees exceeded this figure by three million, namely 18,700,000. The control figures for 1932 envisage a further increase in the number of workers and employees to 21 millions. This means that in this respect the Five-Year Plan will be carried out **133 per cent.** in four years.

For industry alone the Five-Year Plan provided that in the fifth year there should be 4 million workers. At the end of the third year we already had 5,400,000 workers. In the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan this number will increase to 6,200,000. Consequently, in regard to the cadres immediately employed in industry, we shall carry out the Five-Year Plan **152 per cent.** in four years. This means that the strongest social support of the Soviet Union—the working class—is rapidly growing, that the specific weight of the working class in the whole life of our country is increasing from year to year.

In order to characterise the improving living conditions of the workers and employees of the Soviet Union, I shall mention only three factors: wages, social insurance and the working day in the factories. In all these three spheres we have to record a considerable surpassing of the tasks of the Five-Year Plan.

The Five-Year Plan provided that in the last year the total **wage fund** should amount to 15,700 million roubles. In actual fact we have already in the year 1931 raised this fund to 21,100 million roubles. The plan for 1932 envisages an increase of the wages fund to 26,800 million roubles. Consequently, in the four years we shall realise the Five-Year Plan of the wages fund **171 per cent.** These figures speak for themselves.

According to the Five-Year Plan the **social insurance** budget for the last year was to amount to 1950 million roubles. As a matter of fact, we have already in the year 1931 a social insurance budget amounting to 2,500 million roubles, that is to say, we have already in the third year considerably exceeded the Five-Year Plan of social insurance. In the coming year the social insurance budget will reach the figure of 3,490 million roubles, that is to say, in four years we shall double the sum originally proposed for the last year of the Five-Year Plan.

According to the Five-Year Plan the **seven-hour working day** was to be realised in the last year of the Five-Year Plan.

In actual fact we are proceeding far more rapidly than was proposed by the Five-Year Plan, and already in the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan we are **completing** the carrying out of the seven-hour working day in the whole of industry.

Finally, in regard to the **erection of dwellings and communal economy**. In the year 1931 a decided progress commenced in this respect, before all in red capital of the Soviet Union, in Moscow. As is known, in addition to Moscow, in the coming year large-scale work in regard to the erection of dwellings will be commenced in Leningrad and some other industrial districts.

There is no doubt that this progress in communal economy will be of great importance in regard to improving the living conditions of the working population. It is our task to see that the proposed programme of work is actually carried out and to prepare for a broad development of the erection of urban dwellings in the whole of the Soviet Union.

The assertion that in the **village** there is taking place at the present time a tremendously rapid increase in the well-being of the working peasants requires no proof. Collectivisation and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class have opened up entirely new possibilities for the entire mass of the poor and middle peasants. For the first time in world history the main masses of the toilers have been led out of the misery and darkness of the village. A beginning is thereby made with the abolition of the contradiction between town and country.

## 5. On the General Results and the Enemies of the Five-Year Plan.

As a result of the economic progress, we are able to record a tremendous growth of the total national income of the Soviet Union.

The essential difference between the country of socialist construction and the whole of the capitalist world is emphasised by the fact that, whilst in the capitalist countries, in connection with the crisis, there is a tremendous decline of the national income, we in the Soviet Union have a tremendous increase of national income. This increase is expressed in the fact that in the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan we shall reach the level which was envisaged for the last year of the Five-Year Plan. That is to say, in the year 1932 the national income of the Soviet Union will be over 49,000 million roubles. This means that the specific weight of the socialist sector of the national income will be over 90 per cent., as compared with 71 per cent. envisaged in the Five-Year Plan.

I must say a few words regarding the **State budget**. A special report regarding this question will be submitted to the session of the Central Executive Committee. The Five-Year Plan assumed that the total of the State budget of the Soviet Union in the whole Five-Year period would amount to 53,800 million roubles. In reality we have reached in the three years of the Five-Year Plan a budget amounting to over 48,000 million roubles. If we take the State budget for the year 1932, i. e. 27,400 million roubles, plus 3,100 million roubles expenditure on the transport service (which was included in the budget by the Five-Year Plan), then as regards the budget we shall carry out the tasks of the Five-Year Plan 146 per cent. in four years (78,600 million roubles in four years as compared with 53,800 million roubles in five years according to the Five-Year Plan).

These are indisputable facts. No power on earth can erase these facts from the history of Socialism, from the history of the international proletariat.

But there are Kautskys who think otherwise. In the past year Kautsky wrote a whole book: "Bolshevism at a Dead-lock". He is now continuing heroically to defend this "work". It suffices to give a few quotations from the latest literary productions of Kautsky. Regarding the Five-Year Plan he writes for instance:

"The success of the Five-Year Plan means merely a considerable improvement of the material productive forces of Russia, somewhat similar to rationalisation during the last decade in the capitalist world." (Karl Kautsky: Die Aussichten des Sozialismus in Sowjetrußland. Die „Gesellschaft" No. 11 page 426.)

One must confess, it requires a certain amount of brazenness to compare the "success of the Five-Year Plan" in the Soviet Union with the carrying out of enslaving rationalisation in the capitalist enterprises. But Kautsky is not content with that. He writes:

"Since 1918 the Russian proletariat has sunk ever deeper from year to year from the height it reached. It is not approaching Socialism but is receding farther and farther away from it." (Ibid, page 436.)

It is impossible for anyone to be more shameless! The example of Kautsky shows that theoretical activity does not offer any guarantee against stupidity and political baseness, at least in old age. The well-known American writer, Upton Sinclair, had good reason for declaring in his article on Kautsky's book: „Bolshevism at a Dead-Lock":

"I call this book a humiliation to the socialist movement of Germany, and a danger to the socialist movement of the world."

But Kautsky sticks to his standpoint and repeats the counter-revolutionary attacks of the Mensheviks who have been driven out of the Soviet Union. The latter, for their part, do not go beyond the counter-revolutionary omniscience which consists in calling socialist construction in our country State capitalism.

Good, but capitalism, even a State capitalism, without the capitalists! Hardly a single capitalist—not to mention workers—will believe that State capitalism can exist in any country whilst the bourgeoisie and landowners are banished together with the Mensheviks. In spite of this the Mensheviks are not ashamed to speak of State capitalism in the Soviet Union, regardless of the tremendous growth of socialist competition among the masses, numbering millions, of the

working class, regardless of the collectivisation of millions of peasants' farms, regardless of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class. Indeed, is not the fact that the Soviet Power is introducing the seven-hour day in the factories and works the best confirmation of the existence of State capitalism in the Soviet Union? Not in order to refute the malicious and impotent talk about State capitalism in the Soviet Union, but for other reasons it is necessary to speak on this point.

If I dwell for some time on this question, if I mention the counter-revolutionary attacks of Kautsky, it is solely because all these gentlemen fulfil the orders of the enemies of the Soviet Union, the orders of the enemies of the whole working class. These orders consist in discrediting Socialism, in destroying the confidence of the foreign workers in the Soviet Republic. The imperialist bourgeoisie need all this in order to prepare the ground for an attack on the Soviet Union, for military intervention against the Soviet Republic.

That this is so can be seen from the same book by Karl Kautsky: "Bolshevism at a Dead-Lock." Here there are direct calls for intervention, expressed by Kautsky in the following words:

"The introduction of democracy (read: bourgeois counter-revolution. V. M.) in Russia will not only open its markets to the industry of the world. It will also rapidly extend this market to an enormous extent... A process will be thereby initiated which can finally lead to the overcoming of the fearful crisis which for the moment weighs on all modern industrial States... Unfortunately, this market must remain without importance as long as Bolshevism prevails."

The meaning of this declaration of Kautsky is perfectly clear. Kautsky is prepared to devote the rest of his powers to overthrowing the Soviet Power, in order that foreign capital may have "free" disposal of the new market in our country and force the workers under its yoke.

No matter how much the Kautskys and other servants of imperialism may strive, that can never be.

Life, facts speak for us. These facts are against capitalism and at the same time for Socialism. With all the greater energy the Bolsheviks, and with them the whole mass of the working population, will realise their Five-Year Plan and build up Socialism.

For the victory of our cause there is also necessary, the unrelenting **fight against opportunism**, no matter in what garb it may come forward. As a reply to the opportunist vacillations, as a reply to the opportunist doubts as to the realisability of the tasks set for the year 1932, we must increase our whole work so that we can really secure the completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years. We shall be guided by that which Comrade Stalin said regarding the realisability of the economic tasks which have been set up by our Party. I need only repeat these words:

"As a matter of fact the production plan is the embodiment of the living and practical activity of millions of toilers who are creating a new life. The reality of our plan consists in live people, you and me, our will and our labour, our readiness to work in a new way, our determination to carry out the plan. Have we got that determination? We have. Well then, our production plan can be carried out and will be carried out."

These words were spoken on the occasion of the setting up of the production plan for 1931. With all the more reason can they be applied to the programme of 1932, the political importance of which is confirmed by the fact that this programme is the programme for completing the Five-Year Plan in four years.

We have all the fundamental prerequisites for the carrying out of this programme. Have we, the working class and its leaders, the determination to carry out this programme? Yes, we have. We are filled with the determination to carry out this plan, and we shall carry it out. (Applause.)

### III.

## The Tasks of the Moment.

What must be done in order to fulfil the tasks of the year 1932, in order to carry out the Five-Year Plan in four years?

This question can be briefly answered: **We must increase the productivity of labour in our factories and works, in the pits and on the railways, on the Soviet farms and on the collective farms.** Lenin has often pointed out that the pro-

ductivity of labour ultimately decides the victory of the new order of society.

We must remember this particularly at the present moment, in view of the unfavourable results in this sphere compared with the previous year.

In the year 1931, the productivity of labour in industry increased by only 6.6 per cent. That, however, is quite insufficient and is far behind the adopted programme. Consequently, we have in many cases not only not reached the proposed reduction of the overhead charges, but on the contrary the overhead charges of production and building activity have increased. We cannot tolerate this state of affairs. In the year 1932 we must develop a real struggle in order to increase the productivity of labour in industry, in agriculture and in transport. This is all the more necessary as we are doing everything in order to prevent a repetition of the things which took place last year in the transport industry, which not inconsiderably decreased the achievements in industry. All this calls for the development of the struggle against a number of big faults in our organisation of work and administration.

I must deal in this connection with the following fundamental tasks of the moment: a) with the question of organising the work in industry, on the Soviet farms and in transport; b) with the question of organising the work on the collective farms; c) with the development of goods circulation; d) with the carrying out of business accountancy and e) with the supervision of the execution of work:

a) **The questions of organising work.** The Party sharply raised the questions already last year, and they are as a matter of fact the fundamental questions of the work of our economic organs. One of the most important of these is the fight against the lack of personal responsibility for the machines and mechanism and the fight against the equalising of all wages, and also the going over from automatism to organised recruiting of labour power.

The harmful results of the lack of personal responsibility are to be seen most clearly in railway transport.

The liquidation of the lack of personal responsibility for the locomotives had an immediate salutary effect on the whole of the locomotives of the Commissariat for Transport. After the liquidation of the lack of personal responsibility, the percentage of locomotives out of order showed a decline, and the number of breakdowns of locomotives on the line and the number of cases in which trains were without locomotives also decreased. The transition from the lack of personal responsibility to the system of assigning every locomotive to the two workers responsible, the driver and the fireman, and, in connection therewith, the introduction of the responsibility of the driver for the working of the locomotive has not yet everywhere been sufficiently carried out. But we must carry it out completely.

Not only the Transport Commissariat but also other economic organs reveal a lack of personal responsibility. As a result one comes across everywhere the lack of personal responsibility for machines, plant, instruments, for the carrying out of certain tasks of production. The lack of personal responsibility has become particularly great in cases where, in the past year, the carrying out of the uninterrupted working week was undertaken in a wrong manner.

All this is now generally known, and the struggle against lack of personal responsibility is thereby considerably facilitated. We must now proceed to the real carrying out of the adopted decisions.

On the other hand, there exists a great shortcoming of our economic work in the equalisation of the wages of the workers, and of the technical staff. The pressure of petty bourgeois elements was and remains fairly strong in this matter. This pressure led in actual practice to a blunting of the interests of the qualified cadres, of which there is such a shortage with us, in the results of production. The struggle against paying all workers alike, and the carrying out of payment according to quantity and quality of the work performed are therefore burning questions of the day. Without the liquidation of the equalisation of wages, and consequently without securing the necessary high remuneration of qualified workers and technical forces, and without the special promotion of the various most important branches of industry in the whole economy, the organisation of work in our factories cannot be improved, the fluctuation of workers cannot be liquidated, the productivity of labour in industry

and in other branches of economy cannot be really increased. The questions of organising work, and before all the question of the struggle against the lack of personal responsibility and equalisation of wages, must be the main object of attention of our industry, our socialist agriculture, cattle breeding and transport.

How far we still are from a correct organisation of work in many of our factories can be seen from the example of factories in the sugar industry. The chairman of the sugar trust, Comrade Odintsov, after visiting the sugar factories, came to the following conclusion:

"The sugar factories were not divided off into factory departments. In some sections of the process of production, production was calculated according to the quantity of sugar-beets worked up."

In the sugar factories "no account was kept of the sugar produced, not even at the end of the process of production."

In the sugar factories "there was no calculation of the work of the different branches of production, no responsibility for increasing the sugar output, and the workers were not mobilised for the struggle for sugar."

"The sugar factories possessed no concrete plan for obtaining sugar beets and had not fixed any term for the delivery of sugar beets to the factory."

One could go on describing the bad state of affairs in the sugar industry revealed by a special inquiry. But the facts I have mentioned suffice. It is known that it required drastic measures, up to the replacement of the managers, in order to develop the struggle for improving the sugar industry and before all to liquidate the greatest shortcomings in the organisation of work in the sugar factories. There can be no doubt that the ruthless exposure of the shortcomings will serve to accelerate the improvement of affairs in the whole of the sugar industry.

Without the liquidation of the equalisation of wages and the lack of personal responsibility, and without improving the whole organisation of work in our factories there can be no proper struggle for the carrying out of the chief tasks of the year 1932, for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

b) **The questions of the organisation of work on the collective farms** must occupy a special place. Here, too, the instructions of the Party regarding liquidating the lack of personal responsibility and the equalisation of wages must be followed. But on the collective farms there are special features which do not exist in the factories in industry or, let us say, on the Soviet farms.

The last Soviet Congress emphasised the faults in the work on the collective farms, by declaring:

"that the chief and most dangerous shortcomings in the work on the collective farms in the year 1930 were firstly, that the income of the collective farms was not distributed according to quantity and quality of the work performed by the members of the collective farms, but per head and, secondly, that the bringing in of the harvest was not well organised."

In the year 1931, we undoubtedly achieved certain results in regard to overcoming these shortcomings on the collective farms. But the collective farm movement is making such rapid headway and fresh thousands of collective farm peasants are springing up in such a short time that the shortcomings mentioned by the Soviet Congress even now, in many cases, constitute the chief obstacle to increasing the productivity of work on the collective farms and especially to improving the harvest work.

It is necessary to ascertain, on the basis of the experiences of the past year when the collective farms achieved absolute preponderance in agriculture, how the instructions of the VI. Soviet Congress regarding the distribution of income according to the quality and quantity of the work of each member of the collective farm have been carried out in practice; we must increase the material interest of the collective farm peasants in the result of production, and thereby consolidate the collective farms as big socialist undertakings. But apart from this the chief conclusion is clear.

Without an improvement in the organisation of work, or in other words, without the necessary organisational-economic consolidation of the collective farms, it will be impossible to guarantee the growth of the collective farms as the socialist form of economy and the fulfilment of the



tasks set them with regard to carrying out the Five-Year Plan in four years.

c) **The development of goods circulation.** The question of improving the supply of food to the workers constitutes this year one of the main questions of the Soviet Power.

The entire Party engaged itself in this question. A certain improvement has undoubtedly been achieved this year. The increase of prices for certain commodities has in no way affected the circulation of goods; on the contrary, the circulation of goods has greatly increased. But we cannot be satisfied with the results achieved.

In the year 1932, the fund allotted to goods intended for mass consumption will be greatly increased. This fund is rising (computed according to the retail prices of last year) from 27,200 million roubles to 35,500 million roubles. That is to say, the retail trade turnover of the socialist sector increases 30 per cent.

The output of agricultural products has considerably increased in comparison with the corresponding period of last year. Despite the drought in a number of important regions, the results of our grain collection is greater this year than last year. In spite of the insufficient rate at which cotton has been produced, this year's production of cotton surpasses last year's. The production of potatoes, eggs and machork (a cheap sort of tobacco) surpassed the corresponding figures for last year by 20 to 50 per cent. The production of meat, butter, sunflower seeds and linseed was 50 to 100 per cent higher than in the year 1930. The production of poultry, hemp, flax and tobacco was 100 per cent higher than last year. Only the production of sugar beets was less than in the year 1930. Thus agricultural articles, food etc., have increased tremendously during the past year.

In order to develop those branches of industry producing articles of daily use, a number of new works will be erected in the year 1932. Construction work in the regions far removed from the centre will be carried out at shock brigade tempo.

Thus, for instance, it has been decided to build a new huge textile combine in Central Asia with a view to improving the supply of textiles to the population of Central Asia and Siberia.

A comprehensive programme for the construction of sugar factories has been drawn up; it is planned to build the main part of these factories in Kasakstan and in the Far East.

The building programme for the meat combine and canning factories adopted in the year 1931 will be further developed in the year 1932.

All this shows the increased attention the Soviet Power is devoting to improving the supplies of goods to the workers and the entire mass of the working population.

First class importance attaches to the question of extending the network of retail trade, the erection of new stores. Private trade, which has declined in the last few years, has not by far been replaced by co-operative and State stores. Therefore, in the past year the network of stores, including those of the Centrosojus and the State stores as well as those of the homeworkers' co-operatives, has been extended. The task of increasing and enlarging the stores acquires still greater importance in the year 1932. It is absolutely necessary to organise at least 10,000 stores, of which at least 5,000 should be run by the Centrosojus and 5,000 by the Supply Commissariat; in addition an extension of the network of stores of other economic Commissariats must be carried out.

Without the development of State and co-operative trade and without an all-round development of Soviet Trade—with the necessary guarantee of the Soviet price policy—it is impossible to improve the supplies to the masses to the extent required, which is one of the chief prerequisites for the carrying out of the given tasks, before all the task of carrying out the Five-Year Plan in four years.

d) **The Carrying out of Business Accountancy.** The carrying out of business accountancy has made great progress in the year 1931. As the increase of our accumulation depends to a great extent upon the carrying out of business accountancy, and as in many spheres things are still unsatisfactory in this respect, the task of business accountancy has been very sharply put.

By the adoption of improvements of the credit reform of the year 1930 the prerequisites are given for the abolition of mismanagement and for increased mobilisation of the inner resources of industry.

Particular importance attaches to the practice of contractual relations. From the point of view of consolidating

the economic plans adopted by us on the basis of firmer relations between the economic organs, and also from the point of view of definitely establishing business accountancy in our factories and economic organisations, contracts must occupy an important place in our work in the coming year.

As is known, our principles of business accountancy do not in any way run counter to our planned organisation of economy. On the contrary, our business accountancy is interwoven with the adopted economic plan; nay more, it is subordinated to it. On the other hand, the introduction of business accountancy is necessary precisely in order, by developing the necessary responsibility and at the same time initiative in the work of the enterprises and of the economic organisations, to secure the carrying out of the economic programme. The system of contractual relations is the best means of connecting the economic plan with the principle of business accountancy. Hence this matter must receive special attention from all economic organisations.

In the carrying out of business accountancy there are not a few distortions. On the one hand, there are many examples of a formal bureaucratic attitude towards the carrying out of business accountancy, which in practice amounts to a denial of the policy of the Party in economic construction. On the other hand, it comes to open bourgeois distortions of the principles of business accountancy. Characteristic in this respect is the practice of the direct exchange of goods between economic organisations, which has led to a frustration of the plan and reflects bourgeois tendencies in the economic apparatus (concealing stores of goods from the State, wastefulness in their distribution etc.). The Party called attention to this in connection with the work of the sugar trust. All this shows the indisputable necessity for carrying out business accountancy.

Without a strict carrying out of business accountancy the accumulation within industry cannot be increased; there can be no real struggle against mismanagement, and consequently there can be no guarantee that the gigantic programme for the coming year, the completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years, will be carried out.

e) Finally, **the supervision of the execution of the tasks set.** Lenin in his time attached great importance to improving the State apparatus.

Since then our State apparatus has undoubtedly improved. The cadres of people who are devoted to the Soviet Power have increased in the State apparatus; the number of Communists have also considerably increased. Owing, however, to the tremendous growth of our constructive work, our State apparatus is also growing and especially the economic apparatus, in which the same elements which are alien to the working class, which are not properly connected with socialist construction, play an important role.

Therefore, Lenin's directives regarding the tasks of the Communists in relation to the State apparatus are necessarily among the most important tasks of the moment. Lenin said:

"It is necessary, that they, these Communists, master the apparatus in which they are placed and not, as is often the case with us, be mastered by the apparatus itself."

Already at that time, in the year 1922, Lenin pointed out:

"To control the people and the actual carrying out of the matter, therein and only therein is the essence of the whole work, of the whole policy. This is not a matter of some months, not a matter of a year, but of several years."

This is what Lenin said nine years ago. And what have we now? How do matters stand with our State apparatus and with our State organs as a whole at the present moment?

I will reply to this question by quoting the words of Comrade Andreyev, who, after having made himself acquainted with the Transport apparatus, characterised this apparatus as follows. Regarding the Transport Commissariat Comrade Andreyev wrote:

"The apparatus arose automatically. There is lacking the organised exactitude in the construction of the apparatus and the exact division of functions and duties between the officials and between the responsible employees. In spite of the Soviet purging action the apparatus is again clogged with useless elements."

Further,

"There is a complete lack of calculation of the work of the apparatus as a whole and of the individual

responsible workers. There is also lacking a supervision of the carrying out of the tasks of the operative central administrative bodies in the Transport Commissariat."

"The uncontrolled growth of the apparatus led to the Transport Commissariat not knowing exactly either the number of the central institutions of the Transport Commissariat, nor of the staff of the employees, nor the number of workers. Exact returns were only compiled in the course of the work for limiting the staff of the officials in the Transport Commissariat."

Comrade Andreyev, of course, did not confine himself to recording these facts, but he immediately commenced intensive work in the apparatus of the Transport Commissariat.

It is obvious that the facts relating to the Commissariat for Transport must serve as a lesson not only to the Commissariat for Transport, but also to the other economic organisations:

It is really time an end was put to all automatism and inexactitude in regard to organising matters in the institutions. It is time that an end was made to the supercilious indifferent attitude towards improving the administrative apparatus. Both the supercilious indifferent attitude and the petty bourgeois underestimation of the role of the State apparatus have nothing to do with the interests of the working class or with the performance of the duties of the Communists, the leaders of the Soviet and economic institutions.

With us, much more favourable prerequisites have now been created for improving the organs of the economic administration. It is not difficult to prove this.

Among the intelligentsia and especially among some of the cadres of technicians and engineers—after certain vacillations and counter-revolutionary acts of the not remote past —, a noticeable turn in favour of the Soviet Power took place. The results of socialist construction in industry and agriculture have played a decisive role in this respect. That is, so to speak, one side of the matter.

The other side of the matter is that the preparation of the cadres of technicians and engineers—after certain vacillations. This can be illustrated by very simple and convincing figures:

At the beginning of the Five-Year Plan, in the year 1928, 87,000 persons were studying at our high schools. At present, already 372,000 students are attending our high schools, i. e., four times as many as three years ago. In the year 1932, the number of high schools pupils will increase to 380,000.

We see the same thing in the technical schools. In the year 1928, 149,000 pupils were attending the technical schools. At present, 511,000 persons are studying at the technical schools; that is to say, in three years the number of students has increased nearly three and a half-fold. The number of students who will be attending our technical schools at the end of the coming year is estimated at 725,000.

In connection with these figures it is necessary to call to mind the differences of opinion which existed at one time in our circles regarding the question of technical schools. Three to 3½ years ago some comrades considered it a moot point not only whether all technical schools and technical institutions should be subordinated to the corresponding economic commissariat, but they argued strenuously against some of these high schools and technical institutions being subordinated to the People's Commissariat even only as an experiment. The Party resolutely resisted these tendencies. It is now clear how timely the adopted decision was. Who can still deny that if those decisions had not been adopted at that time, we should to-day find ourselves in a very bad situation in regard to the training of the cadres necessary for socialist construction.

The rapid increase of the formation of cadres is of course not without many shortcomings. We must obviously engage in supervising the whole work of the formation of cadres, with the organisation of this matter, the guaranteeing of the necessary guidance of the formation of cadres.

On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that our cadres, thanks to the measures adopted, have grown tremendously, have already passed through a not unimportant school of instruction and offer possibilities, formerly unknown, for improving the work of our economic organisations and the whole State apparatus. It is not only necessary that the leaders of our economic organs shall Bolshevistically and actually proceed to improve the work of the apparatus, make a proper selection of co-workers, distribute them correctly and, what is the chief thing, organise a correct control of the carrying out of the tasks set.

Under the given circumstances, the lack of supervision of the execution of the tasks set is one of the greatest shortcomings in the work of our economic organs and of the administrative apparatus as a whole. Here we lag behind, so to speak, on all fronts.

We hope, therefore, that the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union will approve the proposal, formulated in the project of the Council of People's Commissars, regarding the supervision of the carrying out of decisions. The project reads as follows:

"The control of the carrying out of Party and government decisions, and also of their own decisions, must occupy the main attention of all Soviet and economic organs (Supreme Economic Council, Commissariat for Transport, Commissariat for Agriculture, Commissariat for Supplies, economic unions etc.). The practical work of all the Soviet and economic organs must be diverted from the line of directions and dispositions issued by decrees, to the line of systematic supervision of the carrying out of the given directives and tasks."

This diverting of the practical work of all our organs from the "line of directions and dispositions issued by decrees to the line of systematic supervision of the carrying out of the given directives and tasks" must be realised consistently and Bolshevistically. The leaders of the institutions and the economic organs must themselves see to the supervision of the carrying out of decisions. This matter cannot be delegated to other people:

Further, in the course of the supervision of the actual carrying out of the set tasks, our economic experience will increase, a real economic administration will arise, the actual carrying out of the policy of the Party will be secured. Our national economic plan gives the political direction for the whole of socialist construction. The living embodiment of this political direction depends, above all, on what tempo we achieve, in mastering the technique of production and administration, including the questions of organising work. This, however, in turn, depends to a great extent upon how far the supervision of the execution of the set tasks improves.

The organisation of the supervision of the execution of the tasks set and the guaranteeing of a concrete guidance are, in essence, two sides of the same thing. Therefore, certain organisational changes were undertaken recently in the economic sphere, as for instance, the reduction of the size of the economic associations.

With the tremendous growth of socialist construction in the last year or two and a further gigantic development of the tasks of the Soviet Power in the coming year, these organisational tasks, and especially the supervision of the execution of the tasks set, acquire great importance.

Unless the work of all the Soviet and economic organs is diverted into new channels, and unless the supervision of the execution of the tasks set and a concrete guidance are actually secured, it will be impossible to carry out the central tasks of the national economic plan—the completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

Such are the fundamental tasks of the moment, on the solution of which we must concentrate a maximum of forces under the leadership of our Party.

#### IV.

### The International Situation and the Struggle for Peace.

It is not my task in this report to touch in detail upon matters pertaining to the international situation as regards the U.S.S.R. I will therefore limit myself only to the most significant events of the moment.

Generally, no changes have occurred lately in the relation between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries.

With those countries with which the Soviet Union has had normal or friendly relations, our relations continue to be the same. The Soviet government is doing all in its power to maintain these relations, based upon the principles of Soviet policy. As regards those countries, however, with which relations have been unsatisfactory, the Soviet government has aimed to improve them. This, too is in line with the general Soviet policy.

In compliance with this policy, a policy of promoting general peace, the U.S.S.R. has entered into negotiations with Poland regarding a non-aggression pact. These negoti-

tions are still in progress. We aim at concluding them satisfactorily. At any rate, all that is possible is being done by the Soviet Union in this connection.

Recently we have received proposals from Rumania, Finland, and Estonia requesting that we conclude non-aggression pacts with these countries. We consider that such pacts with these countries and with others—especially with the countries bordering on the U.S.S.R.—are totally in line with the peaceful policy of the Soviet government and tend to ensure general peace. As in the past, we wish to place the question of non-aggression pacts in the field of practical realization. All that can be done in this regard is being accomplished by the Soviet government.

The most important problem relating to our foreign policy is of course the Far Eastern conflict—**Manchuria**. Facts indicate that the extent of the affected zone shows a tendency to further expansion.

It is known that the League of Nations attempted to intervene in the military activities taking place in Manchuria. However, this in no degree affected the present occupation of Manchuria, nor did it bring about a cessation of military activities there. The results in fact proved to be quite the reverse.

On two occasions the League of Nations attempted to make concrete proposals regarding the occupation of Manchuria. We already know the end of that.

At the commencement of the events the League of Nations even fixed a date, namely 14th October, by means of which illusions were fostered in some circles regarding a possible turn for the better, i. e. the cessation of military operations in Manchuria. But nothing of the kind occurred.

After new and lengthy deliberations, the League of Nations recently decided to send to Manchuria, in the name of five powers—a scientific research commission! In other words, the League of Nations proved its lack of desire and of ability to check the conflict in Manchuria. This second decision of the League of Nations proves the insincerity of its first, and virtually sanctions the occupation and the subsequent expansion of military activity in Manchuria.

All this compels us to be wary as regards happenings in the Far East. We must not forget that our border lies along the Manchurian line. But we have no doubt that our Far Eastern heroes will rise to the occasion and will be sharp-sighted in regard to the Soviet borders in the Far East. (Applause.)

The workers, and the toiling masses in the villages of the Soviet Union are too occupied with their own internal affairs, too absorbed in the task of improving our national economy, in the task of bettering their living conditions. They wish the same to the workers of other countries. But the international events taking place at the present time require the maximum vigilance and we again underline our fundamental principle: We do not need any other country's land, but neither will we give up an inch of ours! (Applause.)

February 2, 1932, the date for the summoning of the **commission on disarmament**, is approaching. About this date, there is quite a lively political game being carried on by the imperialist governments whose interests have nothing in common with disarmament. Attempts are being made to postpone, or avoid altogether, the question of the disarmament commission.

What is more, the leading imperialist forces are trying to transform the commission on disarmament into a comedy which will place no encumbrances in the way of the imperialists to increased armaments. Everything is being done so that the commission does not engage in its task, and will not interfere with the growth of armaments—especially those of the leading imperialist powers. The latter, under the cloak of their participation in the commission on disarmament, are really increasing their armaments and forming new military-political alliances for new imperialistic wars.

In essence, the proposals made by the various imperialist countries are practically identical—what they want is not disarmament but a free hand for the further development of armaments.

There is only one proposal directed towards actual disarmament. It was introduced by the U.S.S.R. This proposal is for a complete actual disarmament of all countries. The U.S.S.R. still believes that this is the only proposal meeting the interests of disarmament and general peace. As a minimum, the U.S.S.R. has proposed to effect within the next

few years at least a 50 per cent limitation of armaments. But even that proposal was not accepted by the imperialist powers. Despite that the Soviet government believes that there is only one programme for disarmament, which at the same time is a programme for peace—the programme of complete disarmament proposed by the U.S.S.R. (Applause.)

In conjunction with the interest centering upon the summoning of the commission on disarmament, all indications point to the growing danger to world peace.

The deepening economic crisis makes more acute the existing contradictions between the imperialist governments and worsens the internal conditions in their countries through class antagonisms. The economic struggle, in conjunction with the various measures of protectionism, has evolved into an open economic war between various capitalist countries. Another step, and the struggle for markets will be transformed into an imperialist war. The danger of new military imperialist adventures is constantly growing.

The U.S.S.R. especially is menaced by imperialist attack. We are well informed that in some diplomatic chancelleries at the present time lively discussion is taking place regarding an attack on the Soviet Union. We must not forget that many of those who previously organised military intervention in the U.S.S.R. are still alive and are planning, in conjunction with new representatives of imperialism, how to prepare an attack upon the workers' republic.

In conjunction with recent events in Manchuria, there were exposed in our press, as well as in the foreign bourgeois press, several provocative attempts to involve the U.S.S.R. in a war and to organise a military attack upon our state. We must be ready to deal with such provocation.

But we reply to all this by carrying on our consistent policy of peace. We reply to this by intensifying our vigilance. We reply to this by further developing the growth of socialist construction, by completing in 1932 the Five-Year Plan.

In our country creative labour goes on in full swing; gigantic construction is being accomplished; victoriously we are building socialism. In this we see a strengthening of, not only our internal, but also our international position. By the victorious fulfilment of the plan of national economy, the conclusion of the Five-Year Plan in four years, the struggle for socialism—we will answer our class enemies. Our task is to help promote general peace and international socialism, assuring the victory of the working class. (Prolonged Applause.)

## Soviet Turkmenia on the March.

Moscow, 28th December 1931.

The report of the government of Soviet Turkmenia to the session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union shows the rapid progress made by the country during the seven years of its existence. Under Czarism this country had never seen modern agricultural machinery and the peasants scratched up the land with wooden ploughs. To-day the country has 17 tractor and agricultural machinery stations with 711 tractors and a large quantity of modern agricultural machinery and implements. Next year the number of tractors at work will be doubled.

62% of the poor and middle peasants are now organised in the collectives. The production of cotton is rising rapidly. During the last six years the area under cotton has trebled and now totals 187,500 hectares. Rapid progress is also being made in silkworm cultures and the production of silk has trebled since the revolution. The Soviet authorities are organising the silkworm industry on thoroughly modern lines. Industrial production in Turkmenia has increased more than fivefold since the revolution.

Further, Soviet Turkmenia has schools, high schools and technical schools, its own publishing house, national theatres, cinemas, etc. 35% of the population are already able to read and write as compared with a negligible fraction before the revolution. Doctors trained on highly modern lines are now at work in place of the hokuspokus quacks of Czarist times. Hospitals, dispensaries and medical information centres are being opened in increasing numbers. Maternity and child protection is being developed rapidly, and homes for mothers and children are being opened all over the country. This year 14,000 children were looked after in the creches.

# The Control Figures for the Economic Plan of the Soviet Union in 1932.

## Resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union

on the reports of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, **Comrade W. M. Molotow** (Scriabine), and of the Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, **Comrade W. W. Kuibichev**.

After having listened to the reports of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, **Comrade W. M. Molotow** (Scriabine), and of the Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, **Comrade W. W. Kuibichev** on the Control Figures for the Economic Plan of the Soviet Union in 1932, the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union decides:

1. to express its approval of the home and foreign policy of the government of the Soviet Union; and

2. to confirm the Control Figures for the Economic Plan of the Soviet Union in 1932 as presented by the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union.

(sig.) G. Petrovski

Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union

(sig.) A. Yanukidse

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

Moscow, the Kremlin, 25th December 1931.

The third year of the Five-Year Plan (1931) was a year of new successes and achievements on the part of the working class in the task of socialist construction. Although certain branches of industry did not show a sufficiently rapid development, nevertheless industrial production as a whole increased by from 20 to 21 per cent. in the year 1931 as compared with production in the year 1930.

The year 1931 was therefore a year of powerful industrial development in the Soviet Union. In the same period industrial production in all capitalist countries showed a steady and persistent decline. The year 1931 saw the liquidation of unemployment in the Soviet Union and a colossal increase of unemployment in all capitalist countries. The year 1931 also saw a considerable improvement in the standard of life of the workers in the Soviet Union, including wage increases averaging 18%, and at the same time a rapid deterioration of the standards of the workers in the capitalist countries, including a sharp depression of wages.

With regard to agriculture the year 1931, the third year of the Five-Year Plan, was a period of rapid and radical transformation: it saw the decisive victory of the socialist agricultural forms (collective and soviet farms) over the bourgeois, individual forms. It was a year of destruction for the capitalist elements in the village. The collectivisation embraced 62% of all former individual peasant farms and 79% of the area of land formerly tilled by these individual peasant farms. This result means that the figures of the Five-Year Plan in this connection were exceeded more than threefold. This decisive socialist victory more than outweighed the drought in a number of rural districts (the Volga, Kasakstan, the Urals and Western Siberia) and resulted in an increase of the production of cereals and technical cultures by 6.5% as compared with 1930, whilst production for the market (distribution outside the village) increased by from 9 to 10%. To judge from the increase in the quotas of cereals and technical cultures.

The past year was a year of further progress for agriculture in the Soviet Union, whilst in all capitalist countries it saw a persistent decline of agriculture. At the same time the year 1931 was a period in which the social differentiation in the village rapidly diminished, in which the impoverishment of the peasant masses was rapidly liquidated, and in which the material conditions of the working masses in the village were radically improved. On the other hand, in the countries of capitalism the social differentiation in the village increased tremendously, as also did the impoverishment of the million masses of the peasantry.

The successes achieved both in industry and agriculture guaranteed the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in four years and have laid down the basis of a socialist economic system in the Soviet Union.

The Central Executive Committee underlines the fact that these successes were the result of the heroic efforts of the working class and of the working peasantry, of the socialist competitive scheme, of the shock group movement, of the correct policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of the struggle for a bolshevist rate of development against opportunism in all its forms.

The development of industry, agriculture and other branches of the soviet economic system has resulted in a further growth of the national income of the Soviet Union. The result of the year 1931 is that the national income of the Soviet Union increased by from 13 to 14% as compared with the year 1930, whilst in all capitalist countries the national income decreased by from 10 to 20% in the same period.

Despite the considerable successes achieved by the soviet economic system, and despite the fact that such successes represent an unattainable ideal for all capitalist countries, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union considers that in view of the possibilities of the socialist economic system the successes achieved were by no means sufficient. The C.E.C. is of the opinion that if the possibilities of the socialist economic system were correctly utilised the soviet economic system could achieve a still greater rapidity of development. The chief causes of the insufficient utilisation of these possibilities were the deficiencies in the work of the economic organisers in industry, agriculture and transport, the deficiencies in the organisation of labour power in the factories, etc., the deficiencies in the organisation of the wage system, the lack of sufficient practical leadership, the lack of efficient control of the carrying out of the tasks set, the lack of sufficient attention paid to the question of business methods in the management of the factories, etc.

The struggle against these chief deficiencies of our economic work, the struggle for the establishment of personal responsibility in industry, agriculture and transport, the struggle for the abolition of the levelling tendencies with regard to wages, the struggle for business-like management, the struggle for the establishment of a practical leadership of the economic work, and the struggle to secure an efficient control of the carrying out of the tasks set, all these things are the absolutely necessary preliminaries without which there can be no sufficient utilisation of all the possibilities of the socialist economic system, and no really bolshevist rate of development.

These tasks can only be carried out by securing a further intensive development of socialist production and of the socialist constructive work, by a still more energetic struggle for the correct and sufficient utilisation of the existing powerful internal resources of the soviet economic system, and above all by developing the most important branches of the soviet economic system, the production of fuel, the foundry industry, the engineering industry, and in particular the building of locomotives and rolling stock.

All ways and means at the disposal of the working class, both material and financial, must be directed in particular to the development of these branches of the soviet economic system. The productive and constructive plans of all other branches of the soviet economic system which supply the foundries, the fuel supply industries, engineering and transport with equipment, raw materials and power, must be so organised that the requirements of these decisive branches of the soviet economic system are fully satisfied.

Building work, etc., in all branches of industry must be so planned that the backward national districts are rapidly developed, that industrial centres are created in these districts, that a better utilisation of the natural resources of these districts (agricultural raw materials, minerals, etc.) is obtained, and that the work of the railway system is facilitated. This demands special attention for the Central Asian districts, Kasakstan, Siberia and the Far East.

In view of all these considerations the C.E.C. of the S.U. resolves:

## I. Concerning Industry.

1. To put the **increase** of gross production aimed at in the state industries for the year 1932 at 36%. This would mean the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan towards the end of the fourth year and the achievement of a fourfold increase of pre-war industrial production. To set the figure for the increase of production in those branches of industry producing the means of production at 44%, and the corresponding figure for those branches of industry producing articles of mass consumption at 29%;

2. To confirm the following production tasks for the most important branches of industry in 1932: **Coal** 90 million tons; **cast iron** 9 million tons; **steel** 9.5 million tons; **rolled iron** 7 million tons, including 676,000 tons of higher quality rolled iron; **engineering** to the value of 6,800 million roubles, including agricultural machinery to the value of 940 million roubles, 2,000 tractors, 73,000 automobiles, 1,300 locomotives, rolling stock 50,000 double axles, including 9,000 in the factories under the control of the People's Commissariat for Transport; **cotton** 34.61 million metres; **boots** and **shoes** 81.5 million pairs; **tanning industry** 1,000 million tins.

The programme of the engineering industry must be so organised that the equipment necessary for the foundry industry, the fuel industries and the transport system is supplied without fail in accordance with the programme of investments in these branches of industry.

3. Whilst developing the production of **coal** and the mechanisation of production in the Don and Kusnetz Basins with all possible means and to the highest possible pitch, to develop also the production of coal in other districts (Borzhitski, Central Asia, Eastern Siberia and the Far East), and in particular in the Urals and in the Moscow district. This latter district must become the chief source of the coal supply of the Moscow district in the shortest possible space of time. Therefore to fix the production of coal in the Don Basin at 56 million tons, in the Kusnetz Basin at 11 million tons, in the Moscow mining area at 6 million tons, in the Karaganda mining area at 2.5 million tons, in the East Siberian mining area at 3.7 million tons, in the Ural mining area at 6 million tons, in the Far Eastern mining area at 3 million tons, and in the Central Asian mining area at 1.5 million tons. To fix the total of the investment plan for the mining industry at 810 million roubles, including the sinking of new pits and the extension, etc., of old ones in order to obtain an annual production of 195 million tons, including 57 million tons in the Don Basin, 43.7 million tons in the Kusnetz Basin, 11.8 million tons in the Moscow mining area, and 10 million tons in the Karaganda mining area.

4. To develop the production of **foundry metals** by opening up 24 blast furnaces with a content of 22,000 cubic metres, and 64 Martin furnaces with an annual production of 4,400,000 tons of steel, 12 electro-furnaces, 7 Bloomings and 21 rolling furnaces. Accordingly, to fix the investment plan for the foundry industry at 1,800 million roubles.

5. Towards the end of 1932 to have increased the total capacity of all power stations at present at work to 5.6 million kilowatt, including an increase of the total capacity of the district power stations to 3.2 million kilowatt, and at the same time to open up new power-stations throughout the year with a total capacity of 1.5 million kilowatt. To set the figure for the production of electrical energy in 1932 at 17 milliard kilowatt hours, representing an increase of 6 milliard kilowatt hours. To set the production of electrical energy in the district power stations for 1932 at 10 milliard kilowatt hours.

6. To make it the duty of the Supreme Economic Council, of the People's Commissariat for Supplies, of the People's Commissariat for Transport, of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, and of all other People's Commissariats with economic tasks, to begin at once with a careful investigation to register the actual normal average consumption of fuel, metals and agricultural raw materials both in production and construction, and to lay down the obligatory normal average of consumption of these materials, whereby a saving of not less than 15% in production and of 20% in construction must be obtained with regard to metals as compared with the year 1931, and a saving of not less than 10% with regard to fuel.

7. To secure an increase of the **total number of workers** engaged in the socialist (census) large-scale industry from 4,777,000 to 6,218,000, representing an increase of 14% as compared with the year 1931.

8. To secure an **11% increase of wages** in 1932 above the average wage prevailing in 1931 for industrial workers, and accordingly to fix the annual wage fund of the industrial workers at 8,051 million roubles, representing an increase of 1,690 million roubles as compared with the year 1931.

9. To secure an **increase of the productivity of industrial labour** in 1932 of 22% above the average level in 1931. To make it the strict duty of the economic organisations to fix the number of workers in accordance with this task on the field of the increase of the productivity of labour.

10. To secure a **decrease of the costs of production** in industry to the extent of 7% as compared with the average costs of production prevailing in 1931.

11. To set the total investment sum for socialist industry at **10,700 million roubles** as compared with 8,200 million roubles in 1931.

## II. Concerning Agriculture.

1. To increase the **total area under summer seed** in 1932 to **102 million hectares** as compared with 97.4 million hectares of the autumn sowings in 1931. To increase the area under cotton to **2,437,000 hectares** as compared with 2,137,000 hectares in 1931. To increase the yield of long fibre flax to **2,560,000 hectare tons** as compared with 2,338,000 hectare tons in 1931. To increase the area under sugar beet to **1,670,000 hectares** as compared with 1,495,000 in 1931.

2. To increase winter sowings in 1932 to **42 million hectares** as compared with 39.2 million hectares in 1931.

3. To set the area sowed by the **soviet farms** in 1932 (both summer and winter sowings) at **14 million hectares**, and the area sowed by the **collective farms** at **108 million hectares**, including **76 million hectares** summer sowings. To set the area served by the tractor and agricultural machinery stations at **48 million hectares**, including **33 million hectares** summer sowings.

4. To secure the increase of the **hectare yield** to **8.5 cwts** for cereals, **145 cwts** for sugar beet, **8.7 cwts** for raw cotton in the irrigated districts in Central Asia, **2.6 cwts** for long fibre (in fibres), and **6 cwts** for sunflower seeds.

5. To supply agriculture with the means of production in 1932 to the following extent:

a) with home-manufactured tractors to a total capacity of not less than **one million H. P.**;

b) with **agricultural machinery** (home-manufactured) to the value of **900 million roubles**, for the most part harvesting implements.

6. To increase the number of tractor and agricultural machinery stations to 3,100 with a tractor park of **1,300,000 H.P.** To this end to organise **1,700** new such tractor stations.

7. To increase the herds in the possession of the **Cattle Breeding Association** to **2,950,000 head** in 1932 as compared with 2,100,000 in 1931. To increase the droves of pigs in the possession of the **Pig-Breeding Association** to **2,300,000 pigs** as against 1,000,000 in 1931. To increase the sheep in the possession of the **Sheep-Breeding-Association** to **7,300,000** as against 4,780,000 in 1931. To increase the number of milch cows in the possession of the **Dairy Association** to **320,000** as compared with 216,000 in 1931. To increase the number of cows on the farms of the dairy collectives to **2,700,000**. To increase the number of pigs on the farms of the pig-breeding collectives to **4,500,000**. To increase the number of sheep on the farms of the sheep-breeding collectives to **9,600,000**.

8. To set the **market production** of the cattle-breeding trust of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture at **162,300 tons** of meat and **548,000 tons** of milk, and the market production of the collective cattle-breeding farms at **162,000 tons** of meat and **1,375,000 tons** of milk.

9. To set as minimum task the increase of the area under fodder to **7,300,000 hectares**, and the area under green fodder to **1,200,000 hectares**. At the same time to build green fodder silos and other storages for not less than **200 million cwts** of green fodder.

10. To fix the **capital investments** in agriculture (socialist sector) at **4,350 million roubles** in 1932 as compared with 3,600 million roubles in 1931.

## III. Concerning the Transport and Postal Systems.

1. To fix capital investments in railway, water, road and air transport for 1932 at **3,330 million roubles**, whereby the greatest attention must be concentrated on the development of the Moscow-Don lines, other communications from the Don Basin to other important areas, and the lines Moscow-Maghitogorsk-Kusnetz.

2. To fix the total number of workers engaged on the railways at **1,186,000**. To fix the increase of wages for 1932 at **13%** above the average 1931 level and accordingly to increase the wage sum for the railways from 1,315 to **1,494 million roubles**. To secure a reduction of not less than **10%** in the costs of railway transport as compared with the costs in 1931. To cut down the normal average consumption of fuel on the railways by at least **9%** in 1932 as compared with the average consumption in 1931.

3. To increase the general volume and capacity of the postal services by **25%** in 1932 as compared with 1931, whereby special attention must be paid to the qualitative improvement of labour power expended. To increase the number of postal employees by **21%** in 1932 as compared with 1931 and at the same time to increase wages by **10.3%**.

## IV.

**Concerning Municipal and Housing Activities.**

To fix the total investments in the urban housing activities of the socialist sector of the economic system at **1,942 million roubles**, and in the municipal sector and the sector of public works at **950 million roubles**, representing more than double the investments in 1931. The greater part of these investments must be concentrated on municipal housing activities in the coalmining and foundry areas of Moscow, Leningrad and the other new industrial areas.

## V.

**Concerning Supplies.**

1. To fix the fund of articles for mass consumption for 1932 at **35,500 million roubles** in retail prices prevailing in 1931, as compared with a fund to the value of 27,200 million roubles in 1931, representing a growth of the socialist sector of the retail trade in 1932 of **30%** as compared with 1931.

2. To carry out broad investment work in the manufacturing and food industries in 1932. To begin work in the building of a powerful **textile combination** in Central Asia in order to use the Central Asian cotton and to supply the population of Central Asia and Siberia with cotton textiles.

3. To build large-scale **meat preparing factories** in Moscow, Leningrad, Semipalatinsk and Orsk and to speed up work on the middle-scale works which have already been begun. To build five middle-scale and **11 small scale meat preparing factories** in 1932. The completion of the building of **5 sugar works** at present under construction and the building of **13 new sugar works**, including not less than 11 in Kasakstan and the Far East. At the same time the formation of soviet farms in order to supply these new sugar works with raw materials. To complete the building of **7 canning factories** in 1932 and to build **6 new canning factories** and **2 new factories** for the production of glass jars for packing purposes.

4. To make it the duty of the People's Commissariat for Supplies, the Central Co-operative Association (Centrosoyuz), the Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariat for Agriculture to extend considerably the building of **shops** in 1932 both in the towns and in the villages, whereby these shops must be situated as conveniently as possible for the masses of the consumers. And in particular to make it the duty of the People's Commissariat for Supplies and the Centrosoyuz to open at least **10,000 new shops** (5,000 each) in 1932. The shops opened by the People's Commissariat for Supplies are to be situated in all district and industrial centres.

## VI.

**Concerning Labour, Training and Culture.**

1. To increase the total number of workers and employees engaged in industry, transport and agriculture (soviet farms) and other branches of the soviet economic system to **21 millions** as compared with 18.7 millions in 1931.

2. To increase the total wage fund for the workers and employees in all branches of the soviet economic system and for those engaged in cultural work to **26,800 million roubles** as compared with 21,100 million roubles in 1931 in accordance with the plan for the increase of wages in various branches of the soviet economic system.

3. To increase the total sum allotted for the satisfaction of social and cultural needs of the population (education, labour training, science, health services, labour protection, support granted from the social insurance fund) to **9,200 million roubles** in 1932 as compared with 6,600 million roubles in 1931, including:

a) **2,795 million roubles** for all expenditure in connection with the training of cadres in 1932, including 445 million roubles for investment;

b) **2,618 million roubles** for all expenditure in connection with the education of the masses, including 475 million roubles for investment;

c) **646 million roubles** for all expenditure in connection with scientific work and the maintenance of scientific institutions, including 170 million roubles for investment; and

d) **1,737 million roubles** for the health services, including sport, including 310 million roubles for investment.

4. To fix the total of the annual Budget for social insurance in 1932 at **3,490 million roubles** as compared with 2,500 million roubles in 1931.

5. To fix the numbers of pupils graduating from the various training and educational institutes in the year 1932 as follows: **56,000** from the high schools, **175,000** from the technical colleges, **121,000** from the Rabfak (Workers Faculties), and **364,000** from the factory schools.

## VII.

**Concerning Investments as a whole, the National Income and the State Budget.**

1. To fix the total investments in the socialist sector of the economic system in 1932 at **21.1 milliard roubles** in accordance with the general economic plan for 1932, as compared with a total of 16.1 milliard roubles in 1931.

2. To secure a **reduction of general building costs** in 1932 of not less than **10%** as compared with the building costs in 1931, including a reduction of not less than **17%** with regard to actual building costs.

3. To make it the strict duty of all People's Commissariats with economic tasks, and of all national republics to exercise the utmost **economy** throughout 1932 in the use of building materials, to secure a large-scale development of the production of building materials and to secure the increased use of local and new building materials, to secure a rational utilisation of all labour power engaged in building work, to secure a radical advance in the use of mechanical energy in building operations, and to secure the dissolution of superfluous security reserves which only increase the costs of investment.

4. To set the average number of building workers engaged in the building industry throughout the year at **2,852,000**, and to secure an increase of wages in the building industry of **5.6%** as compared with the average wages in 1931.

5. To secure an increase of the national income of the Soviet Union in 1932 from 37.8 milliard roubles (1931 figure) to **49.2 milliard roubles**, representing a growth of **30%** as compared with the previous year. **The share of the socialist sector of the economic system in the national income will be 91% in 1932 as compared with 81.5% in 1931.**

6. To set the figures for the **State Budget** for 1932 at **27,429 million roubles** as income and **26,929 million roubles** as expenditure with the formation of a State reserve of **500 million roubles**.

The successes of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union have definitely and completely guaranteed the victory of socialism. The carrying out of the national economic plan in 1932, which means at the same time the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in four years, will represent a great success in the struggle against capitalist encirclement and a great victory not only for the working class of the Soviet Union, but of the whole of the international proletariat.

The achievement of an absolute predominance of the socialist sector in agriculture is a world historical victory of Socialism and means a tremendous strengthening of the power of the working class in the Soviet Union and a tremendous increase of the authority of the Soviet power, amongst the workers of the world. In particular this has had its effect in the change of heart which has taken place amongst the intellectuals and in particular amongst the engineers and technicians. Side by side with a persistent and dogged struggle for the mastery of modern technique, measures must be taken to consolidate and make permanent this change whilst however not relaxing in the bolshevist struggle against the resistance of the class enemy which still expresses itself in numerous forms.

The plan of economic construction in 1932 conditions a concentration of the efforts of the working class on the solution of the main economic tasks, the rapid development of the foundry industries, the fuel industries, engineering and

transport. At the same time investments must be so carried out that the opening up of the new and highly important undertakings can take place as quickly as possible, and so that the greatest possible number of new factories, etc., begin operations in 1932.

In order to secure the performance of the economic plan for 1932, the punctual carrying out of the concluded contracts as well as the utmost discipline in the fulfilment of these contracts between the various economic organisations is necessary.

Very great importance attaches to the abolition of the deficiencies which are still present in the organisation of labour power, to the establishment of personal responsibility in the economic work, and to the abolition of the levelling tendencies in the wage system. Further, it is absolutely necessary to put a stop to the thoroughly impermissible tendency to treat the works already in operation carelessly as against the new undertakings, for which exaggerated demands are made. The instructions of the Party with regard to all these tasks must be carried out with determination and with all necessary care for the particularities of the individual branches of production and the individual districts.

The C.E.C. of the S.U. is of the opinion that the main attention of all soviet and economic organisations (the Supreme Economic Council, the People's Commissariat for Supplies, the People's Commissariat for Transport, the

People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the economic associations, etc.) should be concentrated on securing an effective control concerning the carrying out of the decisions of the Party and the government, not forgetting the carrying out of their own decisions. The practical work of all soviet and economic organisations must cease to consist exclusively of orders and instructions. Its work must include the systematic control of the actual carrying out of the orders and instructions given to the subordinate organisations.

The chief preliminaries necessary to guarantee the carrying out of the economic plan for 1932 and thus the carrying out of the Five Year Plan in four years, are the bolshevist mobilisation of all the forces of the working class, and the further development of the socialist competitive scheme by the shock group movement. Supported by the millions of peasants in the collective farms the working class of the Soviet Union will make the carrying out of its historical tasks a matter of its proletarian honour.

(Sig.) G. Petrovski

Chairman of the Central Executive Committee  
of the Soviet Union.

(Sig.) A. Yenukidze

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee  
of the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin, Moscow, 25th December 1931.

## **Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Campaign**

# **The Historical Experiences of Bolshevism and the International Proletariat.**

(For the Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Campaign.)

In January it will be eight years since the death of Lenin and 13 years since the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebkecht.

This anniversary can and must become a revolutionary mass campaign. The Communist Parties have already commenced their preparations for this campaign, which must be distinguished by mass actions under the fighting slogans of the Comintern and of the Communist Parties.

The chief tasks of this campaign are to impart to the broadest masses the historical experiences of Bolshevism and to increase and strengthen the Bolshevist spirit of the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues.

The better the ideological mobilisation is carried out within the Parties, the broader the Parties develop the campaign among the masses, especially in the big factories and among the unemployed, the more successfully will the fight develop for the way out of the crisis which leads to the victory of the proletariat and the overcoming of the capitalist rule, for the revolutionary defence of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution—these greatest achievements of the world proletariat and the greatest monuments to Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebkecht—through the combined forces of the toilers of all countries.

The January campaign, which will be carried out in face of an unprecedentedly severe economic crisis in the capitalist countries and in face of the powerfully advancing Socialism in the Soviet Union (the approaching conclusion of the first Five-Year Plan and the commencement of the setting up of the second Five-Year Plan), in face of a growing revolutionary upsurge in the whole world and the actual beginning of an imperialist war (Manchuria), will, if the campaign is successfully prepared, give a powerful stimulus to the fight of the Party for winning the majority of the working class. This campaign will take place at a time of further shaking of the mass basis of social democracy and the rooting of the Party in the big works and factories. It will be possible to judge the results of the campaign above all by the results of mass recruiting of new members to the Party and to the Y.C.L.

In face of the approaching class struggles, the fighting task of the Communists is to equip the broad exploited and

oppressed masses as completely as possible with Leninism—the masterly theory and tactic of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular" (Stalin).

The world economic crisis, which is becoming more and more deep and acute, has already led to a tremendous intensification of the class struggle. Under the blows of the offensive of capital, fresh millions of proletarians and semi-proletarians are becoming radicalised at a rapid pace and are being drawn for the first time into the revolutionary class struggle. The successful socialist construction in the Soviet Union is becoming an increasingly powerful weapon for revolutionising the masses; it is more and more convincing the masses that Bolshevism is the only correct path of the proletarians of all countries. The authority of Lenin and Leninism is increasing every day among the masses. The influence of the Communist Party, into whose ranks fresh thousands of proletarians who have not yet been steeled in the fight are streaming, is increasing. The ranks of the Party are being augmented by a considerable number of social-democratic workers who, taken as a whole, still have many social democratic prejudices to overcome.

History confronts the Communist Parties with the task of leading all these new masses who are entering the fight, along the surest path to victory; of teaching them, in the process of the fight, to free themselves from all reformist, opportunist, pacifist illusions, to sweep them out of their path and to follow ever more determinedly the path of the proletarian revolution.

The experiences acquired by the Bolsheviki in the three revolutions (first revolution in the year 1905, February and October Revolutions of the year 1917) are of extraordinary great importance to the proletarians of all countries.

In the revolution 1905, which Lenin designated as the "rehearsal of October", the proletariat at the head of the working masses made an assault upon absolutism; they proceeded against the capitalists and the big landowners under the Bolshevist slogan of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry, having before them the great perspective of transforming the bour-

**geos-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.** The Bolsheviki, under Lenin's leadership, have generalised the lessons of the revolution of 1905. These experiences have become part and parcel of the proletarian world revolution. These experiences are of extraordinarily great importance, especially to those countries in which the belated bourgeois revolution is taking place under the conditions of acute class struggle, less between the bourgeois and the feudal lords than between all toilers and oppressed, headed by the proletariat, on the one hand, and the feudal lords and capitalists on the other.

The lessons of the year 1905 enabled Lenin to draw up that strategic general plan which led the proletariat to victory first in February and afterwards in October 1917. This Leninist strategic plan is the basis of the entire policy of the C.P.S.U. in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building up of Socialism. The Leninist strategy and Leninist tactics are the basis of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Movement of the whole world.

The experiences of the Bolsheviki in the February revolution in 1917, their tactics in the period between February and October in the fight for the revolutionary way out of the crisis against all the remnants of Tsarism, against the bourgeois Provisional Government, against the Mensheviki and social revolutionaries, for the complete isolation of these petty-bourgeois parties, the fight for the majority of the working class, for winning the main masses of the peasantry, as the firm allies of the proletariat in the fight for power, the winning of the working masses of the nationalities formerly oppressed by Tsarism for the proletarian revolution, the fight for the Bolshevist Soviets, for the power of the Soviets, for the October revolution as the first stage of the proletarian world revolution, the experiences in the organising of the revolt and the seizure of power, the role of the masses in these historical fights as well as the role of the Party of Lenin in them, are of the very greatest importance to the working class and the Communist Parties of all countries.

Already on the eve of the revolution of 1905, when the Russo-Japanese war took place, Lenin, by his declaration on the question of the policy of the proletariat in regard to war, laid down the most consistent revolutionary and international standpoint of Bolshevism. His thesis became the point of departure of Bolshevik policy with regard to the wars of the imperialist epoch. Lenin's slogans regarding the "transformation of imperialist war", regarding support of the revolutionary and national wars of emancipation by the proletariat, which were developed and applied on the largest scale by the Bolsheviki during the imperialist war of 1914, played the greatest positive role in bringing about the victory of the October Revolution and became the basis of the policy of the Comintern in the epoch of imperialism.

For all countries without exception the present moment demands the broadest popularisation of the teachings of Lenin on the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary fight, on the role of the proletariat as the leader of all toilers in town and country, in their fight against misery and hunger, against exploitation and political oppression, against social and national oppression, against the whole capitalist system. The teachings of Lenin on the allies of the proletariat, and in particular on the **alliance of the working class with the peasantry**, on the leading role of the working class in this alliance, is of greatest present importance for all countries.

The task of organising the united front of all exploited and oppressed under the leadership of the proletariat was raised by Lenin to the level of the world problem of the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries with the enslaved peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The popularisation of this task is of extraordinarily urgent importance both to the imperialist countries and also to the dependent and semi-dependent countries in both hemispheres.

For all countries and especially for Great Britain, Spain, India and the South American countries, in which the Parties have not yet become mass parties, the popularisation of Leninist teachings of the Party as the advance-guard of the working class, as the leader of the broad masses, as the highest form of the class union of the proletariat, as a firm uniform organisation of the revolutionary will of the working class, represents a highly important every-day task.

As a result of the growth of the Communist Parties in the Central European countries and of the rapid training of new cadres which are not yet sufficiently bolshevistically steelled the problem of their theoretical schooling acquires urgent importance in all Communist Parties. The influx into the Party of a considerable number of the best social-democratic workers constitutes a tremendous victory for Communism, but at the same time it increases the danger of social-democratic deviations in the Communist Parties. The danger of anarchic and putchist tendencies spreading is no less great, in view of the increase of fascism.

Hence the very great importance of the Bolshevist experiences in the fight on two fronts, of the experiences of an indefatigable struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist teachings. In addition to broad Bolshevist agitation among the masses, the January campaign has the task of bringing about a turn for the better of the front of theoretical work of the parties.

In connection with this turn, Comrade Stalin's letter "On some questions of the history of Bolshevism" is of enormous historical and political importance both to the C.P.S.U. and the other sections of the Comintern. Comrade Stalin's letter is a call for the greatest vigilance on the ideological front. The Communist Parties must above all strengthen the fight in their own ranks for the ideological purity of Marxism and Leninism, against the underestimation of revolutionary theory, against the separation of theory from the practice of the revolutionary fight, for strengthening the Communist conceptions of the Party in theoretical work, against any conciliation and rotten liberalism towards all deviations from and distortions of Marxism and Leninism. This letter raises the task of studying the history of the Comintern and of the C.P.S.U., the history of every Communist Party, in closest connection with the most immediate tasks, by the Party cadres and the popularisation of this history among the masses, to an exceedingly high political level. This letter warns against the percolation of hostile, social-democratic "theories" and attitudes into our press and into Communist literature, a thing which has already happened.

The most immediate task is the fight against the centrist tendencies, against "Left" social-democratic theories and manoeuvres, which aim at retaining in the ranks of the I.L. International those social democratic workers who are beginning to join the ranks of the revolution.

It is all the more necessary to increase the fight against the "Left" manoeuvres, as one of the "Left" manoeuvres consists in playing, with the slogan of unity and attempting to take advantage of the tempestuous movement of the masses.

The consistent and irreconcilable fight waged by Lenin and his Party against the Russian centrists (Trotsky) and against international centrism (Kautsky) as one of the prerequisites of the successes of Bolshevism and of the conversion of the Leninist C.P.S.U. into the greatest factor of world politics and into the leading force of the revolutionary movement of the world, is generally known. All attempts to belittle or to deny the fact of the unrelenting fight of Bolshevism against centrism, both before the war of 1914 and during and after the war, emanate from the camp of Trotskyism.

The paths of Communism and centrism cannot be reconciled. Between them there lies an unbridgeable chasm. In the chief decisive questions of the Labour Movement—dictatorship of the proletariat, overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie (reform or revolution), Parliamentarism and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle (strikes, demonstration and revolts), policy of the proletariat in regard to war, fight against national and colonial oppression—Bolshevism has ruthlessly combated centrism and adopted its own special attitude. Right from its inception, Bolshevism subordinated both its theory and practice, its programme, its tactics and its organisational forms to the main task—the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The main problem of Leninism, its point of departure is the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the conditions for establishing and consolidating it." (Stalin).

Bolshevism has fulfilled this task under the most difficult circumstances, and not only achieved the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in an enormous country, but also accomplished successful socialist construction. The I.L. International, on the other hand, which not only in the shape of its extreme right opportunist wing but also in the shape of centrism, has abandoned the most important historical



task of the proletariat, indicated by Marx, (the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat) and for decades has considered it its chief task to hold back the masses from revolution, has become the chief buttress of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the chief obstacle in the path to the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Leninism (Bolshevism) was and is the only consistent revolutionary doctrine whose scientific and tactical views have been brilliantly confirmed through the whole course of the world development, in the last thirty years. The sole mission of centrism, on the other hand, was to come forward in the historical arena at the most critical moment for the rule of the bourgeoisie, and to supply a cloak to conceal from the masses the monstrous crimes of the "comrades" of the Right, in order, after having fulfilled its shameful mission, to merge again with them.

"The Bolsheviki constitute the only revolutionary organisation in the world which has finally crushed the opportunists and centrists and thrown them out of the Party." (Stalin).

Centrism inevitably leads into the camp of the counter-revolution. Trotzkyism, which was the typical expression of Russian centrism, became the advance-guard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. Kautsky became the most eloquent embodiment of the strivings of the world counter-revolution.

The present "Lefts" (Socialist Labour Party of Seydevitz in Germany), who already at the moment they broke away from the parent body declared that in any event they would not leave the II. International, and would fight against Communism, follow the same path. The Communists direct their main attack against them as well as against all kindred tendencies (opposition in the Labour Party in Great Britain, Austro-marxists etc) as the most dangerous deceivers of the masses.

In the January days the proletariat honours the memory of the great fighters and martyrs of the proletarian revolution, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The attempt to make use of their names in the fight against Communism is now being repeated more frequently. The great merits of Rosa and Karl, these great revolutionaries, the leaders of the German proletariat, the organisers of the Spartacus League and the founders of the C.P. of Germany, are appreciated by the whole of the world proletariat. But the class-conscious workers do not close their eyes to the fact that for many years Rosa and Karl were separated from Bolshevism by views which prevented them, almost up to the time of their death, from recognising completely and consistently the main basis of Leninism and which for a long time kept them in a position half way between centrism and Bolshevism.

Before the war the Lefts in the II. International dissociated themselves from the Russian Bolsheviki on the main questions of differences of opinion with the Mensheviki (questions of Party membership, character of the Russian revolution, the national question, question of splitting away from the Mensheviki). Even during the war the Lefts already differed from Lenin in regard to the decisive question of breaking completely with the leaders of the II. International and founding the III. International. The fear of the Lefts of a split and the belated creation of the independent Communist Party rendered exceedingly difficult the path of the German proletariat in the fight for power during the revolution in Germany (1918/19):

It is now clear to everybody that Lenin was right in his criticism of the centrist mistakes of the Lefts in the II. International. All attempts now to represent Leninism as a weapon suitable only for "backward" oriental countries and Luxemburgism as consistent Bolshevism which is alone worthy of the advanced proletarians of the "civilised" West, appear ridiculous.

In the January days, the world important role of Bolshevism, which right from the first days of its existence submitted the chief problems of the proletarian world revolution (dictatorship of the proletariat, hegemony of the revolutionary fight, the allies of the proletariat, colonial and national problems, the teachings regarding the role of the Party) to the Labour Movement of the whole world, will

become still more known. Nobody will be able to cloak over the Bolshevik path of struggle against opportunism not only on a national but also on an international scale. Already before the war Lenin placed on the order of the day the fight against centrism as well as the question of uniting the Lefts in the II. International. Lenin prepared the splitting of the II. International as the only way out of the opportunist blind alley into which the Labour Movement had been pushed by reformism.

The world-historical role of Lenin as the organiser of the C.P.S.U. and of the Comintern is so universally known that nobody will succeed in falsifying it. The falsification of the history of the Comintern pursues a deliberate task of uniting the vacillating Communists, weakening the influence of the Comintern and in this way diminishing the power of the proletarian revolution.

The names of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht will be ever dear to the Comintern and the broad proletarian masses as the names of great revolutionaries; for in spite of their mistakes they finally although belatedly, abandoned the path of the II. International, firmly proceeded on the path of the proletarian revolution and fell at the hands of the social-democratic murderers, a fact which once and for all identified them with the proletariat and with Communism.

Those, however, who under present-day conditions make use of their names in their fight against Communism cannot be separated from the whole social-fascist counter-revolutionary camp.

The January campaign will be used by the Communist Parties for the purpose, by means of Bolshevik self-criticism, of exposing a whole number of mistakes and incorrect views of individual comrades, the roots of which are to be sought before all in the remnants of Luxemburgism. Among such mistakes are, for example, the incorrect estimate of the present crisis, and in connection with this the incorrect tactical attitude. Under the blows of the crisis a commencement has been made to substitute the right-opportunist over-estimation of the capitalist "stabilisation" and the under-estimation of the present crisis (especially the theory of the "exceptional position" of the U.S.A.) by the Left theory of the impossibility of the bourgeoisie finding a way out of the present crisis. This theory, which is especially elaborated by the "Left" social democrats, is cropping up here and there in Communist literature.

The theory as to there being "absolutely no way out of the crisis" is connected with the incorrect Luxemburgian worshipping of spontaneity and its underestimation of the role of the subjective factor.

This theory, which gives rise to fatalist moods, by weakening the vigilance and fighting capacity of the revolutionary advance-guard, on the one hand, furthers opportunist passivity and the tactic of "spontaneity", and on the other hand serves as a justification of Left and anarchistic exaggerations. Against these exaggerations there stands an exact Leninist analysis of the epoch of dying capitalism—the standpoint that although the capitalist system is doomed to decline, that for the bourgeoisie "there are no absolutely hopeless situations" (Lenin); that the task of the proletariat consists in making this situation finally hopeless. These theories are also opposed by the decisions of the XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which in addition to stressing the intensification of the crisis, pointed to the decisive role of the subjective factor for the final victory over the bourgeoisie.

In the fight against these and other mistakes (some of which are mentioned by Comrade Thälmann in his article), every effort must be made for a real serious elaboration of all immediate political problems.

### Correction.

In the article by Watt: "Reactionary Attack on the C.P. of Canada", which appeared in our issue of December 3rd, 1931 (No 62), two numerical errors occur: on page 1,125, first column, 18th line from below, instead of 1,500 to 3,000, it should read 800 to 1,500; in the same column, eight lines from the bottom, instead of 3,000 the figure should be 3,000,000.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Second Anniversary of the London Daily Worker.

By William Rust (London).

January 1932 marks the second anniversary of the London Daily Worker which is now in a far stronger position than at any time in its history. Over £9,000 has been collected for the **Fighting Fund**, letters from worker correspondents come in at the rate of over 700 a month, and the daily circulation has gone up by 6,000 copies during the last three months. The extra week-end sales which began with 5,000 at the beginning of the year, now reach over 30,000.

The record of the "Daily Worker" and its supporters on the field of distribution is an inspiring one. Our enemies hoped to smash us by refusing permission to use the newspaper trains. We carried on without them.

The wholesalers suddenly boycotted. And in a single night there arose an army of splendid workers who trudged the streets in the dark and cold, collecting papers at the stations, delivering to newsagents and readers. Distribution machinery was improvised by us, and is maintained to-day at the cost of many real sacrifices.

Not only for distribution, but for direct sales also, we depend upon a wonderful army of enthusiasts.

During the year the paper has been fiercely attacked by police. The printer was sentenced to nine months in the second division.

Comrade **Frank Paterson**, a Daily Worker partner, was sent down for two years hard labour, and other comrades are "wanted" by the police.

The offices of the Daily Worker are continually under police surveillance.

The signal for the sharpening of the police attack, including the introduction of police censorship, was the Daily Worker's vigorous campaign in support of the Invergordon mutiny and the demands of the sailors.

The mutiny in the Navy revealed the rottenness and instability of British imperialism and helped to knock it off the gold standard. The bravery and class spirit of the sailors awakened a tremendous response in the ranks of the working class.

No wonder the "National" Government struck out savagely at the sailors, at the Daily Worker and its class-conscious workers, like Comrades **Allison** and **Shepherd**, who were framed-up and savagely sentenced to three years penal servitude and 20 months hard labour respectively.

In helping to create and develop the spirit of Invergordon the "Daily Worker" did its greatest service in 1931.

The last year marked a big extension of the strike struggles of the British workers and in all of these strikes the Daily Worker was to the fore showing how to strengthen the struggles with news pouring in from the worker correspondents.

The year opened with struggles which we can now see as the fitting fore-runners of Invergordon. January 1st was signalised by the strike of the **South Wales miners**, who were betrayed by the union officials after 17 days of wonderful solidarity.

Then came the triumph of the **Lancashire weavers**, who defeated the attempts to impose the more-loom system and compelled the employers to retreat.

Throughout the year strike after strike broke out. In Scotland the miners struck against the eight-hour day and wagecuts and fought on under the leadership of the militant United Mineworkers of Scotland, despite the attempt of the reformist leaders to end the strike.

The deepening economic crisis and the growing mass disillusionment with the Labour Government finally led to the kicking out of the Labour Party in August and the setting up of a "National" Government, which included the three former chief Labour leaders, MacDonal, Snowden and Henderson.

This was the signal for the launching of the fiercest capitalist offensive ever conceived. Originally planned by the Labour Cabinet the attack began in its full fury under the "National" Government.

Only the Daily Worker answered this attack and organised the workers' resistance around the fighting slogan of the Communist Party. "Not a Penny Off!" was blazoned on our pages and resounded throughout the country. Millions of workers demonstrated on the streets, the sales of the paper rose, the Government stepped back in alarm before Invergordon and made concessions to the sailors and teachers.

Then the Government resorted to the manoeuvres of the **General Election** and adroitly secured a huge majority.

The Daily Worker fought hard during the General Election, but did not succeed in sufficiently exposing the lies and tricks of the capitalists and their agents, the Labour leaders.

The Communist Party secured 75,000 votes, but this was very small compared to the votes of the class enemy and the possibilities of the situation.

In 1932 we must make the "Daily Worker" a real mass paper. This means answering every struggle and every stage of the struggle with concrete leads, not generalities, and this task applies as much to the problem of which way out of the crisis as to the bread-and-butter questions.

It means bringing the events in other lands right on to the workers' doorstep in Britain. During the last year great progress has been made in this direction so far as the **Soviet Union** is concerned.

Vivid descriptions of Soviet life and telling facts and figures have made the Daily Worker a treasure-house of information for the increasing number of British workers who want to know what the building of Socialism means.

The Daily Worker has told its reader the real facts about the economic crisis, explained the collapse in Germany, the meaning of the war debts and reparations struggle and exposed the menacing danger of imperialist war, and the meaning of the war now raging in Manchuria.

It has fought for unity with the enslaved peoples of the Colonies, campaigned for the release of the Meerut prisoners, exposed the Round Table Conference and demanded the independence of India from the yoke of British imperialism. This fight will be continued with redoubled energy.

The Daily Worker goes forward to its third year of life conscious of the great tasks before it and the big improvements that must be made in order to develop it into a real organiser, agitator and educator of the working class.

### Statement by the International Control Commission of the Comintern.

In one of its last sessions the International Control Commission of the C. I. dealt with the application of Comrade **Thøgersen**, who was recently expelled from the C. P. of Denmark on account of fractional activity, to be reinstated in the Party. The International Control Commission declares that Comrade **Thøgersen** deserved his expulsion from the Party on account of his fractional activity, but in view of the fact that Comrade **Thøgersen** now condemns his fractional activity, the I.C.C. reinstates him as a member of the Communist Party, but administered him a severe reprimand and forbade him to carry on any Party activity in Denmark.

#### Declaration of Comrade Thøgersen.

With reference to my expulsion from the Party by the Central Committee of the C.P. of Denmark and my appeal to the I.C.C. in Moscow, I declare as follows:

In order to be able to remain a member of the Communist International and thereby an active fighter on the international front of the proletariat, I am prepared to undertake any work which the Comintern may entrust me with and during the execution of this work not to interfere in the inner situation of the Danish section without the special instructions of the Comintern.

I declare that my struggle against the Central Committee could not rally but only split the forces of the Party, and that therefore my expulsion was justified. I therefore call upon the comrades who shared my views and supported my struggle, to cease all fractional activity and to collaborate loyally in creating Party unity, which alone can give the Central Committee of the Party the necessary power to carry out its revolutionary tasks.

Th. Thøgersen.

**In the R. I. L. U.****The VIII. Session of the Central Council  
of the Red International of Labour Unions.****The Lessons of the Strike  
Struggles of the Past Year and the Tasks of the R.I.L.U.****Speech of Comrade Kuusinen (Comintern).**

The question now is no longer whether strikes can be carried on during a period of crisis. Experience has shown that strikes can and should be carried on. The question is how they are to be prepared better and how more correctly to carry them out, and how on the basis of the struggle to extend the united front from below and to win a majority of the working class. From this point of view, every strike is valuable for us, regardless whether it had a material success or not. The necessary condition, however, for the success of a strike, not only from a material but also from a political point of view, is that a serious fight is to be carried on for the every day demands of the workers, however small. Naturally, we learn by the experience of victorious strikes the strategy and tactics of the struggle. But, side by side with this, we must study also the experience of lost strikes, so as not to repeat the mistakes and so as to correct the defects which have come on the surface.

The strike of the Warsaw tramway workers has shown us that it is necessary to formulate the demands of the workers and the slogans of the struggle. We know of many strikes which were unsuccessful because much too general demands were put forward. The Warsaw comrades organised a number of meetings at which the workers of the corresponding factories brought forward and discussed the demands of the struggle. In particular, a demand was put forward to discharge an engineer, who had become notorious for his rationalising innovations, which were aimed directly against the workers. This demand was unanimously supported by all the workers and served as the starting point for the development of the struggle.

On the experience also of this strike it is possible to convince oneself of the tremendous role played by the strike committees, elected by the masses of the workers themselves, in the struggle. It would appear as though this was clear and that it required no proofs. But do we not know of such cases, as in South Wales (England) where huge masses of miners were on strike, and where the "central strike committee" was elected at a conference of adherents of the Minority Movement at which 40 persons were present? This shows that not all the adherents of the R.I.L.U. have given sufficiently deep thought to the question or to that of how the appropriate decisions of the V. Congress should be applied in practice.

Another important question: **how and when to take into our hands the initiative of the struggle.** It is true, this does not always depend upon us. We know of cases when comrades do not even attempt to seize the initiative, as was, for instance, the case in France at the time of the great strike of textile workers, or in Great Britain at the time of the miners' strike in South Wales. The strike of the Warsaw tramway workers teaches us how a strike must be prepared and how the initiative must be taken into our hands in time. For this object they held not one but several meetings and were able to rouse the workers for the struggle. The workers felt that they have leaders who will be able to carry this strike through.

Finally, still another essential question is **the extension of the struggle.** At the time of the same strike of tramway workers, the majority of the members of the strike committee were arrested notwithstanding all the measures of precaution. But the comrades at once put forward the demand of releasing the prisoners. This demand was wholeheartedly supported by the strikers and served as a basis for the extension of the struggle. Such tactics entirely and completely conform with the decisions of the V. Congress which pointed out that new

demands, especially political slogans, must be linked up in the closest manner with the struggle.

We have the experience of the heroic struggle of the French textile workers during which our comrades showed that they are also able to fight. They formed barricades and ably organised picketing. The fact that they carried out this work not badly is proved by this: that they succeeded in winning for the C.G.T.U. 3,000 new members. But this notwithstanding, they were not able to achieve decisive political successes because their contact with the masses was still exceedingly weak and they had not yet learnt how to lead the masses.

On the question of **the struggle against the reformists.** Comrades, it is wrong to declare, as is often done with us, that the reformists never take part in strikes. In Germany, for instance, the reformists took part in the strike of the Berlin metal workers, the Duisburg port workers and others, as the pressure of the masses was very great. But does this mean that the reformists want to lead the workers into the struggle? Not at all. And we make a mistake when we say that the reformists lead the struggle of the workers so as to secure a compromise from the employers. At the time of the strike of the French textile workers, our comrades said to the workers: the reformists fight only up to the moment when they will be able to come to an understanding with Laval (the Minister of Labour). What did that mean? It meant that the reformists in any case wanted to fight. But this is profoundly untrue. They did not carry on nor do they carry on a struggle; on the contrary, their object is to demobilise the workers, and they betray them from the very first steps. This is what we must lay stress upon continuously and what we must explain to the workers. We must expose the treachery of the reformists even when they, for the sake of appearances, place themselves at the head of the striking workers. Otherwise they will take advantage of the united front of the workers in the struggle so as to consolidate their influence. After every strike we must wage a special campaign for the exposure of the tactics of the reformists.

At the same time, we must **criticise also the manifestations of opportunism** in our own ranks. Unfortunately, there are still not a few of these manifestations among us. Even at the time of the tramway workers strike in Warsaw, which was carried out so well, there was a moment after the arrest of the strike committee when the reformists proposed to send a deputation to the authorities, and our comrades did not know how to oppose them. In the Ruhr, our comrades at present have called upon the workers only to adopt a resolution of protest against the last emergency decree and send it to the Government instead of mobilising the masses for the struggle.

A few words **on the work in the factories.** This is not merely a problem of organisation, it is in the first place, a question of the political content of our work. For instance, we convene in Great Britain factory-shop meetings but the workers do not attend them. Why? Because our British comrades—and not they alone—do not know the immediate interests of the workers, do not know the work and life of the workers in the factory. They frequently do not know what question to put forward at a meeting so that the workers may attend. The question is not merely to rouse the workers for a strike. A strike is not organised every day. One must know the day-to-day interests of the workers so as to lead their day-to-day struggle. One must live the life of the worker in the factories, must feel where the shoe pinches and understand how to give expression to his complaints and his needs. Only in that case shall we be able really to win the factories and with them the majority of the working class.

## Comrade Niederkirchner on the Activity of the International Committees.

The V. R.I.L.U. Congress raised a number of urgent tasks before the I.C.'s, including the task of their becoming leading organisations of the revolutionary T.U. movement in the different industries. Has this task been accomplished? We have established that only a few I.C.'s have made some steps forward in this direction. In most cases our I.C.'s represent so far only European, in some instances, only even Mid-European, organisations, not influencing America and the Eastern countries. The contacts that a number of I.C.'s have succeeded in setting up with the revolutionary T.U. movement of the American and Eastern countries are by far insufficient.

Simultaneously, the undoubted growth of influence of the I.C.'s can be noted. The increasing number of members lined up in the Red trade unions and T.U. organisations in the capitalist countries, and also in the Soviet trade unions, has made for the number of members lined up in the I.C.'s also to grow. In most of the branches of industry, including also the Soviet trade unions, the number of members lined up in the I.C.'s has by far outstripped the corresponding reformist Internationals, which year in year out keep losing their adherents in all countries.

Another urgent task raised by the V. Congress before the I.C.'s was the necessity to transfer from agitation and propaganda to active participation and leadership in preparation and carrying out of strike action. Also this task has not been accomplished by all of the I.C.'s. Thanks to the fact, that some of the I.C.'s had been transferred to the capitalist countries, into the very midst of the struggle, these I.C.'s were able to take direct part in the struggles waged during this year. We wish particularly to note the successful work of the Miners' I.C. during the recent strikes of miners in Germany, France, England and Poland. Similarly, the Agricultural Workers' I.C., the I.C.'s of the textile workers, metal workers and building workers carried out some effective work.

The third task confronting the I.C.'s—is the internationalisation of the struggle. Here we have some achievements: during the strikes of the Berlin metal workers, the Ruhr miners, the French textile workers and the metal workers in the Saar Basin, the I.C.'s succeeded in organising solidarity movements. Special border conferences were called and solidarity action taken. However, this movement has so far not taken on sufficiently wide swing, particularly as regards the collection of funds and other material support to the strikers and their families. In the same way, the experiences acquired in the different countries are still not taken into account and not enough generalised, not sufficiently transferred from one country to another. Recently we held a number of industrial international conferences, the tasks of which were: to sum up experiences acquired and to draw up a fighting programme. We can particularly stress the conferences of the agricultural workers, railwaymen and miners. These conferences yielded some positive results, especially the railwaymen's conference. Simultaneously, these conferences showed also that without any serious preparatory work, the results are much smaller than might have been expected.

For this same end, border organs, committees, etc., should be set up, uniting the workers of neighbouring countries, for drawing up joint fighting programmes, under the leadership of the corresponding I.C.'s.

It is necessary to emphasise also a number of important shortcomings in the work of our I.C.'s. Very little attention has so far been given to the question of help to the corresponding national organisations in the work of reorganising on the industrial principle and on the shop basis. Practically no work was carried on among the emigrants, and workers of other nationalities, in spite of the fact that in many places they form large sections of the proletariat. Our I.C.'s do not sufficiently popularise the successes of the Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, especially along lines of their industries. In spite of the growing danger of a fresh war against the Soviet Union, we have so far not succeeded in developing a wide explanatory campaign among the masses, and are not waging a determined struggle against the war danger. This particularly refers to the I.C.'s of those branches of industry, which serve as a basis in present-day war: the chemical, metal, textile and transport industries. Thus, one of the major tasks of

the I.C.'s—to penetrate the enterprises of the war industry and the other branches of industry connected with it, to strengthen our influence over these groups of workers.

Of the other tasks, it is essential to stress the development of work among the unemployed, a task which up till recently had practically not been taken up by the I.C.'s: the same can be said of the task to study more seriously the question of international capitalist cartels and trusts. The Social-Economic Department of the R.I.L.U. must take upon itself the task of working up and supplying the I.C.'s with corresponding materials, which can be of vast significance for the correct orientation of the I.C.'s in the present-day situation and for rendering proper leadership in the economic struggle.

In conclusion, Comrade Niederkirchner pointed out that it is necessary for us to pay more attention to the struggle against the reformist industrial secretariats. Although they are losing their influence over the masses and are carrying on their treacherous work under cover, it would still be wrong to underestimate them. Our task is to expose their harmful activities wherever we go, to show the workers, still lined up in the reformist trade unions, the real face of these capitalist agents and thus win over the majority of the working class.

## Comrade Emmerich (Germany).

At the evening session on December 12th Comrade Emmerich (Germany), Secretary of the R.I.L.U., made a long speech dealing with the Minority Movement of Great Britain.

What, asked Comrade Emmerich, is the reason why the Minority Movement of Great Britain is one of the weakest links in the revolutionary T.U. movement despite the favourable situation for us in England? First and foremost, it is because the M.M. is still isolated, detached from the broad masses of the workers in the reformist unions. No wonder tendencies to build the M.M. outside of the existing unions still exist among some of our comrades to this very day, though this was condemned by the Fifth Congress. It is possible to note successful work by the M.M. among the unemployed, who for the main part are outside the influence of the reformist unions. But the chief masses who are inside of the reformist unions, are very inadequately touched by the influence of the M.M.

This underestimation of work among the organised workers is not a peculiarity of the English revolutionary movement. We had a similar situation in Germany, and in France, as well as in other countries. But while in Germany we already have a turn, an improvement in this respect, in Britain we do not yet observe this turn, although it is precisely in Britain that the struggle against the reformist influence over the masses is particularly important. While in such countries as Poland, Germany, we see intensified fascist physical terror, in England of no less importance is the ideological terror instituted by the reformist T.U. bureaucrats, which poisons the working masses. The struggle against this is no less difficult and no less important than the struggle against physical terror. Our English Comrades however, do not give due attention to this question and cannot boast of any substantial successes in this respect.

The logical consequence of the M.M.'s lagging behind on this fundamental point is that the M.M. has not yet become the organiser and leader of the English working class economic struggles. During the miner's mass movement, when the Act for the Eight-Hour Day expired, the M.M. had the opportunity of showing widespread fight to the reformist T.U. bureaucrats. It did not take advantage of this opportunity even to the slightest extent. Our English comrades refused to carry out the slogan "Leave the mines after 7 hours work", on the pretext that it was not popular among the workers. But neither did they present any other slogans and the movement died out.

We must note also the great organisational confusion in the M.M., the existence of a whole number of organisations and committees in the M.M., which have the object of drawing the masses into the M.M., but do not carry out this object. The M.M. still possesses no basis in the factories. In order to eradicate these shortcomings the M.M. must develop work to set up a broad united front from below and reorganise on a factory basis, so as to become a real mass organisation of the revolutionary trade union movement of Great Britain.