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The Changes in the French Cabinet.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

On the eve of the reassembling of the French Chamber for a last and short meeting before the general Parliamentary elections, the death of the war Minister **Maginot** caused a small ministerial crisis, 24 hours after the voluntary resignation of the whole Laval government, there followed a new **Laval** Ministry with only one, but very important, change: **M. Briand**, who for six years without interruption has conducted the foreign policy of French imperialism, was thrown overboard. **Tardieu**, who in the eyes of the broad masses personifies the extreme reaction, leaves the Ministry for Agriculture and takes over the office of Minister for War. **Laval**, the Prime Minister, gives up the Ministry for the Interior and takes over the post of Foreign Minister.

The "Temps", which as is generally known is the mouth-piece of the Comité des Forges and of the Coal Consortium, has for weeks been conducting a systematic campaign for a broad national united front. It is "hard reality" which drives the most representative elements of the big bourgeoisie to desire more ardently than ever the open co-operation of all parties. First there is the economic crisis and the fear, born of this crisis, of the working masses, whose numerous defensive struggles against wage cuts (for example the action of the workers in the Paris automobile factory Renault) prove their increasing militancy, as well as of the unemployed who, as recently as January 12th, were masters of the streets of Paris and numerous industrial towns.

Then there is the foreign-political situation, which urges the French bourgeoisie to set up a concentration Cabinet. French imperialism has not yet succeeded, on the eve of the Conferences of Lausanne and Geneva, in creating the united front together with British imperialism. For this reason it fears a possible isolation and a threatening of the repara-

tions system, as well as of the Versailles Treaty upon which its European hegemony is based.

Immediately after the death of **M. Maginot**, on January 7, there was talk of a reconstitution of the French government in the sense of its extension, which would have secured it a compact and united majority in the French Chamber. The President of the Republic **M. Doumer**, strongly urged the setting up of a concentration Cabinet. The whole of the press emphasised that **M. Herriot**, the leader of the Radical Party, ever since the "Anschluss" affair, had displayed an admirable national sense and that this must render possible an understanding at least with some leading personalities of this party.

At the Cabinet meeting on January 11, **Laval** announced his desire, "on the eve of important international meetings, to have the whole of the parties capable of governing take part in the conduct of public affairs". On the following day he commenced negotiations with the Radicals. Here, however, he met with a rebuff. Thereupon, he submitted to the President of the Republic the resignation of his government. Entrusted with the formation of a new government, he was already able on the evening of January 14, to submit to the President of the Republic a list of new Ministers. The **Laval** government without **Briand** followed the **Laval-Briand** government. This time the concentration government failed to materialise.

Whilst between the Parliamentary Lefts and Rights there exist no differences of principle in regard to all problems of home and foreign policy, nevertheless the entry of the Radicals into a bourgeois concentration government would be of service to French imperialism only if the Radicals succeeded in maintaining contact with the masses influenced by them.

For these masses: the middle classes, the poor and middle peasantry, the labour aristocracy, who are increasingly hard hit by the crisis and who are hostile to the policy of war adventures, would possibly turn their backs on the Radicals and come within the sphere of influence of the revolutionary organisations.

The formation of a concentration government is therefore a postponed affair. The "Temps" expresses itself as thoroughly satisfied with Herriot's declarations: Herriot said that with all the difficult questions which placed the national interests at stake, the Radical deputies would do their patriotic duty and in no case prevent the carrying out of the government tasks. Thus it follows that this sham opposition is in reality a moral support of the government, for what questions at the present moment are not of "national interest"?

Before a concentration government can be formed, public opinion must be better prepared and certain conditions fulfilled in order to make such an operation palatable to the masses. The left newspapers clearly say what these conditions must be:

1. The government must be headed by other men than Laval and Tardieu, who have been far too much associated with the reactionaries: new men, as for instance **Paul Boncour**, who recently left the social democratic party and is at present very often mentioned as the coming leader of the national united front;

2. The government programme must contain certain reformist and pacifist formulae of the Radical Party in order to create the illusion that the concentration government is formed round the Radical Party and that it plays the leading role in it.

The present government combination will submit to the Chamber a very limited programme: defence of the national rights in Lausanne and Geneva, passing of the budget by the Chamber and fixing of the elections for an early a date as possible. Chief emphasis is, of course, laid on foreign policy.

Regarded from this point of view, the withdrawal of Briand from foreign politics is not without importance. Briand was an excellent servant of French imperialism in that he concealed its activity with phrases about disarmament and European peace. There will be no alteration in the counter-revolutionary and warlike policy of Briand; nevertheless French imperialism, in face of the increasing antagonisms and the revolutionary threats in Central Europe, will express itself in more brutal form. Thus it is an excellent manoeuvre to give Briand to the social democrats and radicals as the banner-bearer of pacifism and of "international co-operation": these latter will hasten to place themselves behind the "victim of nationalism" and thereby facilitate the task of diverting the masses from the direct fight against imperialism.

Brutal "Election Preparations" in Bulgaria.

Sofia, 19th January 1932.

The municipal elections will take place in Bulgaria in February and the authorities are already engaged in "preparing" for them according to their own fashion. This means a new wave of brutal persecution against the revolutionary workers' and peasants movement and in particular against the Workers Party, for the authorities are afraid that the party will repeat its recent parliamentary election triumph at the coming municipal elections.

In the textile centre **Sliven** the authorities have declared the Workers Party and the independent trade unions illegal. A state of martial law has been declared and gatherings of more than three persons on the streets are prohibited. In **Novo Zagora** collisions took place between workers and the police when the latter tried to prevent a local conference of the Workers Party from being held. In **Vratza** the local leader of the Workers Party, Comrade **Zdakov** was arrested and tortured so dreadfully that one foot had to be amputated because gangrene had set in where the soles of his feet had been torn to shreds with blows. In the village of **Enina** where the Workers Party has a majority on the municipal council, 9 peasants have been arrested and subjected to fearful tortures. In many other villages and towns hundreds of revolutionary workers and left-wing peasants have been arrested and subjected to maltreatment by the police.

POLITICS

The Inner-Political Course of the Brüning Cabinet.

By F. Brand (Berlin).

A few days ago the "Times" wrote that the policy of the Brüning Cabinet has for some time past been a watered down national socialism, and that Brüning and his Ministerial colleagues could be described without exaggeration as the first "practical" national socialists. An interesting characterisation! Hitherto it was only the Communists who spoke of the fascist character of Brüning's policy; now, however, the leading paper of the English bourgeoisie says the same thing.

The ideas of General **Groener**, the Minister for War and for the Interior in Brüning's Cabinet, are expressed in his New Year article, in which he states:

"Above the wishes and aims of the parties there exists the absolute idea of the State. It is the foremost task of the army to be the symbol of this idea!"

Here we have, therefore, the "absolute State", the embodiment of which is the army. Hitler and his followers say practically the same thing. Is it not interesting to see this fascist ideology expressed by the Minister who for a whole decade has been regarded as the most reliable "comrade in arms" of the social democracy, the pillar of Republicanism and of the Weimar Constitution?

It is not surprising if General Groener is to-day regarded as a direct mediator between Hitler and Brüning. It must be admitted that he is endeavouring, not without success, to draw nearer to the national socialists. He makes use of every opportunity in order to show his contempt for the social democratic politicians who tolerate the Brüning government. First there was the dispute over the speech broadcasted by **Hölder**, the social democratic leader of the Reichsbanner, when Groener compelled the Prussian government openly to capitulate. Now he has set aside Severing's prohibition of the national socialist daily "Der Angriff" under circumstances which are particularly humiliating for the Prussian government. In addition, in order to please Hitler, he has cancelled the prohibition placed on the wearing of political badges. Finally, he has endeavoured to win the gratitude of the national socialists by his fatherly attitude towards the Brunswick Nazi government.

General Groener took an active part in Brüning's attempt, by a decision of the Reichstag, to prolong President Hindenburg's term of office. Reichs-Chancellor Brüning entrusted Groener with the conduct of the first negotiations with Hitler. Groener obviously imagined that the time had now come for closer collaboration between the government and the national opposition. It is to be seen from the discussion between the Hugenberg press and the national socialists that Hitler was in fact at first not disinclined to accept Groener's proposal. Then, however, the remonstrances of his colleagues, **Frick**, **Strasser**, **Göbbels**, the stormy protests of his storm detachments, and the attitude of **Hugenberg** forced him to oppose the proposal to extend Hindenburg's term of office. The fact that Hitler's letter to Brüning rejecting the proposal was much more politely worded than that of Hugenberg, has been much commented on by the press. Much more important however is the fact that after this rejection by Hitler of Brüning's proposal, relations between the Hitler Party and the Brüning government have not been severed.

Meanwhile, the public is still discussing the question of the presidential election. A "people's election" of Hindenburg is now planned, and it is calculated that it will be possible to set up a broad platform for this extending from the extreme Right to the social democracy. The "Stahlhelm", which along with Hitler and Hugenberg stands in the "national front" of the Harzburg opposition, has given its consent to such a "people's election" of Hindenburg. The Reichsbanner "Black-Red-Gold", which is under social democratic leadership, has hastened to make a similar declaration. The groups round Hitler and Hugenberg are thereby placed in a very awkward situation, as they possess no suitable candidate whom they could set up against Hindenburg's candidature. In spite of everything, Hindenburg is still the declared national hero of those nationalist, petty bourgeois elements which

make up the bulk of the fascist electors. The Hitler party has therefore reserved its final decision regarding the Presidential election.

It is not at all improbable that we are witnessing in Germany the formation of a broad front from Breitscheid to Hitler, under Hindenburg's command, in which all parties of German capitalism would unite. It is true, the social democracy contemplates such a "united front" with grave misgivings, as it rightly fears that the workers will draw their conclusions from it. But how shall the S.P. of Germany otherwise escape from the dilemma? It must carefully avoid everything that might appear objectionable to the Centre and its Chancellor, particularly in view of the Prussian Diet elections, which are to be held on May 8 next, at the same time as the Diet elections in Württemberg and Anhalt. This Hindenburg policy, however, will land the social democratic party in still greater difficulties now that the **Communist Party** has already nominated the candidate of the working class, **Ernst Thälmann**.

It is clear that, under the present circumstances, Comrade Thälmann's candidature has a somewhat other meaning than in the year 1925. To-day the class questions have become exceedingly acute. As a result of its toleration policy, the social democratic demagogy has been exposed as never before. The broad masses not only of the workers, but also of the employees and officials and large sections of the small peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, are now questioning the right of existence of the capitalist system, which is the cause of their misery. The masses also know what Hindenburg's candidature means. Ever increasing numbers of the working population are perceiving that the way out of their misery lies in the abolition of the capitalist system and the victory of Communism. The social democratic workers, however, are faced with the question whether they will vote for the candidate of trust capital, of the Stahlhelm and the Brüning bloc, or for the leader of the red class front of the working population. Thälmann's candidature is an action of the red united front, a mobilisation of the class forces of the proletariat, a rallying for the fight against fascism in all its forms as represented by Hitler, Brüning and Severing.

For the Brüning government the failure of its Hindenburg action means a fresh weakening of its position, both in regard to foreign and home politics. Experience has shown that after every such weakening of the Brüning Cabinet, the Reichs-Chancellor has been prepared to make further concessions to Hitler. If in the coming weeks the foreign policy of the Brüning government suffers new defeats, then one must reckon on an acceleration of this development. The inner-political course of Brüning and Groener is clear enough in order to show the working masses whither this way leads

Murderous Attack by Fascists upon Berlin Workers.

Berlin, 19th January 1932.

Yesterday evening the fascists held a meeting of their storm detachments near Berlin. After the meeting about 200 of them marched late at night to an allotment with bungalows inhabited mostly by unemployed workers. The fascists even had the insolence to call upon the police to "protect" them on their way home and in fact a tender of armed police was placed at their disposal. So long as the fascists kept to the roadway the tender followed them, but later on the fascists left the road and made their way into the dark allotment grounds. Apparently the police saw nothing peculiar in this, for six of the police accompanied the fascists on foot.

At about one o'clock the fascists arrived at the allotment in question. According to witnesses they broke into the plots and began to throw stones at the wooden huts which are used by many of the allotment holders as dwellings owing to the fact that the workers are in tens of thousands of cases unable to pay the rent on normal houses. At the same time the fascists made the night hideous with shouts of, "Long live Hitler!", "Down with Moscow!" and so on. Four guards who are kept patrolling the allotments at night (volunteers from amongst the ranks of the allotment holders) aroused the whole allotment by sounding the fire horns. The rudely awakened allotment holders rushed out into their gardens to defend their property and found themselves face to face with a solid body of about 200 armed fascists.

A desperate battle ensued in which six policemen joined by drawing their service revolvers and blazing away into the darkness although they could not distinguish friend from foe and hardly knew what was happening (or knew all too well?). Over a score of persons, including two policemen, were more or less seriously injured. The communist worker **Fritz Klemke** was shot dead with bullet wounds in the head and chest, and the fascist Professor Schwarz was stabbed to death in the affray. Schwarz was a prominent fascist and a bitter enemy of the revolutionary working class. In 1919 he fought against Spartakus on the streets and took an active part in every oppressive campaign since then.

With the exception of the out and out fascist and nationalist newspapers, who are not ashamed to reckon the dead communist as one of their own men in order to make the affair look as though the fascists had been attacked, the press is unanimous in affixing the blame for the collisions onto the fascists and in sharply criticising the attitude of the police whose utter neglect of their obvious duty made the collisions possible. The newspapers point out that it is obvious that if the police permit large bodies of political organised persons to march through the quarters of their political opponents then collisions are inevitable.

12 allotment holders and 50 fascists have been arrested by the police and to-day several hundred police surrounded the allotments and a careful search of the huts was made for arms, etc. Up to the evening the search was still proceeding. Examination of the arrested fascists has revealed the fact that the overwhelming majority of them could not possibly have been on their way home when they marched through the allotments for the simple reason that they live in quite different parts of the town. This fact coupled with the fact that the day before a worker was beaten up in broad daylight by fascists under the impression that he was Fritz Klemke, proves conclusively that the fascist expedition was a deliberate punitive venture against the colonists and that it was able to take place under the eyes of the police, even with support of the police, and that the only reason for its failure was the speedy and desperate resistance put up by the workers.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The War in Manchuria and the Incitement against the Soviet Union.

By Gabriel Peri (Paris).

Four months have passed since the Japanese troops bombarded the arsenal of **Mukden**, took possession of the town and commenced the conquest of Manchuria.

Since then the **League of Nations** has held three meetings, at the last two of which **Briand** occupied the chair. Each of these meetings has enabled Japanese imperialism to strengthen its positions and to extend its conquests.

To-day there can be no longer the slightest doubt that the attack by Japanese imperialism was in accordance with a comprehensive plan for an offensive against the Union of Socialist Republics, and that **French** imperialism was the actual originator of this criminal plan. From day to day the evidence revealing this criminal policy of French imperialism has been most strikingly confirmed by events.

Imperialist France was not content to support those who are proceeding to dismember China; it has accorded them immediate help, the help of its generals, of its war industry. The **Vanek** affair is one of the most striking illustrations of the dark designs intended to bring about an explosion at all costs.

A few days ago the diplomacy of the Soviet Union again rendered a great service in the fight against imperialist war. The Soviet Union invited the government of Japan to conclude with it a **Treaty of non-aggression**. If it is true, as the official Notes of Japan maintain, that Japan is not harbouring any plans of attack, if it is true, as Japan's ally, France, maintains, that Japan does not wish to attack the Soviet Union, then there is no reason why Japan should not sign a treaty by which it would enter into a definite obligation before the whole world.

The representative of Japan in the Soviet Union, however, declared that he is not empowered to conclude such a treaty. He thereby revealed before the whole world the firm determination of imperialist Japan and imperialist France to accelerate military intervention.

And now a report from the Far East states that an "independent" government is to be constituted shortly in **Mukden**: not only for the three Manchurian provinces, but also for that of **Chak in Mongolia** and, as the report states, "also for other Mongolian districts".

At the same time imperialist France, whose troops have made a number of raids into the Southern provinces of China and whose government intends to set up in **Hanoi**, in Indo-China, a High Commissioner for the countries of the Pacific Ocean, is endeavouring to establish an "independent" government in the Chinese province of **Yunnan** which borders on French Indo-China. The object of this manoeuvre is to blockade the **Soviet districts of China** and to consolidate the basis for military operations against the **Soviet Union**.

As always on the eve of big adventures, the campaign of incitement is assuming increasingly insane forms. The Rumanian Minister **Argetoianu** informs the French journalists:

"The civilised world must strengthen those States which are the outposts of Europe in the East."

M. Massigli, the French delegate to the League of Nations, is making a tour of the capitals of those countries which are the vassals of imperialist France. **Prince Nicolas of Rumania** has suddenly arrived in France.

Finally, the most militarist government of the world, the **Weygand-Laval-Tardieu** government, has launched an offensive against the armaments of the Soviet Union, i. e. of the only State which has always consistently followed a peaceful policy, the only State which has submitted a plan for general disarmament, which, however, was rejected by all the French delegates, and which, after the rejection of this plan, submitted a plan of partial disarmament, which, however, was likewise rejected by all the French delegates.

After the campaign against Soviet "dumping", after the campaign against "forced labour in the Soviet Union", there now comes the campaign against "Soviet militarism"!

But the manoeuvre will not succeed. The **workers of the whole world** will organise effective solidarity with the proletariat of the Soviet Union, which wields power over one sixth of the globe, which has overcome misery and unemployment and is building up Socialism.

THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

The II. International and the Disarmament Problem.

By N e m o.

The II. International plays a leading role in befogging the minds of the broad masses with pacifism. The League of Nations Disarmament farce, which went on for years and which served only to divert public attention from the increasing war preparations, would have been impossible without the active help of the II. International. And now at the present moment, when the world "disarmament" conference is about to meet in order to put a grave stone over the long buried disarmament promises, the "**Vorwärts**" tries to make out that "the fight for peace is being waged now more strongly than ever, and now is the time to win it".

It is only a few years since the II. International, through the mouth of its theoretician Hilferding, proclaimed the thesis of the end of war and of a "real pacifism". According to Hilferding, world imperialism would become increasingly peaceable because increasing trustification would take the place of competition. This analogy, Hilferding maintained, would also apply to international politics, in which, thanks to the League of Nations and Arbitration, the imperialist Powers would settle their differences by peaceful means instead of resorting to armed force. Thus the II. International set up the thesis of the end of economic, political and even military war. Today, when the fight for world markets is

being carried on with unexampled ruthlessness, when expenditure on armaments has reached enormous dimensions and the danger of imperialist war has acquired an acute character, the utter bankruptcy of Hilferding's theory is palpably evident.

The "Disarmament programme" announced by the II. International, the working out of which was handed over to a special commission, has up to now not seen the light of day. In fact the working out of such a programme appears obviously impossible when one remembers that in regard to the disarmament question the II. International is split up into just as many groups as the imperialists.

In England **Ramsay MacDonald**, as one of the most prominent members of the II. International, carried out the naval building programme of British imperialism, while his party comrade **Tom Shaw**, as Minister for War, opposed any "one-sided disarmament by England" and the proposed reduction of the army budget. At the same time a delegation of the Labour Party and of the Trade Unions expressed to the Chancellor Exchequer **Philip Snowden** their serious fears regarding the planned disarmament, using thereby the hypocritical argument that disarmament would tend to increase unemployment.

In **France**, the social democrats defended the thesis of the French imperialists regarding the security. **M. Paul Boncour** could work unhampered for the increase of the armaments of the French bourgeoisie. The imperialist II. International bears full responsibility for all the imperialist actions of Paul Boncour.

In **Germany** and **Austria** the social democracy, under the cloak of the fight for military equality, advocate the right of their bourgeoisie to increased armaments.

Just as at the coming Disarmament Conference world imperialism will be split into two main camps, one of which defends the Versailles Treaty and the other combats it, so also in the II. International there exists a cardinal antagonism between the victors and vanquished regarding the disarmament question.

"Should it prove necessary to induce Germany to respect resolutions which limit her armaments, then the French government will find us on their side"

declared the leader of the French socialists, **M. Leon Blum**, whilst the central organ of the German social democracy proclaimed the military equality of the German bourgeoisie. Leon Blum opposes the abrogation of the Versailles Treaty, using the argument that this would endanger the II. International's capacity for action; the German social democracy, however, comes forward as the champion of the foreign political interests of its bourgeoisie, which is striving to break the chains of Versailles as a prelude to imperialist expansion.

The course of the last social democratic party congresses in France, Germany, Poland and Holland show that within the II. International there are strong minorities which demand in place of the obsolete radical phrases regarding disarmament an undisguised support of world imperialism. At **Tours**, for example, a resolution advocating national defence and civil peace received 824 votes. But even with regard to the Congress resolution on the disarmament question, which was adopted with 2400 votes, Leon Blum declared that it was compatible with the thesis of national defence as advocated by the French socialists. In Germany, the social democracy, following **Hermann Müller's** slogan to "grant to the army what is due to the army", preferred, as they expressed it, to be ten times with Groener, the Minister for the Reichswehr, than once with the Communists. In Austria, **Julius Deutsch**, the head of the social democratic defence corps, declared: "the social democracy must give the State, for which it is jointly responsible, the weapons which are necessary for its defence". With these arguments the II. International supports the "defence" of the bourgeoisie of all countries.

It is true, the II. International, in its May appeal of the year 1929, demanded that the proposal for disarmament put forward by the Soviet government should be discussed, but in actual fact did everything in order to prevent the realisation of this proposal. The social-democratic press systematically maintained silence regarding the Soviet government's proposal for general, complete and immediate disarmament, or only mentioned it in order to abuse it. The "**Peuple**", the organ of the Belgian social democracy, described **Litvinov's** action in Geneva as a Boshevist manoeuvre

by which "valuable time would be wasted and real disarmament prevented".

At the **Brussels** Congress the II. International rejected a resolution welcoming the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Government, demanding proletarian resistance to war and calling for the refusal of all military credits and the convocation of a world conference to combat the danger of war. On the other hand, however, the disarmament commission of the Congress demanded, "in the interests of the fight for peace", the exposure of the disarmament proposals of the Soviet government and the fight against "Soviet militarism as the greatest threat to peace".

The same parties of the II. International which granted the armament credits to the bourgeoisie of all countries, make the disarming of the only workers State in the world a precondition for general disarmament, in order to be able to carry out the intervention demanded by **Kautsky** and **Abramovitch**.

For the II. International the fight for disarmament is just as much a swindle as it is for the world bourgeoisie. By means of radical phrases and sham actions the II. International seeks to create the impression that it is conducting a real fight for the maintenance of peace, whilst in reality it cripples the initiative of the masses in the fight against imperialist war. In the report of the disarmament commission of the II. International to the Vienna Congress there was submitted the programme of action of the II. International on the disarmament question, from which it is to be seen that it is nothing more than a "petition action" to the League of Nations. In addition, the leaders of the II. International approached the Council of the League and requested it to carry out disarmament.

The recent behaviour of the Japanese social democracy has furnished fresh proof that the II. International is in the war camp of world imperialism, where it prevents disarmament, threatens peace, provides the ideological and material means for war preparation and openly supports imperialist slaughter. The fight against the imperialist criminals of the II. International is one of the most important tasks of the fight of the workers in all countries for disarmament and peace.

INDIA

Letter from Burma.

A revolutionist of Burma has received the following letter from his relations. We publish the letter, because it throws light on the situation in Burma, and the frame of mind of the people there. A guerilla war has been carried on in the country for more than 8 months by the peasants against British imperialism. Bad harvest, heavy taxes, usury, imperialist exploitation, national oppression, feudal exploitation by the landlords have prepared the ground for the guerilla war. The national reformists of Burma are negotiating with the representatives of British imperialism.

The letter reads as follows:

My dear relative.

I hope your parents will write to you and let you know all about the Burma rebellion, so I am not going to write in detail. But for your information I will add a little more regarding the Government of Burma. Burma is now under Martial Law and everything is entirely in the hands of the Military and Civil Police. The Government of Burma is acting according to the advice of the police authorities. People are starving and they have to face heavy taxation. The peasant cultivators are cruelly shot down when they resist the payment of taxes as though they were rebels. But this kind of Government measures does not help the situation, it only encourages the peasants to side with the real rebels, so the number of rebels is increasing every day. I understand that the Burmese revolutionary movement is gaining strength and there is not a single place in Burma where the rebels do not operate. They attack village headmen and government officers—destroy documents, receipts for taxes, and other government reports. Those who side with the government are mercilessly killed—they burn the houses of

Government Officers and semi-officials—especially tax gatherers. Those who are killed in action are not organised rebels; they are only the villagers who did not come out to join the rebels.

The dead bodies of the villagers are tattooed by the police so that they can report to the authorities concerned that those who were killed are rebels. Sometimes, some people who are neutral to both the parties are killed, and the police dress the dead bodies with blue uniforms and report them as casualties of the rebels. The Central Government would accept any form of report submitted by the police authorities. Some of my friends who were in the police force said that not less than 10,000 villagers had been killed, although the official statement accounts for only just over 1,000. There were heavy losses on the Government side too, and they called for fresh troops from India, as it is very difficult to smash the rebels.

The cultivators in many places have not started ploughing their fields as the Government did not allow them to do so. The reason given was when the fields are ploughed and paddy planted it will be difficult for troops to move from one place to another, although it is a great help to the rebels to roam about in Indian file. In Tharrawaddy district villagers were ordered to start ploughing their fields only towards the end of July which is about the end of the rainy season, so people decided not to cultivate their fields at all, and it will be hopeless to expect good crops, if the rice be grown when there is not sufficient rain. The villagers eat up their seed paddy instead of sowing it. It is also announced that the tax gatherers will collect the taxes when the villagers begin reaping their crop. You had better wait and see; next year the troubles will be far greater and extensive than what is happening to-day.

Now I must say something about the **Nationalist Movement**, although I consider it is not worth mentioning.

The 21 Party led by Ba Pe is simply doing what Sir Charles Innes (English Governor of Burma) asks them to do: send preachers all over Burma and preach for immediate separation, no matter that Burma has to face bad or worse in future so long as Burma be separated from the rest of India. They do so because they think they will be appointed high officials and enjoy fat salaries. They do not care for the future of Burma or the future generation—they know they are old and they won't live—and their logic is that so long as they live—and if they are better off during their life time—no matter what may happen in the future. The so-called Nationalists—U Chit Hlaing (Barrister-at-Law) Therrawaddy, U Pu (Pleader) U Su (Educated in Germany) are soft headed fellows and they are not capable of leading the masses, although they have more followers and command greater respect. U Soe Thein seems very much clearer, and he has more followers, including the priests, but the government interferes with his movement and his activities are slowed down. Burmese newspapers do not support him because the government will take action and the press will be confiscated. The members of the Legislative Council are not the representatives of the masses, because the masses boycotted the Council and only a few interested puppets stood for election. Since 1921—Burma has not found a true and reliable leader. The present leaders are lawyers and well-to-do people who take an interest in politics for their own benefit. Our Burmese leaders say that they are not like Indians and they will not accept a form of government if it be not better than that of India. But you must not forget that they are not doing anything—they simply talk like arm-chair politicians instead of fighting for Independence—they argue and quarrel on the question of separation and non-separation. It is like a cook-fight—when two fowls get tired—the onlooker Charles Innes will catch hold of them. For the elderly leaders, they are hopeless and I look forward to the day when the young men will be more active in carrying on the fight. I am very much disappointed with politics and I do not wish to go out and speak or attend political meetings—if they are moving at the usual rate. You can understand how we are ruled at present and if the British Government does not change its policy, Burma will be ruined and I doubt whether the Burmese people will remain on the earth in the future.

There is the Bulinger pool—which controls the price of rice. Grievances are increasing day by day. No reduction is made in taxation. The elderly Burmans are foolish enough to support the government's proposal for the increase of taxation. You can do one thing if you want to help your motherland by giving reports to the International press about

the British exploitation and enslaving of Burmans in Burma. Sir Charles Innes, the Governor of Burma is a fool. He does not know anything about Burma and its people, but he simply acts as he is advised by Sir J. A. Maung Gyi, State Secretary for Internal Affairs. 21 Party people and the Government of Burma is one and the same. The former supports the government for their interests and the latter use them to carry on more effective exploitation. So you see the people of Burma can depend neither on their own Burmese politicians nor on the government. They declare that both are their enemies. 21 Party owns several papers and their strength is that they can deceive the public because of their papers, and all the young barristers are used as their Party preachers. Ba Pe, the leader of 21 Party and editor of the Burmese Sun News, is hated by the nation.

You can see that we are having a hard life here. 8,000 British soldiers have already been transferred to this district. The Buddhist monks help the British in every possible way to disorganise the struggle. They deceive the peasants by promises of an amnesty. The field courts-martial pass death sentences. The British execute some of our best people. Simultaneously, our "representatives", or rather betrayers of our people, meet in London and discuss at the Round Table Conference the question of a "constitution" with the British hangmen. Of course, our people do not care a fig about this conference and constitution. They also do not care a fig about the traitors who participate in this conference. Here, among us—executions, and in London—Conferences. Here, in our country, British troops make war on our people. Over there, our shameless "leaders" talk pretty to the British lords.

But I do not despair. Our people will learn to fight for its independence and freedom.

CHINA

The Secret Counter-Revolutionary Machinations in the Central Soviet Districts of China and their Liquidation.

(Report from the Central Soviet District in the Province of Kiangsi.)

In the central Soviet district of China, in the province of **Kiangsi**, various mistakes have been committed in regard to the question of the agrarian revolution. These mistakes not only had an adverse affect on the development of the agrarian revolution, but also provided the counter-revolutionary elements with an opportunity to increase their intrigues. The mistakes committed, such as the failure thoroughly to solve the land problem, completely to annihilate the remnants of landlordism, to combat the big peasants, were taken advantage of by these elements in order to smuggle into the Communist Party, to occupy positions in the Soviet institutes and even to penetrate into the Red Army. These elements organised their secret counter-revolutionary organisations and even stirred up an open counter-revolutionary revolt, the crushing of which however resulted at the same time in the complete liquidation of all their activity.

Among the secret organisations of the counter-revolution were the **Reorganisationists of the Kuomintang**, the **social democrats**, the **Trotskyists**, and the followers of **Chen Du Hsiu**, who however were numerically very weak and without great importance. Far more widespread, and considerably more dangerous was the so-called **A. B. League (Anti-Bolshevist League)**. As its name implies, the chief aims of the League were to fight against Bolshevism and to deceive the masses. The history of the development of the Anti-Bolshevist League began already in the "**Wuhan period**". Under the leadership of **Duan Si Pun**, the Right elements of the Kuomintang united together in the A. B. League in order to fight against Communism. Later, the League was commissioned by **Chiang Kai Shek** to conduct disintegration work in the Soviet district in Kiangsi "to fight for Chiang Kai Shek and against Communism".

The A. B. League employed every possible method in order to enlarge its organisations. It sought to persuade the remnants of the big estate owners, the big peasants and the

vacillating intellectuals, that the Nanking government was about to become stabilised, that the wars of the generals were at an end, that the White armies would continually attack the Soviet districts, that the Red Army would surely be beaten, and that the defeat of the Soviets was a certainty; they were advised to seek a way out in the other direction and not to stick to the Communists through thick and thin.

The false political line pursued at that time by the **Le Si San** leadership of the C. P. of China afforded the best cover for the disintegration work of the A. B. League. Thus they eagerly supported the wrong slogan of an immediate attack on the big towns, and attempted to send the Red Army to attack the central towns of **Nantchang** and **Kiukiang** and thereby to drive them into the arms of the enemy.

The A. B. League made use of the wrong slogan of the collectivisation of agriculture in order to fight against the distribution of the land, against the interests of the poor peasants. It further took advantage of the false slogan of prohibition of free trade, in order to cripple all trade whatever. It made use of the occasion of the strengthening of the Red Army in order to enrol as many of its members as possible in its ranks so as by this means to weaken the fighting force and the discipline of the Red Army. It extended the slogan of the fight against the big peasants to the middle and poor peasants. In the name of freedom of marriage it promoted the most unbridled sex license and thereby called forth the discontent and the opposition of the peasants.

The A. B. League endeavoured to carry on special activity in the Red Army. Thus all kinds of lies and calumnies were spread, weapons were damaged and munitions destroyed. The enemy troops were informed regarding military affairs. When, on the occasion of the counter-offensive against the first campaign of the Kuomintang, the Red Army made all preparations to attack the troops of **Tan Tao Yuan** and later to attack the troops of **Chang Hui Dsan**, Tan Tao Yuan was informed beforehand and thus escaped the Red Army. When the Red Army was then compelled to change its tactics and immediately attack Chang Hui Dsan's troops, it was only able to disarm two regiments.

The activity of the A. B. League in the Red Army was first discovered at the capture of the town of **Ki-An** in 1930. It was noticed that various instructions to the Red Army-men were not carried out and peasants were forcibly enrolled in the ranks of the Red Army. Arrests were made of members of the Red Army who fled in the face of the enemy and spread lying reports. This led to the discovery in the 4th Red Army of a secret group of the A. B. League. A. B. organisations were later discovered in the 3th and 20th Red Armies as a result of the statements of the arrested.

In December 1930 the A. B. League organised a counter-revolutionary revolt in the 20th Red Army near **Tungku** and **Futian**. The leaders of the 20th Red Army were arrested and the arrested members of the A. B. League released. In addition, a part of the Red cadet school were disarmed. A lying report that **Mao Tse Tung** had gone over to the counter-revolution was spread. False information was given to **Chuteh**, **Peng Teh Hwei** and **Huang Kun Lio**. But thanks to the firmness of the Red Army-men and of the masses, who recognised that all this was only the machinations of the A. B. League, in spite of the attacks of the outer enemy the inner enemy was energetically crushed.

For the purpose of examining and trying the arrested leaders of the A. B. League, big mass meetings were convened at which the arrested confessed the plans and intrigues of the League. Judgement was pronounced by a jury elected by the masses.

The Soviet government proceeded ruthlessly against the leaders and against the big landowning and big peasant elements of the A. B. League; it condemned them to death or to long terms of imprisonment. The peasants and young people who had been deceived into joining the A. B. League or had entered it under compulsion were acquitted. Thanks to energetic action on the part of the Soviet government and the broad masses and thanks to the correct political leadership of the Party, the consolidation of the Soviets, the strengthening of the Red Army by proletarian elements and by combating the big peasants, the influence of the A. B. League has been liquidated in our central Soviet district and our Red Army completely purged of members of the A. B. League.

Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Campaign

The Offensive of Marxism-Leninism on the Theoretical Front.

On December 27, 1929, Comrade Stalin made a speech at the **first All Union Conference of Marxist agronomists**, devoted to the **six main questions of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture**. This speech is a very important historical landmark in the development of the Leninist agrarian policy of the C.P.S.U. in the period of the fully developed socialist offensive all along the line.

In this speech, Comrade Stalin has given a full and clear out formulation to one of the decisive turns in the whole policy of the Party.

"The characteristic feature of our work in the last year"—said Comrade Stalin—,is that we, as Party and Soviet government: a) have developed an offensive all along the line against the capitalist elements of the countryside; b) that this offensive has produced and, as you know, continues to produce palpable positive results. What does this mean? It means that we have gone over from the policy of **limiting** the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks to the policy of **liquidating kulakdom** as a class."

This turn in the whole policy of the C.P.S.U. was rendered possible owing to the fact that in the preceding period it was able to prepare an adequate material basis.

This preparatory work was done by the Party steadily and systematically for a series of years; it fought energetically against underestimation of the kulak danger ("The kulak is a bugbear") and resisted ruthlessly all attempts to saddle it with a "policy of immediate attack on kulakdom".

In the preparatory period, the Party carried on firmly the policy of **limiting** the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks. This policy was announced already at the VIII. Congress, then brought forward once more at the introduction of Nep, and at the XI. Congress, and was finally confirmed by the XV. Congress of the Party. This policy has fully vindicated itself.

Under Comrade Stalin's leadership, the C.P.S.U. repudiated the adventurous policy of the Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition which proposed in 1926-27 to start an immediate attack on the kulaks.

"The Party would not have anything to do with this perilous adventure, for it knew that people who took matters seriously could not indulge in such a game. Attack on the kulaks is a serious matter. It must not be confounded with high sounding phraseology against kulakdom. Neither must it be confounded with the policy of skirmishing with the kulaks that the Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition was persistently forcing on the Party. To attack kulakdom means to break it, to liquidate it as a class" (Stalin).

Without preparing points of support in the villages in the form of a broad network of collective and Soviet farms, it was impossible to undertake a real attack on kulakdom, for it was bound to be a failure, and in such an event, the position of the kulaks would have been strengthened. Only after a proper preparation of the material basis, the Party started a decisive attack on the kulaks, in order

"to break its resistance, liquidate it as a class and replace its output by the output of the collective and Soviet farms" (Stalin).

The mass of poor and middle peasants have learned by experience that large scale socialised farming is superior to the old method of farming, and, resting on the enormous successes in the industrialisation of the country, especially in regard to the development of the heavy industry, they set themselves into motion, under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard, against the kulaks like a mighty ever growing avalanche.

Compact collectivisation of entire districts developed under the leadership of the Leninist Party and the working class. Now the liquidation of the kulaks has assumed a different aspect.

"Now, the liquidation of the kulaks is performed by the poor and middle peasants themselves, by those who carry out compact collectivisation. Now, the liquidation of the kulak in the districts of compact collectivisation is no longer a purely administrative measure. Now, the liquidation of the kulak represents a component part of the establishment and development of collective farms. Hence, the Bolshevik slogan 'liquidation of kulakdom as a class on the basis of compact collectivisation', that has assumed a world historical significance." (Stalin.)

Comrade Stalin's speech is not only the most profound theoretical synthesis of the fine practice of the C.P.S.U. in the domain of socialist reconstruction of agriculture, but also a powerful searchlight that reveals with exceptional clarity the further path of the Soviet Union.

Only two years have gone by. And the result of these two year is: 62.2 per cent. of collectivised poor and middle peasant farms throughout the country. In a series of the most important provinces and regions, compact collectivisation, and, on its basis, liquidation of kulakdom as a class are already accomplished in the main.

Prior to 1929, collective farms attracted chiefly farm labourers and poor peasants, and only a comparatively small number of middle peasants. But already in 1929, the middle peasantry veered round decisively towards socialism. This victory fully confirms the correctness of the Leninist policy of the Party in the peasant question: it confirms the Leninist proposition that the middle peasantry can be the ally of the working class in the struggle for socialism; it confirms the fact that in the Soviet Union there exists everything that is necessary for the complete construction of socialism.

In 1916, the average sowing area of a peasant farm in Russia was 3.8 hectares. In 1927, the average sowing area of a peasant farm was: in Tartary 4.2 hectares, in North Caucasus, 6.6, on the middle Volga 4.7, on the Lower Volga 5.1, in the Ukraine 4.5. But in 1931, the average sowing area of a collective farm was: In Tartary 5.2 hectares, in North Caucasus 8.6, on the middle Volga 7.7, on the Lower Volga 10.9, in the Ukraine 5.5. The entire sowing area constituted in 1929 118 million hectares (7.6 per cent of that area collectivised), and in 1931, already 136 million hectares (62 per cent. of that area collectivised). Thus,

"the importance of the collective farm movement in all its phases, in its primary phase, as well as in the more developed, when it is equipped with tractors, consists in the fact that the peasants are now able to make use of fallow land and virgin soil. In this lies the secret of the enormous expansion of sowing areas consequent on the adoption of collective labour by the peasants. This is one of the foundations of collective farms' superiority over individual peasant farms." (Stalin.)

In 1927, kulak farms still had under grain a sowing area of 10 million hectares, the small individual farms 83.4 million hectares, collective farms 0.8 million and Soviet farms 0.6 million hectares. In 1931, 211,000 collective farms, embracing 13 million poor and middle peasant farms (according to statistics for June 1, 1931) sowed 80.4 million hectares, the Soviet farms 10.5 million, and the individual farms 46.6 million hectares. Consequently, the socialist elements predominate now completely in agriculture not only in regard to the capitalist elements, but also in regard to the individual sector of the poor and middle peasant farms. Consequently, the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution—"who will be the victor?"—is already solved in favour of socialism, not only in industry, but also in agriculture.

The average size of a collective farm sowing area at present is 441 hectares. Over 21 per cent. of the collective farms have a sowing area of 311 to 1,270 hectares. Over 5 per cent. of the collective farms have a sowing area exceeding 1,270 hectares. In the meantime large farms in the United States with a sowing area of over 200 hectares constitute only

3.5 per cent. In Germany, large farms with a sowing area of over 100 hectares constitute only 0.4 per cent. of the total number of farms.

The Soviet Union has established state grain and stock raising farms of a size hitherto unknown in the world. The area of the stock raising Soviet Farms alone amounts to 60 million hectares, whereas the whole territory of France is 57.1 Million hectares, that of Germany 47 million, and that of Italy 31.1 million hectares. Thus, in these two years alone, the Soviet Union has become the most important country in the world in regard to agriculture. This means that in these two years it has solved in a practical manner the problem of large scale development of agriculture, the problem of making agriculture capable of accumulation and of expanded reproduction.

In 1929, the output of the agricultural machinery works, in permanently fixed prices, amounted to 345.1 million rubles, in 10 months of 1931 to 450 million rubles, and in 1932, this output is expected to amount to 900 million rubles. The share of tractors in the general output of agricultural machinery in 1929 constituted 4.4 per cent., in 1931 already 57.5 per cent., and in 1932 it is to exceed 80 per cent. Two years ago, there were hardly any machine and tractor stations in the Soviet Union, this year 1,400 M.T.S., with a tractor depot of 761,740 H.P., are already functioning, and next year the number of M.T.S. will reach 3,100, which means that it will be more than doubled. Thus, in practice, collective farms have proved to be

“precisely that form of socialist economy through which alone the millions strong small peasantry can make use of machines and tractors, as the levers of economic upsurge, and agricultural development on socialist lines”. (Stalin.)

It is therefore not to be wondered at that

“the peasant of the old type with his profound distrust of the to him predatory city, is receding in the back ground. He is replaced by the new peasant, the collective farm peasant, who hopes to receive from the city material help. The peasant of the old type who is afraid to sink to the status of a poor peasant, and only stealthily dares raise himself to the status of a kulak (for fear of being deprived of the vote!) is replaced by the new peasant, who has new perspectives—to join the collective farm, to emerge from poverty and enter the broad path of economic development.” (Stalin.)

Thanks to this, the ground is prepared

“for supplementing the Party slogan ‘turn your face to the village’ by the slogan of the collective farm peasants ‘turn your face to the city’”. (Stalin.)

On the road of collective and Soviet farm construction, the C.P.S.U. and the working class, supported by the collectivised peasants, have solved in the main the grain problem, have achieved considerable success in regard to technical cultures. Here, the main struggle is now for quality, for better harvests. By the same thoroughly tested means, the Party and the working class undertook to solve the problem of stock raising. At present, maximum attention, and a maximum of forces and means are concentrated on this sector of socialist agriculture.

The struggle for speedy organisational and economic consolidation of collective farms, for the reorganisation of Soviet farms is developing in a truly Bolshevik manner. These are the central, the main links that one must get hold of, in order to stretch the whole chain of decisive victories along the front of socialist reconstruction for its durable consolidation, guaranteeing hereby in the coming year the accomplishment of compact collectivisation, and, on this basis, the liquidation of kulakdom as a class throughout the country.

Kulakdom is already definitely defeated, but it is not yet liquidated as a class. The class struggle has not yet come to an end, it still continues. Adapting themselves to the new situation, the defeated kulaks offer frenzied resistance to victoriously advancing socialism, oppose with all their might the organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms.

“It would be wrong to believe”—said Comrade Stalin —“that since collective farms have been set up, there exists all that is required for the construction of socialism. It would be even more wrong to believe that the members of the collective farms have already become Socialists. No, much work is still in store, in order to

remodel the collectivist farm peasant, to liberate him from his individualistic psychology and reshape him into an industrious member of Socialist society.”

This task can be accomplished only through struggle for the organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms, through struggle against the relics of individualistic private property psychology among the collectivised peasants, and against kulak influence on some of their strata. But in order to make this struggle easier and to accelerate victory, the ruined kulak must be given the final blow, for he continues to offer desperate resistance. No mercy must be shown to Right-opportunist theory and laissez faire practice, to the kulak agency—the Right-opportunists, and also to the “Left” phrasemongers and perverters of the Party line, who play into the hands of the Right-opportunists and kulaks, to the conciliatory attitude towards Right-opportunism—the main danger in the Party at the present stage, and to “Left” opportunism.

Comrade Stalin’s speech sounded the alarm in regard to the failure of theoretical work to keep pace with practical socialist construction, it created a stir on the theoretical front, and gave an enormous impetus to the Bolshevik vigilance of the theoretical cadres of the Party in the struggle with the manifold bourgeois and petty bourgeois theories. In this sense, Comrade Stalin’s speech has become an important historical landmark, and has guaranteed a sharp turn in the development of the victorious offensive of Marxism and Leninism on the theoretical front.

Under Comrade Stalin’s leadership, the offensive of Marxism and Leninism is developing along the theoretical front, it expands and deepens from day to day, drawing in more and more new domains. This offensive has been given another impetus in connection with Comrade Stalin’s letter on several questions of the history of Bolshevism, and has spread to the most important sector of the theoretical front—to the historical sciences, first and foremost, to the history of the Party into which Trotskyist theories were smuggled owing to the rotten liberalism of individual Bolsheviks. Here, too, the Party will in time be able to accomplish the task set by Comrade Stalin:

“To raise the questions connected with the history of Bolshevism to the higher plane that they deserve, to place study of the history of the Party onto a scientific, Bolshevik basis, and to call attention to the Trotskyist and all other falsifiers, unmasking them systematically.”

The last two years were marked by great victories. The working class of the Soviet Union enters upon the last, the final year of the Five-Year Plan, having completed the foundation of socialism. There are still many difficulties in its way, but no force is strong enough now to stop the victorious advance of socialism under the fighting banner of Marxism and Leninism, under the experienced leadership of the C.C., of the Leninist Party, headed by Comrade Stalin.

Some Liberal Tendencies in the Communist Party of Italy.

By Garlandi.

For some years the ideological activity of our Party has been inadequate. Our ideological deficiencies are all the greater as the present basis of our Party consists for the greater part of elements which have not had a proper revolutionary political training. These elements succumbed, and still succumb today in the fascist environment in which we live, to all kinds of ideological influences which the Party is not sufficiently combating. The most widespread ideological deviation in the ranks of our Party is the conception of the “spontaneity” of the revolution and the idea that the present crisis of the capitalist system in Italy permits no way out for the bourgeoisie, that this crisis will of itself merge into the revolution. This centrist, opportunist position is an old view against which Lenin and the Leninists fought most ruthlessly.

The theory that the social democracy constitutes the “lesser evil” compared with fascism is somewhat deeply rooted in our ranks, and also many who deny it are perhaps not inwardly convinced that the social democracy is one of the social buttresses of Italian capitalism. Opportunism and Trotskyism (with its Bordigist deviation) express in the most

striking manner this view, which is prevalent in the lower organs of our Party. This attitude is the source of a certain conciliatory spirit towards the social democracy, of the tendency to regard the Communists as a part (the Left wing) of anti-fascism in general and not the only political anti-fascist force existing in the country. Here is the source of those cases of fraternisation with many groups of the Concentration or of the "**Right and Freedom**", which have occurred three or four times in our lower Party organs and which the Party had already condemned. Here lies the source of those cases in which our comrades helped to circulate the press products of these counter-revolutionary groupings, "for the lack of a Party press".

Of the same nature are the ideological concessions which have been made in many organisations of the Party to anarchism. There are comrades who are of the opinion that anarchism represents a more "Left" ideological and political position, a more advanced position than Communism. And this is happening when Italian anarchism has consistently extended its former positions among the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, when, with an eagerness and assiduity it has never displayed in the fight against fascism, it is doing everything to calumniate the Russian revolution.

The existence of a certain tolerance in the fight against "Right" opportunism and against "Left" sectarianism (Bordigism) is to be explained as due to the ideological deficiencies in our ranks.

Another group of deviations which frequently occur in our Party is characterised by an underestimation of the danger of imperialist war and of an attack upon the Soviet Union. Although war is going on before our very eyes, although the danger of the partition of China is immediately imminent, although the attack on the Chinese Soviets is on the order of the day of the imperialists, although the danger of military intervention against the Soviet Union by the imperialists was never so threatening as at the present moment, there are many comrades who deny the possibility of war; who maintain that Italy has no interest in war; that fascism talks of war but will not wage one. Other comrades—and these constitute the majority—would rather like to see a war, as this would mean that fascism would collapse. These two positions express the idea that imperialist war is not inevitable, is not threatening, and link this up with the theory of "spontaneity".

The consequence is an insufficient vigilance on the part of the proletariat against the preparations for war, inadequate anti-militarist work, a shameful capitulation to imperialist war and a betrayal of the revolution.

This passivity, which is fatal for the success of the Italian revolution, is also to be found in the attitude of those who imagine that military coalitions are possible between the Soviet Union and the fascist-Mussolini government. Instead of redoubling the efforts of the Party in conducting the fight against imperialist war, and accordingly increasing the revolutionary work in the army, these comrades put forward phantastic hypothesis and think of impossible and unnatural approaches.

An expression which has become current in our ranks and which contains the elements of a certain liberalism towards anti-Leninist and counter-revolutionary conceptions, is the phrase of the "epoch in which the Reds ruled". This phrase, which is taken from the vocabulary of the fascists, relates to the years 1919/20. It is clear that this expression could perhaps be described as merely unhappy, if it served to characterise that period of social and political life in Italy. But this phrase is a symptom of ideological retrogression, of conciliation towards social democracy and towards opportunism of every colour, if one does not see that the "Reds" were lacking the theory and practice of Leninism, that the "epoch of the Reds" was the epoch of the defeat of the Italian proletariat, the epoch of centrism, which prevailed in the ranks of the proletarian Party. The "epoch of the Reds" must not recur as anything else but the epoch of the Italian Bolsheviks and the victory of the proletarian revolution.

All concessions to the ideology of other classes (of which there are many examples and numerous cases) show that opportunism is more deeply rooted in our ranks than one would believe.

It is therefore necessary that the advance in the direction of winning the majority of the proletariat by our Party and in the direction of winning the allies of the proletariat,

must be accompanied by a course of ideological training of our Party, of control of all ideological positions of the Party from top to bottom, and a constant vigilance for the pureness of our ideology. A Communist Party worthy of the name must not be afraid of ideological struggle. The comrades who fear this fight and this clarification will never be good revolutionary fighters and will contribute nothing to the political development of the Party.

No truce, no concessions, no conciliation, no tolerance towards the social democracy, least of all when they make their Left manoeuvres in order to deceive the proletariat. No truce with opportunism, with centrism, sectarianism (Bordigism).

Only under these conditions can the Party develop its organisations, capture the factories, the proletariat and the great mass of the population and become a steeled party, capable of leading the proletariat to victory in the fight.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Latest Crime of Rumanian Fascism.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

On January 11, an official Rumanian communique stated:

"The frontier guards surprised six persons who secretly wished to cross the Dniester. After challenging them several times the frontier guards fired. All six persons were killed. Among them was a woman. Five of them were active members of the Communist Youth organisation; the sixth was a smuggler. The incident occurred this night in Soroka in North Bessarabia."

The victims of this latest bloody deed of Rumanian fascism were four lads, ages ranging from 17 to 20, and a young girl of 16 from Soroka, a locality situated on the Dniester and inhabited almost entirely by poor Jewish families. These five youth comrades had been informed by an anonymous note that the gendarmerie were conducting an investigation against them on account of their membership of the Young Communist League, and their arrest was imminent. This would have meant a trial before the military court, for Soroka is situated in the area over which a state of siege has been proclaimed.

On the other side of the frozen Dniester, however, freedom beckoned. They decided to flee. For this purpose they sought the aid of a smuggler, who was on good terms with the frontier guard. They thought he would be able to conduct them safely across, as all the frontier soldiers are bribed by the smugglers.

But a corporal of the frontier guard demanded 4000 Lei for allowing the five comrades to escape. He received this sum.

In the night, however, when the flight was to have been carried out, this bribed corporal, with a squad of 12 men, lay in waiting. He had promised his superiors that he would make a good capture. At about 2 o'clock at night he placed the group of refugees, not on the ice of the Dniester as was originally reported, but not far from their dwellings where they had just taken leave of their relatives in a suburb of Soroka.

The refugees remained calmly standing about 10 paces in front of the patrol. Suddenly, a volley rang out, and was immediately followed by another, until all the six lay stretched out on the ground. Then the soldiers, lusting for blood, rushed towards the corpses, still firing at them and finally threw hand grenades at them. The corporal himself ordered this for who knows that, perhaps, one of the victims might have had on him a note regarding the paying over of a certain sum of 4000 Lei. Before the frontier guards left their victims, they rifled their bodies.

After this bloody work, the frontier guards drew up a protocol stating that they thought they were dealing with smugglers. The government, however, did not make use of this excuse. On the following day it proudly proclaimed in a public communique the exploit of its frontier guards, the murder of five young Communists.

The particular cruelty with which this deliberately planned murder was carried out, has this time however called forth a storm of indignation on the part of the broadest strata of the population in the whole of Rumania.

The distracted parents appealed to the Jewish member of Parliament of the district Dr. Landau. Thus the previous bribery of the murderers became public. Dr. Landau proceeded to Bucharest and questioned the War Minister Dr. Amza. He, of course, promised that "investigations would be made and the guilty persons severely punished". But everyone knows what such a phrase is worth in the mouth of a Minister, and therefore the guilty corporal has nothing to fear.

Also the liberal and the rest of the opposition press have been compelled, in face of the general indignation, to devote more attention to this case than they usually do in the case of the murder of Communists. "Adeverul" even sent a special reporter to the scene of the murder. The investigations made by the bourgeois press brought the above-described details to light. It has been ascertained beyond all doubt that the frontier guards could have arrested the refugees instead of shooting them; that they were standing quite still and had not moved from the spot.

The "indignation" of the bourgeois press will soon abate, but the five murdered Komsomols of Soroka will remain unforgotten in the hearts of the Rumanian workers.

The Terror in Canada During 1931.

By B. Buhay (Toronto).

The year 1931 witnessed a tremendous sharpening of the economic crisis in Canada. By the end of December, the unemployed army has grown to over 700,000, whilst on the farms destitution and suffering embrace a very large section of the population.

The increased misery of the masses had the effect of developing great militancy during this period. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Worker's Unity League, mass demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of workers took place from coast to coast demanding relief and non-contributory state unemployment insurance. In April, 1931, the Workers' Unity League deputation to Ottawa, presented a bill for non-contributory state unemployment insurance with over 100,000 signatures.

The radical movement among the farmers grew by leaps and bounds. Farmers' Unity League set up over 150 branches throughout the west, taking in thousands of members and inaugurated a campaign for a charter of farmers' rights which drastically dealt with demands to lighten the burdens of the poor farmers and to obtain relief from destitution.

The employers in industry took advantage of the growing unemployment by intensifying their campaign of wage-cuts and introducing the stagger system. On this front too, the workers fought back militantly in a number of strikes (miners, lumber workers, needle trades workers, furniture, wheel accessories, etc.) under the leadership of the Workers' Unity League.

The ruling class answered the militancy of the workers and poor farmers and their determination not to starve by an unprecedented wave of **class terror**. Whereas in 1930 some 200 workers had been arrested, and just a few imprisoned, 1931 registered the following significant figures of the growing terror:

Arrests—over 720—Jail sentences—155 (majority are still serving) 96 demonstrations and hall meetings smashed—98 woundings and beatings—3 miners murdered—numerous raids, clubbings and various forms of persecution.

The year 1931 further culminated in the outlawing of the Communist Party of Canada in the Province of Ontario and the conviction and sentence of seven of its leaders to 5 years and one to two years on charges of "unlawful association" and "seditious conspiracy". This was doubtless inspired by the fear of the capitalist class of the growing strength and popularity of the Communist Party of Canada and the fact that the latter was leading the masses in the struggle against war, starvation and exploitation.

This recent action of the Ontario government shows the decided tendencies towards **fascism** that are growing in Canada. Already there is every indication that Section 98 of the Criminal Code under which the eight Communist leaders were convicted will be used in other provinces for the purpose of arresting the fighting working class movement. The attempt to intimidate other organisations such as the Workers Unity League and the Mine Workers Union of Canada are shown by

the expressed opinion of Judge Ousley at Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, in which he calls these organisations "unlawful associations".

Brutal clubbings, beatings in police cells, deportations for political and working class activity, and murder by mounties (Estevan) have now become ordinary occurrences in the Canadian class struggle. In 1930, the majority of the arrests were on charges of vagrancy and disorderly conduct. In 1931, the following shows the tremendous change:—

"Unlawful association" and "seditious conspiracy"—9 cases, "sedition"—15 cases, "unlawful assembly"—95 cases, "inciting to mutiny"—1 case, "inciting to riot"—40 charges. There was also an "attempted murder" charge (Bihun). This was later changed to "inciting to riot."

Intensity in the terror is further shown not only in the terrible massacre of the miners of Estevan in which three were killed and many wounded, but in the savage sentences imposed upon those convicted. The total sentences imposed amount to 119 years and three months. There were also 21 political deportations (Not counting the thousands of workers deported for being public charges, etc.). Many of these were to fascist countries. There were about 30 court appeals from convictions, the vast majority of which were lost.

For the past three years every vestige of free speech has been destroyed in the City of Toronto. Now the tendency is for all provinces to follow suit. To-day the whole working class movement under the leadership of the Canadian Labour Defence League is being mobilised against the terror, particularly for the Repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code and for the release of the 8 communist leaders, since this latest attack exemplifies an unprecedented development in the terror, a development that seeks to destroy totally the whole working class movement and which must be fought with every means that the masses have at their disposal.

Hungarian Communist Leader Hahn in Danger.

Vienna, 18th January 1932.

The condition of Comrade **Elemer Hahn**, one of the leaders of the illegal Hungarian Communist Party, who is serving a term of several years imprisonment is creating much anxiety. Comrade Hahn returned to Hungary from abroad, where he had lived as an emigrant, in order to conduct illegal political work. At the beginning of 1930 he was arrested by the police in connection with the production and distribution of the illegal organ of the Hungarian Communist Party. Maltreatment at the hands of the police, long imprisonment awaiting trial, the excitement of the proceedings against him, the exhaustion resulting from several hunger strikes and from a series of "disciplinary" punishments whilst in prison have all combined to break his health. He has completely broken down. He is unable to walk without support and is unable to conduct a conversation for any length of time. He is in such a state of physical and nervous exhaustion that further imprisonment means almost certain insanity.

Two civil professors Nemeth and Varga have both examined him and pronounced him unfit for further imprisonment. However, the prison doctor Zacharias regards the case as not serious, and in consequence comrade Hahn is still being detained. Dr. Zacharias is responsible for the death of comrade Goegoes, a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, who was arrested together with Comrade Rakoshi. Unless an international protest action releases him from prison, Comrade Hahn will suffer the same fate as Comrade Julius Pap who went mad in the prison of Zegedin in 1930 as a result of brutal and ruthless treatment.

Revolutionary Peasant Leader arrested.

Sofia, 19th January 1932.

Lazar Stanev, one of the most prominent leaders of the revolutionary peasants in Bulgaria and a member of the parliamentary fraction of the Bulgarian Workers Party, was arrested to-day. Stanev is one of the best-hated men in Bulgaria to-day and at the same time one of the best-loved, by the bourgeoisie and the peasants respectively. His life is in danger.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

On the Threshold of the Fourth Year of the Five-Year Plan.

Report of the President of the State Planning Commission at the Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

By V. Kuybyshev.

(Conclusion.)

III. The Decisive Branches of the Plan for 1932.

b) Coal.

The production of hard coal must also engross the attention of the Party and of the working class. We cannot have a repetition of what happened in the year 1931, when as a result of the big decline in the output of coal we had great difficulties in the whole of our economy, in transport and also in industry, especially in the smelting industry.

Our national economy requires an output of 90 million tons of coal in the year 1932 as compared with an output of 57.6 million tons in 1931; this task must be carried out at all costs. In addition, in the year 1932 the percentage share of the new coal districts must be considerably increased, as the development of our national economy cannot remain based only on the Don Basin.

The solution of the coal problem will proceed in two directions in the year 1932. The first includes measures for increasing the output capacity of the pits and for their technical reorganisation. The second is connected with the creation of prerequisites for facilitating the utilisation of the existing capacity and increasing the productivity of labour.

In the year 1932 we shall invest 810 million roubles in the hard coal industry as against 587 millions in the year 1931. The greater part of the sum to be invested in the coal mining industry will be devoted to expediting the exploitation of the mines which were opened in the past year, while only 13,420,000 roubles will be invested in the opening of new mines.

I must remark in this connection that the role of the new coal-fields is considerably increased, as is shown by the following table:

| | Output in 1931 | Capacity of the pits at present working (in million tons) | Output in 1932 |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---|----------------|
| Donez Basin | 36.3 | 87.0 | 56.0 |
| Kusbas | 5.4 | 43.7 | 11.0 |
| Ural | 3.1 | 20.7 | 6.0 |
| Moscow coal area | 2.7 | 7.6 | 5.68 |
| Karaganda | 0.5 | 3.8 | 2.5 |
| Central Asia | 0.6 | 3.6 | 1.5 |
| Eastern coal area | 2.0 | 11.2 | 3.7 |

These figures show the increasing importance of the coal areas in the East. The new pits which are to be opened in the year 1932 increase this tendency, as out of the 13.5 million tons new coal deposits opened up, 5 million tons are in the Moscow coal fields, 4.5 million in the Kusbas, 3 million in Karaganda and one million in the central Asiatic coal fields.

Simultaneously with the opening of new pits, the capital investments for the year 1932 secure a further step forwards in the mechanisation of coal mining. The general percentage of mechanised output of coal in the Soviet Union will amount to 72 per cent. as compared with 61 per cent. in the year 1931. It must be our chief aim in 1932 to bring about a thorough mechanisation of coal-mining.

What I have said regarding metal also applies to coal. All branches of the national economy must be concentrated on this branch of industry. Our engineering industry is pledged to supply the coal industry with machines on a larger scale than hitherto.

We are investing 238 million roubles in the erection of houses for workers in the coal mining industry, and this will greatly help to overcome the fluctuation of labour.

With regard to the level of wages, the coal industry is advanced to the fourth place as compared with the ninth place it occupied in 1931.

In regard to supplies, wages and the whole material-technical and organisational serving of the coal industry, we must adopt serious measures and assign to the coal industry a special position in our national economy which will render possible the carrying out of the strenuous tasks of the coal industry in the year 1932.

c) Transport.

Transport represents a cardinal point in the Plan for 1932. We cannot allow a recurrence of what took place at the beginning of 1931, when there existed practically no connections between the various districts and the factories. It was largely due to the fact that transport lagged behind that the whole plan of national economy was not carried out.

In the year 1932 our railway transport service has to carry 320 million tons of goods, which means an increase of 28 per cent. as compared with 1931. This pace of development of the goods traffic means that the Five-Year Plan in the transport industry will be surpassed in four years.

What is necessary in order to carry out this ambitious programme, which exceeds the proposals of the Five-Year Plan for the last year? In addition to big capital investments, in addition to a material-technical transformation of the waggons, locomotives, etc., a decided improvement in the degree of utilisation of the existing rolling stock is of great importance. The average daily distance travelled by a goods waggon must amount to 128 kilometres; that of a goods locomotives 167 kilometres. These standards must be striven for at all costs; they considerably surpass those standards reached by the railway transport in the year 1931.

In addition, our transport service, already in the year 1932, will get a fairly considerable new equipment, including 50,000 waggons, 1,300 locomotives, 24 electric-locomotives. Finally, a new type of locomotive, the oil-locomotive, will be used to a greater extent than hitherto. In the year 1932, our industry must supply the transport service with 15 oil-locomotives and 500,000 tons of rails, thereby enabling it to perform adequate work in regard to improving the tracks and building fresh lines.

In order to create the technical basis for the purpose of a more rapid development of transport, the plan for 1932 envisages an accelerated construction of the waggon factory in Nishni-Tagilsk and of the locomotive factory in Lugansk. These works have to provide our transport service with higher quality material than we have had hitherto. Then there is the works for the making of electric-locomotives, the construction of which will commence in the year 1932. This is likewise an exceedingly important undertaking, which will give us the possibility of electrifying the railways in those districts in which electrification represents the only correct solution of the question.

Capital investments in railway construction must be devoted mainly to enlarging the junctions and establishing transport connection between the Urals and Kusbas. In all we are investing 2,500 million roubles in transport and this sum will be devoted to the most important parts of the railway

and to acquiring the means for the technical transformation of transport.

A considerable growth must also be achieved in regard to water transport, which must increase by 31 per cent. in the year 1932. The capital expenditure on water transport amounts to 420 million roubles as against 312 million actually assigned to water transport.

In addition to the smelting industry and the coal mining industry, the Plan provides for a number of measures for improving the working conditions in the transport industry. Wages in the transport industry are increased by 13 per cent., while the sum devoted to housing, social and cultural services and formation of cadres will amount to 155 million roubles in the year 1932 as compared with 100 million roubles in the year 1931.

The transport industry is given a special place in the food plan, whereby it will be possible to improve the material standard of the transport workers.

d) Machine Building.

In machine building we must in the first place promote those branches which are especially important to the coal mining and smelting industry.

We must promote those branches of machine construction which serve the transport industry and electric-power production. The machine building programme, already in the year 1931, surpassed the proposals for the fifth year contained in the original Five-Year Plan. In the year 1932, the output of all branches of machine building will amount to 6,800 million roubles, which represents an increase of 45 per cent. compared with the year 1931.

We are able to record tremendous progress in all branches of machine building. In addition, we shall produce new types of machines. For example, in order to render possible the realisation of the tremendous programme of the smelting and coal mining industries of which I have spoken, our works must produce 6 blooming plants, 19 rolling plants, 35 excavating machines, 600 heavy and 400 light coal-cutting machines, etc.

The establishment of new branches of production is also of great importance.

The experience in the machine building industry in the year 1931 prove that there exist no machines which we are not able to produce. All the greater responsibility, therefore, will rest upon our machine building industry in the year 1932. For it will depend to a considerable extent upon the development of this industry how far we shall be able to render ourselves independent of foreign countries.

e) The Building Programme.

The year 1932 will be a year of tremendous building activity. The chief investments in building construction are distributed among the branches of national economy as follows:

| | 1931 (in million roubles) | 1932 |
|--|------------------------------|--------|
| In the whole of the national economy | 16,046 | 21,100 |
| Thereof in the whole of industry | 8,200 | 10,700 |
| Thereof in the planned industry of the Supreme Economic Council | 6,086 | 7,550 |
| Thereof in the: | | |
| Coal industry | 587.5 | 810 |
| Iron smelting industry | 1,027.2 | 1,800 |
| Agriculture | 3,600 | 4,360 |
| Transport | 2,750 | 3,300 |

The building programme for the whole of the national economy has been increased to 21,100 million roubles compared with 16,100 million roubles assigned to this purpose in the year 1931. Of the 10,700 million roubles invested in industry as a whole, the coal-mining, smelting and machine building industry receive the greatest part. Huge sums, amounting altogether to 4,360 million roubles, are being invested in agriculture.

The most characteristic feature of the plan of capital investment in the year 1932 is the comprehensive programme of housing construction and city planning. In the year 1932, 1942 million roubles will be invested in housing construction and 950 million roubles in city planning.

The capital investments in the year 1932 will not only fulfil but exceed the building programme of the whole of the Five-Year Plan.

Of the total sum of 4850 million roubles invested in planned industry, 4200 million roubles are devoted to works and buildings already under construction, and only 650 million roubles are devoted to new constructions. Out of the total of 800 million roubles capital invested in building work in the electric industry, only 75 million roubles are devoted to new constructions. This concentration of investments on work already begun is an absolutely necessary prerequisite in order that in the year 1932 a large sum of capital already invested shall begin to yield a return.

We propose to reduce building costs by 17 per cent. in the year 1932. This is an absolutely necessary task, as otherwise we shall not be able to accomplish the quantity of work envisaged in the plan.

On January 1st, 1932, the capacity of all the electric power stations will amount to 4,050,000 kilowatts as compared with 2,900,000 kilowatts on January 1st 1931. In the year 1932, power plants with a further 1,500,000 capacity will commence working. We must develop considerably building activity in order to increase the current supply, particularly in the Donetz Basin, on the Dnieper and in the Ural. The increase in the capacity of our electric power stations enables us to plan a considerable increase in the production of electric energy. Thus the output of our generating stations will be increased from 6,000 million kilowatt hours in the year 1931 to 10,000 million in the year 1932. The total amount of energy produced by all the power stations in the Soviet Union will amount to 16,700 million kilowatt hours compared with 10,600 million in the year 1931. The capital invested in the construction of works for the production of electric power will amount to 800 million roubles in the year 1932. One of the most important aims of our building activity in the sphere of electrification is a great increase in the oil-driven electric power stations, of which according to plan, 46 are to be built at a total cost of 126,100,000 roubles. The most important oil-driven electric power stations will be built in Dangauerrow, Frunse, in Moscow, in Leningrad, in Sormovo-Kanavimo, in Ishekoye, Woronesh, Kharkov and Baku.

In regard to the hydro-electric stations, in addition to the Dnieprostroy, Svirj, Rion and others, we have envisaged in the plan the erection of hydro-electric stations in Tchirtchik in Central Asia, and two tremendous works on the Volga—in the Ivanovo and the Nishni-Novgorod districts—as well as the power station in the Leningrad district.

In the year 1932 we shall also invest large sums in the chemical industry, and the erection of a number of factories will be accelerated; a number of them will already commence working in the year 1932. The increase in the production of sulphuric acid, superphosphate, calcinised soda, ammonia will follow chiefly as a result of new works commencing operations, among them being the combine of Njevski and Vossnessensk the factory of Bobriki, the sulphuric acid works of Kelotina and others. The total sum to be invested in the chemical industry amounts to 675 million roubles as compared with 583 million roubles in the year 1931.

Instead of the 53,000 tons of copper which have been produced in the year 1931, we must produce 100,000 tons in 1932. The output of zinc will increase to 28,700 tons compared with 11,400 tons; the output of lead will increase from 19,600 tons to 46,250 tons. Capital investments in the non-ferrous metal industries will amount to 600 million roubles compared with 375 million in the year 1931.

The grandiose building programme which we are carrying out in the year 1932 renders the question of a rational territorial distribution of the productive forces in the whole Union of immediate importance. Those instructions which Lenin gave us regarding the closest possible approximation of industry to the most important sources of raw material and fuel, must here be our guiding principles. In order to pursue unswervingly Lenin's national policy, we must, in solving the question of the territorial distribution of productive forces in the Soviet Union, pay due regard to the districts inhabited by non-Russian peoples so as to draw the backward peoples into the work of socialist construction.

Proceeding from this fundamental principle, the Party has issued precise directions regarding the development of industry in an eastward direction, regarding the creation of a second metallurgical and coal basis, and the acceleration of the industrial development of the backward national areas.

The erection of the Ural-Kusnetzsk combine, the drawing of Karaganda into the economic orbit, the great transport construction in Kasakstan and Siberia—all this justifies us

in asserting that we have accomplished a decisive turn in the first three years of the Five-Year Plan in regard to the territorial distribution of the productive forces.

Insofar as metal, coal, machine building and transport are the most important points of the Plan for 1932, we have also in the distribution of capital investments paid regard to those areas and districts which are of decisive importance to the above-named branches of industry.

Investments in the most important districts and centres are distributed as follows: the central district (Moscow, Ivanov, Nishni-Novgorod, the central black earth district) receive 2800 million roubles for the whole economy; the East (Ural, West Siberia, East Siberia) receive 3220 million roubles for the whole of economy. The South (Ukraine, North Caucasus) receive 3980 million roubles. To the Ural-Kusnetzsk combine there fall 20.3 per cent. of all capital investments and 30.2 per cent. of all capital investments in industry. The South receives 24.8 per cent. of the whole and 29.8 per cent. of the industrial investments. Thus the two most important districts of the smelting and coal industries of the Soviet Union receive together 45.1 per cent. of all capital investments. 60 per cent. of the whole means assigned to industry go to the smelting and coal districts.

Of the 800 million roubles capital invested in overland power stations the Ukraine receives 131,300,000 roubles, Ural 93,500,000, West Siberia 31,300,000, the Leningrad district 122,100,000 and the Moscow district 95 million roubles; this represents 51.1 per cent. of all investments in the construction of electric power works. In the year 1932 the first part of Dnieprostroy, with a capacity of 272,000 kilowatts, will commence working. The decision regarding the construction of hydro-electric stations on the Volga is of tremendous importance; it means that we are actually tackling the solution of the problem of the big Volga. The capital investments in the coal industry reflect this shifting of industry to the East. The programme of coal output also shows this shifting to the East.

The share of Kusbas in the total coal production will be increased from 7.5 to 12.2 per cent. and the share of the Karaganda district from 0.1 to 3.2 per cent.; the share of the Moscow coal basin in the total output will be increased from 3.7 to 6.4 per cent. In regard to the naphtha industry, the share of the old regions such as the Baku region declines for the first time in the year 1932 to 55 per cent. as compared with 58 per cent. in the year 1931. On the other hand, the output of the Central Asiatic naphtha trust and of "Mainepht" show a big increase, the share of the Mainepht increasing from 2.9 to 7.3 per cent.

In regard to the output of metal we have also to record a shifting to the East. The output in the production of pig iron in the South declines from 73.9 per cent. in 1931 to 61.1 per cent. in the year 1932. The central district, while it shows a considerable absolute growth, its percentage share declines from 7.5 to 6.27 per cent. On the other hand, the output of the Ural district shows a striking increase from 18.4 to 25.4 per cent. of the total output of the Soviet Union. The share of Siberia in the total output of metal increases to 7.3 per cent. The share of the Eastern districts increases considerably by reason of the fact that of the 24 new blast furnaces which commenced working in 1931, 10 fell to Magnitogorsk and Kusnetzsk, and out of 64 Martin furnaces, 19 are in these two works.

In the sphere of transport the greater part of the investments are devoted to increasing the lines leading to and from the Magnitogorsk, Kusnetzsk and Donetz basins. Of the 1186 kilometres of main lines, 570, i. e., the half, will be laid in the territory of the Ural-Kusnetzsk combine and on the routes leading from Siberia.

f) Agriculture.

We have a tremendous programme of development for agriculture in the year 1932. The victory of socialist agriculture in the year 1931 has converted the Soviet Union into a land of large-scale agriculture.

In addition to considerably surpassing the collectivisation plan, the collective farming movement has formed a socialised cattle-breeding industry producing for the market by creating collective cattle farms.

Agriculture in the year 1931 was somewhat behindhand in regard to the harvest yield, the milk supply etc. Meanwhile, it is large-scale farming and sarge-scale farming alone

which possesses the means necessary for increasing the productivity of agriculture.

The Soviet farms which are springing up as really large-scale farms for cultivating the land and breeding cattle, are being transformed in accordance with the directives of the C.C. by converting the departments into self-contained production units of the Soviet farms.

The collective farming movement is also being transformed. In the past year the collective farms achieved a tremendous work in regard to selection and consolidation of leading cadres.

In the year 1932 a huge new tractor park, with not less than a million horse power, 11,000 auto-machines and agricultural machines to the value of 900 million roubles will be set up.

The novel feature of this new machine technique which will be introduced in the year 1932 in agriculture is that the tractors and complicated machines are exclusively produced by our socialist industry. The value of all the machine equipment of agriculture in the year 1928 amounted to 1058 million roubles. In the year 1932 the value of our agricultural machines alone will amount to 900 million roubles. But whilst in the year 1928 the agricultural machines were either horse-drawn or worked by hand, in the year 1932, 90 per cent. of them will be complicated machines and equipment driven by tractor power.

67.2 per cent. of the total amount to be expended on mechanising agriculture is to be devoted to harvesting machinery.

Already in the past year, cadres amounting to more than 2,500,000 collective farmers and Soviet farm workers were trained, who know how to handle the new agricultural machines, tractors, etc. In the year 1932, these cadres will constitute an army of over 5 million qualified workers in agriculture. The backward, drudging peasant work will be done away with and agricultural work will be raised to the level of the work of the industrial proletariat.

The number of new machines in agriculture will render it possible to increase and develop the machine and tractor stations in all agricultural districts of the Soviet Union.

This means that in all the regions of the Soviet Union, machines and tractor stations are springing up, which, as the experiences of the past year have shown constitute the main forms of socialist consolidation of the collective farms and their technical transformation. The machine and tractor stations have very great tasks to perform: they must fight against the lack of personal responsibility in the management of tractor parks, against negligent treatment of tractors and implements, for the development of socialist competition and of the shock-brigade movement and for payment according to work performed for the purpose of increasing the productivity of labour and bringing about a maximum utilisation of the tractor parks.

In all parts of the plan for 1932 it is to be plainly seen that attention is being concentrated on cattle-breeding. The capital investments in the cattle-breeding Soviet farms are increased by 30 per cent. compared with the year 1931, whilst the total investments in agriculture are increased by only 21.2 per cent. 55 per cent. of the total building costs are devoted the erection of buildings for cattle-breeding purposes. 67.4 per cent. of the investments in electrification for agriculture under the 1932 Plan are devoted to the cattle-breeding trusts. The cattle belonging to the cattle-breeding trusts will be increased in the year 1932 from 2,100,000 to 2,950,000. The pig-breeding trust will increase its stock from one million to 2,900,000. The butter trust will increase the number of its cows from 216,000 to 320,000. The sheep-breeding trust will increase the number of sheep from 4,700,000 to 7,300,000. The stocks of cattle owned by the collective farms producing for the market amount to 11,100,000 on the dairy farms, to 4,500,000 on the pig breeding and to 9 million on the sheep-breeding farms.

In the Plan for the year 1932 the fight for increasing the harvest yield of cereals, the fight against losses in harvesting, is of decisive importance. The 1932 Plan proposes an increase in the harvest yield of 8½ centners per hectare. This harvest yield means an increase in the grain harvest in the year 1932 by 120 million centners.

In the sphere of agriculture, the 1932 Plan will be at the same time a Plan for the further extension of our raw material basis in our light industry. The successful construction of machine and tractor stations in the cotton, sugar beet

and flax growing regions must bring about a decided increase in the supply of cotton flax and sugar beets. New harvesting machines for flax, cotton and sugar beets, 250 new factories for the working up of flax and hemp will bring about a revolution in these backward branches of economy.

The absolute preponderance of the socialist elements in agriculture which we already achieved in the year 1931, offers a guarantee that in the year 1932 the percentage of the collective farms will be increased to 72/75, which in turn will ensure the liquidation of the kulaks as a class.

g) The Increase of the Well-Being of the Working Class and of the Collective Peasants.

The Plan for 1932 envisages a growth of the light industry as a result of the progress of agriculture and of big industry. The gross production of the food industry will increase by 36.6 per cent. compared with 1931. The canning industry will be increased by 92 per cent., butter production by 54.8 per cent., sugar production by 55.9 per cent. and fish production by 33 per cent.

The completion of the building of four large and middle meat combines and the commencement of the erection of new meat combines in the year 1932 will secure a firm basis for the socialist reconstruction of meat production and a maximum working up of by-products.

The increase in the cotton output, which is now more than double than pre-war output, ensures a growth of the cotton industry by 23.8 per cent. compared with 1931. In the year 1932 the construction of the cotton combine in Central Asia, which will render possible a real approximation of the cotton industry to its sources of raw material, will be continued.

The considerable increase in the production of cotton cloth will ensure the development of the clothing industry, which according to the Plan will increase its output in the year 1932 by 28 per cent.

The October Plenum of the C.C. devoted special attention to the question of developing Soviet Trade and improving the supplies to the workers. The goods circulation will increase to 35,000 million roubles in the year 1932, i. e. an increase of 30 per cent. as compared with 1931. For this purpose it is necessary to open a large number of new stores. The Centrosojuz and the Food Commissariat alone will open 10,000 new shops. In addition, the Soviet and collective farms, the Commissariat for agriculture and the various industrial undertakings will open up new shops.

This increase of the goods circulation by 30 per cent. compared with the previous year makes the work of the Soviet co-operatives an exceedingly important link in the whole of the national economic plan.

Of great importance is the extension of public feeding contemplated by the Plan. The number of meals served daily in the public dining rooms will increase to 50 million, i. e. by 50 per cent., compared with 1931.

Thus the Plan for the year 1932—a plan for the further victory of socialist construction—is a plan for further increasing the well-being of the working class.

As a result of the uninterrupted growth of the national economy, the number of workers will increase in the year 1932 from 18,600,000 to 21 million. In the year 1931 the wages fund amounted to 21,000 million roubles; in the year 1932 it will amount to 26,800 million roubles. Such an increase in the wages fund means a further increase in the share of the workers in the national income. One of the most important tasks in the year 1932 in the sphere of labour consists in further transforming the wages system and organising labour. We have proposed an increase in the productivity of labour by 22 per cent. Only if this precondition is fulfilled will it be possible to achieve the tremendous production envisaged in the Plan for 1932.

The improvement in the working conditions must also have an effect on the productivity of labour. Among the improved working conditions is the carrying out of the seven-hour day in the whole of industry in the year 1932. In the year 1932 there will be a tremendous increase in capital investments for improving the hygienic conditions of work. Thus, for instance, in planned industry alone one hundred and eleven million roubles is to be expended on protection of labour; that is 80 per cent. more than in the year 1931.

In the year 1932 the average wages in all branches of industry will be increased by 20.7 per cent. compared with the proposals of the Five-Year Plan. As the number of workers

is considerably higher than was envisaged in the Five-Year Plan, the total wages fund will be 60 per cent. higher than proposed by the Five-Year Plan.

The liquidation of unemployment and the increase in the number of members of the family who are working has been of great importance in improving the standard of living of the workers. The uninterrupted growth of socialist competition and of the shock-brigade movement greatly influences the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of productivity of labour. There has been a further increase in the brigades for improving the quality of work. There is hardly a factory where counter-plans have not been set up, where higher standards of production have not been worked out. Finally, in the last few months there has been a growth in the brigades which are carrying on a campaign for business accountancy, which express most completely the concern of the workers to improve not only the quantity but also the quality of the work performed.

h) The Cadres.

The Plan for 1932 includes a tremendous programme in regard to cadres. The provision of the national economy with qualified cadres, engineers and technicians is one of the most important prerequisites for our fight for the victory of socialism.

At the end of 1931, our national economy already had 226,000 specially trained engineers and technicians. If we include in our calculation all the specialists in national economy who are organised in the Union of Engineers and Technical Workers, we have to-day 600,000 specialists compared with 300,000 in the year 1930.

Of course, we cannot be satisfied with these figures and this rapid tempo of growth, as the national economy is developing at an exceedingly rapid rate. In the year 1932 it is proposed to admit 257,600 persons into the high schools, i. e. 39 per cent. more than the number admitted in the year 1931; the number to be admitted into the technical schools is 591,000 or 55 per cent. more than the number admitted in 1931; in the workers faculties 358,700 or 96 per cent. more, and in the factory schools 1,036,000 or 44 per cent. more.

The technical schools are turning out 175,000 trained technicians, which is more than double the number in 1931. The workers faculties are turning out 121,000 students, which is 80 per cent. more than last year. The factory schools are turning out 364,000 young qualified workers, which is four times the number reached in the year 1931.

Consequently, at the end of 1932 we shall have four million persons who are studying at the technical colleges, technical schools, workers faculties and factory schools compared with 2,700,000 in the year 1931. One of the most remarkable processes to be observed now is that the workers in socialist industry, transport and agriculture, in addition to the fact that they are fulfilling their immediate production tasks, are making themselves acquainted with the scientific-technical and theoretical side of production. There is arising a new type of worker, which to a certain extent unites in himself the practical worker with the technician or even engineer.

Socialism is creating a new type of man—that is one of the characteristic features of the present stage of the historical development of our country.

We have set up an equally big programme in regard to the elementary schools. Altogether 700,000 children are being educated in the schools of the Commissariat for Education.

i) The Quality of Work.

In conclusion, I wish to speak regarding the obligation to carry out the qualitative demands of the Plan. I will quote a few figures which show the importance of the qualitative side of the carrying out of the Plan.

In the most important branches of national economy the losses arising from the increase of prime costs in the year 1931 compared with the year 1930 amounted to 1,500 million roubles. Measured by the Plan for reducing the prime costs for 1931, these losses amount to over 4,500 million roubles.

The losses in the planned industry coming within the scope of the Supreme Economic Council—which had the task of reducing their prime costs by 10 per cent. but which concluded the year 1931 with an increase of 2 per cent. in their prime costs—amount to 1,800 million roubles.

In transport, where a reduction in prime costs of 20 per cent. ought to have been reached, the prime costs fell only

2 per cent., which means a loss to the national economy of 500 million roubles. The industry of the food commissariat was able to record a reduction of the prime charges by only 1½ per cent. instead of 11 per cent., which means a loss of about 700 million roubles.

The national economy is losing hundreds of millions of roubles because the tasks in regard to reducing our prime costs are not carried out. That which we propose for the year 1932, namely a 7 per cent. reduction of the prime costs, will bring about a saving of 1,500 million roubles if we only take into account the industries under the control of the Supreme Economic Council and of the Food Commissariat. In addition, we are pledged this year to achieve a decided change in the utilisation of fuel, metal, building material, etc. We are squandering fuel and metal, of which there is such a great shortage. The Plan assumes that we shall achieve at least a 10 per cent. reduction in the consumption of fuel and metal, and a 20 per cent. reduction at least in the consumption of building material.

Comrades, the Plan for the year 1932 is a tremendous one. In the year 1932 we must complete the Five-Year-Plan, and in this manner carry out the most important slogan of the Party. Hence the world-historical importance of completely carrying out this Plan is perfectly clear.

The carrying out of the 1932 Plan is a matter of honour for the working class of our country, a matter of honour for the collective peasants; for the working class of our country has undertaken, before the whole world and before the world proletariat, to build up Socialism in our country at such a tempo that we shall accomplish in four years what was originally planned for five years.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

The Economic Situation in Hungary.

By Z. Gregor.

The economic situation of Hungary, instead of improving, has grown worse since the introduction of the foreign currency regulations. All the advantages which were to have resulted to industry as a result of a drastic exclusion of imports have been negated by the continuing crisis in agriculture, by the economy measures of the Government, which have reduced the purchasing power of the broad masses, and finally, by the difficulties in obtaining raw materials.

Only in the coal mining industry is the situation relatively favourable, as the increased demand for home coal for domestic purposes as a result of the restrictions on the importation of foreign coal has more than made up for the reduced consumption of coal in industry. In September last the output of coal was 3.4 per cent. higher than the previous year, and in October 10.4 per cent. higher. On the other hand, textile industry is in a bad way; in the working up of cotton yarn, in the third quarter of last year, it was 7.5 per cent. behind the production of the previous year; in the manufacture of cotton goods the decline was 23 per cent. while the situation in the woollen industry was even more unfavourable. The iron and engineering industries are specially hard hit by the crisis. In the third quarter of last year the production of pig-iron amounted to 4,200,000 centners, compared with 6,500,000 centners in the previous year and 8,600,000 centners in the year 1929. The great **Manfred Weiss works in Csepel**, which during the war employed a staff of 50,000 workers and even after the war employed 30,000 workers, are about to be closed down completely. Only recently, out of 5,000 workers 3,000 were dismissed. As there are no building loans, stagnation prevails in the building trade. If one puts the sale of bricks in the year 1927 at 100, the index figure this year amounted to less than half, namely 48.3.

The main cause of the shrinkage of the home market and of the income of the State is the agrarian crisis.

Whilst two years ago a peasant received 32 Pengös* for a double centner of wheat, today he receives only 7 to 8 Pengös for the same quantity. For wine and fruit there is practically no market whatever. At the auctions wine fetches only 6 Hellers

* A Pengö is worth about ninepence.

per Litre. Live sheep fetch less than the value of their wool; horses which the peasant is forced to sell because he is unable to purchase fodder for them, realise 5 to 40 Pengös. In the neighbourhood of the capital, geese weighing 3 to 4 kilogrammes fetch 1.50 Pengös each. The cause of the drop in the price of meat and poultry lies before all in the shortage of feed as a result of the decidedly bad harvest. The Institute for Economic Research estimates the yield of the seven most important agricultural products at about 80 per cent. of the previous year's harvest, which was already very poor.

Whilst, however, the income of the peasant has sunk to a minimum, the prices of industrial products have remained unchanged, in fact they have risen somewhat. The above-mentioned Institute has calculated the following index figures for semi-manufactured and finished goods: end of June 85.6, end of September 85.3, end of October 86.4.

The great masses of the population of the capital, however, derive no benefit from the low prices of agricultural goods, as before these reach the consumer they are rendered enormously dear by the dealers and middle-men. On the other hand, the unemployed and the workers on short-time have no money to go to the villages and purchase for themselves.

The development of the credit market is revealed by the decline in the bank deposits. The deposits of all the banks and savings banks affiliated to the central money institution declined from 1902 to 1723 million Pengös during July and August; in September they declined to 1672 million Pengös.

There is also a considerable increase in insolvencies. According to the Institute for Economic Research, during the months of October and November the number of insolvencies amounted to 784 as against 348 in the corresponding period of the previous year. In the first 11 months of 1931 there were registered 2779 insolvencies as against 2482 in the whole of 1930.

This economic situation explains the reason of Hungary's bankruptcy, expressed in the transfer moratorium decree; it forms also the background to the latent political crisis in which the Karoly government has been involved since it assumed office.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Bankruptcy of the Brandler Group in Germany.

By Paul Langner (Berlin).

The Brandler group, which calls itself the Communist Party Opposition but in reality is only a branch of the social democracy, this moderate wing of fascism, is rapidly breaking up. "Arbeiterpolitik", the daily paper of the group appearing in Berlin, will cease to appear as a daily at the end of the month and will continue only as weekly paper. On January 12, the prominent Brandlerists, **Jacob Walcher, Paul Frölich, Köhler, Enderle, Rosi Wolfstein, Dr. Karl Frank** and some other members were expelled from the group.

The decay of the Brandler group is the immediate result of the intensification of the class antagonisms and class struggles in Germany, as well as of the correct policy of the C.P. of Germany under the leadership of its Bolshevik Central Committee. The decay of the Brandler group is the direct reflection of the crisis within the social democratic party of Germany, of which the Brandler group is only a branch.

The quarrel between Thalheimer and Brandler on the one side and Walcher, Frölich and Enderle on the other, regarding the methods best calculated to keep the workers from entering the Communist Party, became an open conflict at the moment of the founding of the Socialist Labour Party (Seydewitz group).

The group headed by Walcher openly propagated the liquidation of the Communist Party Opposition and its incorporation in the Socialist Labour Party in order, allegedly, to convert this counter-revolutionary branch of the social democracy into a Communist Party. Thalheimer and Brandler rightly feared that the liquidation of their group and its merging with the socialist labour party would be bound to result in the greater part of their proletarian followers going over to the Communist Party; for such a step would cause the workers to recognise the correctness of the Communist Party's

assertion that the Brandler group plays a counter-revolutionary role. On the other hand, the intensification of class antagonisms forces the Walcher group to act.

The development within the Brandler group is accelerated by the constantly declining influence of this group in the working class. According to a report of the "Arbeiterpolitik", the general meeting of the Communist Party Opposition in Berlin was attended by only 197 members, although both fractions had mobilised all their members in order to have the majority at this meeting. According to a report of "Gegen den Strom", the "theoretical organ" of the Brandler group, in Hamburg, the second largest town in Germany, there were only 48 people present at the members meeting of the C.P. Opposition.

The fight within the C.P. Opposition is by no means confined to the national leaders. The fraction fight is raging in all parts of Germany. In some districts the Walcher group has the majority, as for instance in Offenbach, where the newspaper "Volksrecht", edited by the reformist trade union bureaucrat Galm, has already gone over to the Walcher group. In Hamburg a decision was adopted according to which Brandler is not allowed to speak at a public meeting unless a representative of the minority is allowed to deliver a speech at the same time.

The Walcher group is openly working for affiliation to the Socialist labour party and for the liquidation of the Communist Party Opposition. It is already holding joint fraction meetings with S.L.P. people. A leading functionary of this group has already joined the socialist labour party.

The differences of opinion which have now led to the open bankruptcy and decay of the Brandler group, in no way relate to any principle. Brandler is conducting an equally furious fight against the Communist Party as is the Walcher group. Now, at the moment when the workers are opposing the emergency orders with the weapon of the strike, both fractions are showing themselves to be branches of the social democratic party and of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. They conceal their shameful role of strike breakers behind the radical phrase that the only answer for the workers to the emergency orders must be the "general strike". This general strike, they declare, must be led by the reformist trade unions.

The "Left" socialist labour party leaders, Seydewitz and Rosenfeld, are singing the same tune. A huge number of reformist trade union bureaucrats in Germany are at present peddling round with the slogan of a "general strike" in order, at the present moment when it is necessary to mobilise the working class against wage cuts, to divert attention from their shameful strike-breaking policy.

The "Arbeiterpolitik" writes that the essence of the united front consists in compelling the reformist trade union leaders to lead the fight of the working class, whilst the socialist labour party calls for the setting up of the united front by the joint action of the Communist Party, the socialist labour party, the Brandler group, the social democratic party and the reformist trade unions. That is to say, the united front with Wels, Severing, Grzeziński, Zörgiebel, etc. The fact that the Brandler group held a joint meeting with the socialist labour party and the miserable remnants of the Trotsky group shows that the standpoint of the Brandler group in regard to the "united front" is quite reconcilable with that of the socialist labour party.

Also in regard to the question of the Red Trade Union Opposition, the formation of a revolutionary trade union movement and the setting up of strike committees for launching and leading strikes of the workers there exists a united front from Wels to Brandler. This front wishes to liquidate the R.T.U.O., because it does not wish the workers to defend themselves immediately with the strike weapon against the increased exploitation and oppression. The only difference between the Brandler group and the Walcher group is that the Walcher group wishes to combat the R.T.U.O. with the same methods that the reformist trade union bureaucracy and the S.P. leaders employ, whilst the Brandler group wishes to form a united front with the R.T.U.O. "for the purpose of liquidating the R.T.U.O."

These manoeuvres will not arrest the decay and the complete bankruptcy of all counter-revolutionary branches of the social democratic party. History sweeps over them. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, the proletarian united front of the fight against the fascist emergency decrees of big capital will be set up.

Obituary

Michael Alexandrovitch Larin.

Michael Alexandrovitch Larin was born in the year 1882 in Simferopol. In the year 1900 he took part for the first time in an illegal social democratic mass meeting which had been organised by a group of workers outside the town of Simferopol. Commencing in the year 1901, he led the student organisation of Odessa and wrote an appeal, calling for street demonstrations.

In the years 1901 and 1902, although he was under police surveillance, he organised the Committee of the Russian social democratic labour party of the town of Simferopol, and later the federation of this Party for the whole of the Crimea. In August 1902, he was arrested and sentenced to eight years banishment to Yakutsk in East Siberia, from where he escaped abroad in the Autumn of 1904. In Geneva he joined the Mensheviks.

In January 1905, he returned to St. Petersburg in order to carry on illegal work, and took part in the organising of the first trade unions in Russia. He was arrested in the following May and imprisoned in the Peter-Paul fortress. The revolution in 1905 brought him release from the prison hospital, and he again took up work in the St. Petersburg Committee of the Mensheviks.

In the years 1905 to 1913 he carried on illegal Party work in St. Petersburg, in the Crimea, in the Ukraine and in the Caucasus.

In January 1913, he was arrested in Tiflis and conveyed to St. Petersburg. After he had spent a year in prison he was expelled from Russia, as the doctors considered he had not long to live.

Right up from the commencement of the world war Larin adopted the standpoint of the Internationalists against war, and used every opportunity by means of the legal press to carry on propaganda for the socialist revolution. After the February Revolution he returned to Petrograd and stood at the head of the group of Left internationalists. In the July days, when the Bolshevik party was driven into illegality for a time, Larin joined the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution Comrade Larin actively participated in the work for nationalising industry, the exercise of the Foreign Trade Monopoly and the Concession policy. He took a prominent part in carrying out the class system of letting houses, in the organisation of workers' building co-operatives etc. He was also the initiator and indispensable member of the Presidium of the Central Council of the Society for the Promotion of Jewish Settlements (Ozet). Comrade Larin was a member and candidate of the Central Executive Committee of the R.S.F.S.R. and of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union at a number of sessions.

In Comrade Larin the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has lost an active fighter for the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Successful Peasant Rebellion in China.

Shanghai, 19th January 1932.

The Nanking government sent troops against the peasants in Changlen and Futzien who refused to pay the irrigation tax (which is afterwards expended by the militarists instead of by the civil authorities to maintain the irrigation system). The peasants disarmed the expeditionary force which was not very keen on its job. A small army of several hundreds of armed peasants has now been formed. The peasants then attacked the district capital where they also disarmed the soldiers and confiscated all government papers, seals, etc. The peasant Ling Sun-yao has proclaimed himself the military leader of the peasantry. He has taken up his quarters in the former government building. The peasants have stopped all traffic on the river between Foochow and Changlen.

In the International

To all Members of the Communist Party of Spain.

Dear Comrades.

The IV. Congress of the Communist Party of Spain is meeting at the time when class contradictions and the class struggle throughout the world are becoming extremely acute and the development of the revolutionary crisis in Spain itself is reaching a turning point.

The most characteristic feature of the international situation at the present time is the striking contrast between the two worlds—the world of socialist construction in the country of the victorious revolution, and the capitalist world which is in the throes of the most far reaching economic crisis, condemning tens of millions of poor workers and peasants to unheard of suffering and privation. In all capitalist countries the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class is becoming continually sharper while the revolutionary activity of the working class is constantly growing. The bourgeoisie is attempting to solve the capitalist crisis by a general lowering of the standard of living and by more and more intense exploitation of the working class, by repression and assassination and by adopting the fascist methods of direct violence. On the other hand, the workers are confronted more and more urgently with the necessity of a revolutionary way out of the crisis, that is, solving the crisis by overthrowing capitalist domination. The antagonisms between imperialists have become sharper and are growing still sharper at a very rapid pace. We are faced with the picture of mad rivalry between the great imperialist powers for the economic and political subordination of the weak countries, for a repartitioning of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, for the partitioning of China and for a repartitioning of the entire world. The tariff war between the capitalist countries has grown much sharper. As a result of these contradictions the danger of new imperialist wars becomes more and more threatening. Already Japanese imperialism, with the particularly active assistance of the French imperialists and with the support of the League of Nations is carrying on a war for the partitioning of China. The threat of war on the part of the imperialist countries, above all, French imperialism, against the Soviet Union is becoming more and more pronounced.

It is in this international situation that **the revolutionary crisis in Spain** is continuing to develop. This crisis started at the very beginning of the world economic crisis and resulted from a combination of the various economic political and social conditions of the country: The existence of considerable vestiges of feudalism (predominance of large estates of a semi-feudal character, survival of mediaval compulsory services: "Foros", "Rabassa Morta", etc. pauperised semi-serf peasants, the tremendous power of the clergy and the church who own almost a third of the national wealth, the important role played by the caste of officers, casiquism, etc.); the rapid growth of finance capital which has obtained control of the chief branches of the economic life of the country; the existence of a numerous industrial and agricultural proletariat, subjected to ferocious exploitation by finance capital and the landlords, national oppression of Catalonia, Biscay, Galicia and Morocco. This is the background of the widespread class contradictions and conflicts which have developed in the economically backward country of Spain. The world economic crisis has carried these contradictions to an extreme degree and has accelerated the revolutionary crisis. The April revolution came about, then the overthrow of the monarchy and then the proclamation of the Republic.

The Spanish proletariat, the principal driving force of the revolution, gave proof of its tremendous revolutionary energy; through its strikes in 1930 it drained the strength of the old regime and brought about the political awakening of the petty-bourgeoisie and the emancipation movement of the oppressed nationalities. It prepared the way for the April revolution, but, being under the political and moral influence of socialists and anarcho-syndicalists, the proletariat did not succeed in fulfilling its role as leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and in drawing with it the peasants, who are the second driving force of the Spanish revolution after the proletariat. In this way, the bourgeoisie, forming a bloc with the landlords, under the supreme command of finance

capital and with the active participation of the socialists and the collaboration of the anarcho-syndicalists, succeeded in seizing power. Actually, the bourgeois-feudal bloc has not carried out a single one of the fundamental tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The agrarian question has not been solved. The timid Bill containing half-way measures for agrarian reform, was rejected by the Constituent Assembly. The Minister of Justice was instructed to work out a new Bill for agrarian reform, in which the landlords were themselves to determine the amount of land which they were willing to yield, and the price of this land. Furthermore, the application of the reform is to be determined by the state of government finances, and will be rendered ineffective by a large number of restrictive reservations. While officially disestablishing the church, it leaves intact the tremendous economic power of the church and consequently, its political influence. The national question has not been solved. There has been almost no change in the bureaucratic apparatus of the state and the semi-feudal system of plunder known as Casiquism. The civil guard, one of the armed forces of the counter-revolution, has been further reinforced. Instead of democratic liberties, the bourgeois and feudal bloc has given the workers bullets and prisons.

The political and class character of the development of the revolutionary crisis in Spain in the period following the fall of the monarchy and the proclamation of the republic, is generally determined by the following factors:

1. The economic (and agrarian) crisis is becoming more acute, more widespread and more far-reaching from month to month. Not only has the bourgeois and feudal bloc failed to improve the living conditions of the proletariat and peasants, but even the wage increases won by the working masses from the bourgeoisie after April 14 by means of mass strikes, were subsequently reduced to nothing as a result of the depreciation of the Peseta, the increase in the cost of living, etc. Unemployment is steadily growing. In the towns and villages the number of total unemployed exceeds 800,000; the other workers are employed three days a week, and 4 or 5 hours a day. The unemployed are almost completely without assistance, and there is no state insurance against unemployment. The agricultural proletariat suffers most from unemployment as a result of the suspension of seasonal work and the marked development of the agrarian crisis.

The impoverishment of broad elements of peasants is taking place at a more rapid rate. Hunger prevails among the masses in the villages, above all among the day labourers and poor peasants. The republican bourgeois and feudal bloc **maintained and protected the social and economic survivals of feudalism and the privileges of the landlords and finance capital. With the increasing subjection of the country to foreign capital, especially French capital, the economic crisis, with its social and political consequences, is sharpening and becoming complicated.**

2. The government of the republicans and socialists, all republican parties and the Constituent Assembly have revealed their bourgeois and counter-revolutionary class nature. The leading role in the policy of this bloc of republicans and socialists is played by the big financial and industrial bourgeoisie and the landlords who are allied with it. The regrouping of classes and parties which set in after the April days, is already clearly defined. We are faced with a realignment of forces of the classes and parties. The leading rôle in the camp of counter-revolution is played by the republican big bourgeoisie, which has the active support of the feudal and monarchist counter-revolutionary forces (the big land owners, the Church, the officers etc.) which dominates the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns and its parties and the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeois parties of the Catalonian nationalists, etc. The revolutionary camp consists of the proletariat and the peasants. The workers and poor peasants are becoming more and more disillusioned in the republican parties. Democratic illusions are being rapidly dispelled.

3. In the counter-revolutionary bloc the socialist party have played and are still playing the leading role in deceiving the masses.

The **socialist party** are the champions of reaction in the offensive of the bourgeois and feudal counter-revolution against the working class and poor peasants. None other than the socialist Minister, Largo Cavallero, drew up and presented to the Cortes a Bill for the defence of the republic, prohibiting strikes without the permission of the government. The bourgeoisie and the socialist leaders are putting into practice the provocation of bloody conflicts between the various groups of workers, and is developing methods of "pistolism" among them, in order to disunite and weaken the proletariat in the face of the united bourgeois and feudal counter-revolution. They organised and are still organising strike-breakers for the employers. They themselves declare that it is only their presence in the government which can prevent the development of "violent" revolution. This role of the socialists has not by any means been unmasked to the masses, and the socialists are still succeeding in some regions in gaining positions. The socialists are cleverly utilising for their counter-revolutionary ends the fact that the workers are disillusioned by the adventurous tactics of the anarcho-syndicalist leaders who have systematically betrayed the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Moreover, the anarcho-syndicalist leaders are coming closer and closer to the governmental social-democracy, supporting it from the outside and collaborating with it in the breaking up of strikes.

4. A distinct re-alignment of forces is still on in the **revolutionary camp**. Side by side with the proletariat of the towns and villages (agricultural labourers),—the only force which is consistently revolutionary—the peasants, especially the poor elements, have joined the revolutionary struggle under their leadership. The spontaneous strike movements and demonstrations of the proletariat in the towns and villages are spreading in spite of momentary lulls, drawing in the rural districts and heading them towards agrarian revolution.

The immediate perspectives are sufficiently clear. They point not to "social peace", not to stable political "equilibrium", but to bitter class battles and new claps of revolutionary thunder. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in Spain is not over. Its chief objectives: abolition of feudal survivals, revolutionary solution of the agrarian question, destruction of the economic and political power of the church and clergy, abolishment of national oppression and radical improvement of the lot of the working class and the masses of poor peasants are not yet realised. But these old tasks are to be solved by the proletariat in a new situation in the face of a new distribution of class forces and political parties and in the face of a more clear-cut differentiation in the camp of the revolution and in the camp of the counter-revolution. The fact that the bourgeoisie and its parties, including the socialist party, are being unmasked by their actions as counter-revolutionary forces, will assist the proletariat to become the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, to draw in the peasants and lead the democratic revolution to its complete triumph and to create thus the conditions for its rapid transformation into the socialist revolution.

The necessary condition for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and for its conversion into the proletarian revolution is the existence of a Communist mass Party which is fully clear regarding the fundamental questions of the revolution, and knows how to organise the proletariat and to render it capable of realising its hegemony in the revolution.

The more consistently and energetically the proletariat, led by the Communist Party and in alliance with the peasantry, proceeds under the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry radically to liquidate all the remnants of feudalism, to carry out the agrarian revolution and conducts the fight to extend the bounds of the bourgeois-democratic revolution for the purpose of consolidating the positions of the proletariat as well as of the working masses, and for the purpose of creating broad mass organisations, and the more rapidly the revolutionary proletariat succeeds in drawing the village poor and the masses of middle peasants into the fight against the rich exploiting sections of the peasantry, the greater guarantees will be provided for the rapid conversion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the proletarian socialist revolution.

The chief task for the **Communist Party of Spain** is to win the political and organisational leadership of the proletariat, for it is only under the leadership of the Communist

Party that the proletariat, showing the greatest revolutionary courage and readiness to struggle, can conquer and be assured of the leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and lead this struggle to a victorious conclusion.

The chief immediate task of the Party is: to prepare, organise and direct the revolutionary mass struggles of the proletariat and to launch and lead the agrarian revolution. This calls for an organic re-inforcement of the Communist Party and the revolutionary class organisations of the proletariat. The concrete means for carrying out these tasks are strikes, the movement of the unemployed, demonstrations against wage-cuts, for the insurance of the unemployed at the expense of the state and the employers, and against the reactionary and fascist "defence of the republic" decree, that is to say, the destruction of the most elementary rights of the workers: freedom of association and assembly and right to strike, as well as against the shooting, persecution and imprisonment of strikers, members of strike committees, and militant workers in the trade unions, and for their immediate release.

At the same time energetic steps must be taken to organise the peasants against the offensive of the landlords, raising their partial and isolated conflicts to the level of the agrarian mass revolution. The Party cannot carry out this task unless it knows how to organise and lead the struggles of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants in all their actions and campaigns. The Party will not be able to carry out this tremendous task unless the Party Congress is an **organisational congress of the Party, the congress of its transformation into a real Bolshevik mass Party**. The Communist Party of Spain has undoubtedly achieved a number of political and organisational successes. During a single year the number of its members has increased from 1500 to nearly 10,000. Moreover, tens of thousands of the most devoted revolutionary workers are knocking at the doors of the Party and waiting to be admitted. The doors of the Party must be opened wide to these revolutionary workers. A number of district organisations of the Party have shown great activity during the struggles which are taking place, and are making great efforts to organise their work and improve the composition of their committees. The Party has been able to publish a number of journals and district weeklies, and has recently succeeded in making a daily of its central organ "**El Mundo Obrero**". The Communist press, in spite of all its defects, sometimes reaches the circulation of over 100,000, which means indisputable success under the conditions prevailing in Spain. "**El Mundo Obrero**" is the best example of the growing influence of the Communist press. Its appeal to the workers for material aid has found widespread response among the ranks of the proletariat who, during a few days, collected 18,000 pesetas for its paper. The **Young Communist League of Spain**, working under the leadership of the Communist Party, has had an increase of membership from 400 to 4,000. The Party, or to put it precisely, its members, have taken an active part in a number of strikes and have played the leading role in several general strikes of a political character. The Party has given proof of relatively widespread activity in the organisation of the unemployed and in the leadership of their struggles. The majority of Communists, taken individually, have shown themselves to be devoted revolutionists, not revealing the slightest hesitation before police repression. The influence of the Party has undeniably grown and continues to grow.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to estimate correctly the growth of the influence and the internal growth of the Party without examining them in relation to the events which have developed and are developing in Spain. In a period which is unprecedented for mass unrest and the scope of the struggle, at a time when more than a million proletarians have struggled and gone out on the streets, and when hundreds of thousands of proletarians have shown themselves ready to struggle to the very end, the ten thousand members of our Party seem but a drop in a turbulent ocean.

1930 and 1931 have been years of revolutionary crisis and mass struggle of the proletariat unprecedented in the history of Spain. They have been years in which all classes and all elements of the population, all parties and all groups entered the political arena. Consequently, they were years in which all the objective conditions and state of mind among the masses should have enabled the Communist Party to gain a decisive influence and unhakable organisational positions not only among the proletarians of the towns, but also among the rural

proletariat and peasantry. The Party did not succeed in this. Spanish Communists, like true proletarian revolutionists, must bring to light and be constantly bringing to light the causes of the backwardness of the Party and the errors committed, and must take energetic steps to remedy them as rapidly and completely as possible. It is necessary to assimilate and carefully utilise the wealth of experience of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, and of the struggle of the Communist Party and its various organisations that are closely allied with them.

The chief causes of the errors of the Party, of the failure to understand the character of the revolution, the role and the tasks of the proletariat as the hegemon in the present democratic revolution, the role of the Communist Party, and of the inability to issue timely and correct political slogans on mass action, and of the fact that the correct slogans did not reach the masses—errors which have been manifested also by a relatively great passivity of the Party—these causes are to be found in the fact that the Communist Party was and unfortunately still is in the clutches of **sectarianism** and **anarchist traditions**. The Communist Party has shown and still shows sectarian tendencies and anarchist methods of actions at each step and in every field of its activities. These tendencies and methods have hampered and are still hampering the mass work of the Communist Party and its contact with the masses. Simultaneously there exist in the Party also Right opportunist tendencies and errors which are expressed in the endeavours to adapt the Party to the bourgeois-democratic legality.

The Party as a whole, and particularly its leadership did not maintain and, unfortunately, are not yet maintaining, to a sufficient degree, a correct political standpoint, for they did not estimate correctly the character and special features of the class contradictions, or the character of the revolution in Spain. The concrete political situations have not been and are not yet being correctly estimated.

The leadership of the Communist Party has not understood the tremendous political significance of economic, political and social survivals of feudalism in Spain, and **did not see the consequent approach of the democratic revolution** It did not prepare the proletariat for this revolution.

The Party did not understand quickly enough that just as the bourgeoisie will play and actually plays a counter-revolutionary role in the developing bourgeois-democratic revolution, for this very reason, the proletariat, as the only thoroughly consistent revolutionary class can and must lead this revolution, can and must give it an extent which will assure its victory, not stopping half way, and will make it into an intermediate link towards the victory of the socialist revolution, remembering that in the period of imperialism, the democratic revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat is not separated by any insurmountable barrier from the socialist revolution.

While under-estimating this role of the proletariat, the Communist Party became a close sect cut off from the working class, it ignored the peasants, separated itself from the broad masses, did not keep a finger on their pulse, underestimated their moods, their demands and their readiness to fight. When events began to develop, when the Republic was declared under the powerful pressure of tremendous masses who had come out on the streets, the Party threw out slogans which were incorrect and incomprehensible for the masses.

During May and right through the June election campaign, there was no turn in the activity of the Party. The slogans on the formation of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants Deputies, on the formation of factory committees, on the disarming of the gendarmes and the arming of the proletariat, on the formation of a united revolutionary front, the slogans on the revolutionary seizure of landlord's estates by the peasants, on the unceremonious solution of the agrarian question by the peasants—as far as these slogans were raised at all, they were brought up in a general and propagandist manner, without any serious attempts to pass on to carrying them out in practice in places where the concrete circumstances were sufficiently mature. There were sufficient favourable cases for this, e. g., in **Seville**. The concrete mistake at Seville shows the incorrectness of the conception of the role of Soviets. The comrades wrongly thought that the Soviets were merely organs of revolutionary power after the seizure of power. In reality, the soviets are not only organs of revolutionary power, but even before that they are **organs of the struggle for power, organs for the mobilisation**

and organisation of the masses, for the seizure of power by the proletariat and the peasants and for the establishment of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants. The Spanish comrades likewise did not understand and do not sufficiently understand even now the role and significance of the factory committees. In this matter, the example of Seville is also very instructive. The metal workers of Seville who by their struggle had forced the employers to recognise the factory committees, did not utilise this victory of theirs to form the whole system of factory committees and in places where these committees were formed, **they were inactive**. At the moment of the greatest intensity of the class struggle, our comrades were unable to utilise such a first-rate organ of struggles as the factory committee.

The Party was guilty and is unfortunately still guilty of sectarian mistakes, slowness and passivity also in its work in the villages with regard to the **peasants** and the **peasant movement**.

It was made possible for the catholic organisations, the socialists and the anarcho-syndicalists to fool the peasants, paralyse their struggles, prevent the growth and strengthening of their revolutionary forces, because from our side they were not sufficiently exposed and resisted by sufficiently energetic work.

The C.P. was guilty and is still to some extent guilty of a similar sectarianism—a passive and contemptuous attitude to the **National Liberation Movement** of the Catalonians, the Basques and the Galicians, and an almost complete forgetfulness of the Moroccans, while this movement was differentiating, its treacherous leaders going over to the side of the bourgeois landlord bloc and the worker and peasant elements obtaining a greater proportional role. Thus it is a force which the C.P. must include in the general front of the struggle for the victory of the Spanish revolution.

With regard to the **strike struggle**, the C.P. also displayed a number of weaknesses. It insufficiently criticised and exposed the vileness of the tactics of the anarchists and the anarcho-syndicalists from the N.C.T., their opposition to the strike struggle, their directives forbidding the workers to declare two strikes simultaneously in one town, their theory that the general strike is synonymous with the proletarian revolution, their methods of replacing the organised struggle of the masses by the activity of individual "selected activists" their theory that in the period of the economic crisis the strike struggle for partial demands is impossible and unnecessary, their condescending attitude to the unemployed. But for this purpose it was necessary for the C.P. itself to be liberated from anarcho-syndicalist faults. The C.P. and its leaders were not free from sectarianism and did not understand the political importance of the strikes which were developing. On the one hand there was a fear of strikes in the Party, a feeling and a tendency to hold back the strike movement as expressed in the weekly organ of the Red trade unions of Seville and the central organ of the Party in the article entitled "Una Mala Tactica" ("Bad Tactics"). In reality the danger was not that events in general and the strike movement in particular were progressing very rapidly and becoming very extensive, but that the Party was lagging behind events and the strike movement. On the other hand, the Party had not a correct strike strategy, was unable to formulate correctly the basic immediate demands, in the struggle for which the movement could grow, unite and become the national movement of the proletariat with definite political aims. The Party leaders did not give promptly and rapidly the proper indications and directives, did not rapidly and determinedly rectify mistakes.

The C.P. and especially its leaders displayed sectarianism and impermissible passivity in **trade union work**. When the National Confederation of Labour had not yet been restored and the anarcho-syndicalist groups were trying to legalise this organisation by requests to Berenger, which means by accepting the conditions of Berenger, it was correct to organise the "committee of reconstruction" so as to mobilise the masses and the trade unions, to restore the National Confederation of Labour from below and on correct revolutionary lines. However, the committee which was formed did literally nothing for months. During this time the N.C.T. was restored on the whole. The Party was unable to make a corresponding turn promptly. The Party does insufficient work to strengthen and extend its contacts with the workers and the trade unions organised in the N.C.T. But it is necessary for everyone to

see, to hear and to convince themselves in practice that the C.P. is systematically and unwaveringly striving to unite the forces of the trade unions and the whole of the working class in a united T.U. organisation, is fighting and will fight against all who attempt to split the N.C.T. In carrying out its aim, the Party must ruthlessly expose politically and ideologically the leaders of the N.C.T. who have converted it into a weapon for one bourgeois political party or another and are fighting in practice against the general final aims of the struggle of the working class, and also against its immediate demands.

But while exposing the anarcho-syndicalist leaders who betray the workers' movement and who are becoming lackeys and tools of the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to bring about the formation of a united front with the anarchist workers and with those anarchist leaders who really wish to fight against the capitalists and against the bourgeois landlord counter-revolutionary regime of the monarchists, republicans and socialists.

While the socialists play the role of the most active parties of the bourgeois landlord counter-revolution, while they, by demagogic speeches, promises, and the terror of the State apparatus attempt to seize the trade union movement of the workers and convert the trade unions into organisations with tasks of a State fascist character, the C.P. must carry on the greatest work to expose the Socialists, to expose the leaders of the I.D.T. and to form inside the I.D.T. a mass revolutionary T.U. opposition against the leaders and for the bringing about of T.U. unity on the basis of the class struggle and a platform of immediate demands. **Thus the concrete task is to struggle for trade union unity on the basis of the platform of the class struggle, the struggle against attempts to split the N.C.T. and especially to rouse a mass movement to defend the T.U.'s from the republican fascist counter-revolutionary blow which is directed towards destroying the trade unions and crushing the elementary rights of the workers to be organised in trade unions, to strike, to demonstrate, etc.**

The C.P.S. has not and does not carry on a sufficiently firm struggle against the counter-revolutionary **Trotskyists**. By its systematic slander of the U.S.S.R. and the Comintern, by its liberal ideas on the question of the Spanish revolution, by its fondness for "Left" phrases, Trotskyism attempts to bring ideological confusion into the working class, to hinder the formation and strengthening of a united revolutionary front of proletarian struggle, to disorganise the ranks of the proletariat and the C.P.

Regarding the group of **Maurin** and its worker and peasant bloc, the C.P.S. has also carried on an incorrect line. The C.P. must not weaken but must strengthen the struggle to expose the petty-bourgeois ideas of Maurin and the practice of collaboration of his group with the bourgeoisie without making the slightest concession of principle to him, without belittling the differences of opinion, and must help all the members of this organisation who are genuinely prepared to march under the flag of the Comintern, to pass into the C.P.

Sectarian mistakes and shortcomings, passivity and anarchist inheritancies are very prominent in the **inner-Party life** of the C.P.S. The Party is not yet a centralised proletarian mass organisation of political activity with clearly realised aims and tasks, rapidly and correctly reacting as the leading vanguard of the proletariat to the current concrete events. Up to the present time it is still in many respects composed of sectarian-propagandist circles of "chosen" Communists, badly united among themselves and without strong and extensive permanent contacts with the masses, with the factories, without a clear political line, without exact perspectives, without a single will, because it has not yet a strong, active and collectively working leadership linked up with the organisations and the masses, either in the centre or in the districts. The Party is not led by organs which are numerically wide enough and ideologically and politically experienced enough, but by small groups of friends who have crystallised out and formed themselves during the years when the Party was a sectarian organisation. The C.C. of the Party has not functioned for a year and a half, and the Party has been led by an executive committee of a few persons insufficiently connected with the organisations and the masses. Under such circumstances, the work of the central leadership

consisted in most cases of sending out circulars, which did not always show the right line, as the questions of the day were not discussed and thought out, in bureaucratic excuses, without explanatory campaigns in the press and local organisations, without real help to these organisations, without verifying and controlling the carrying out of the instructions. Therefore, even errors and shortcomings that were noticed, were not remedied and overcome rapidly and energetically.

The system of leadership without adequate contact with the rank and file Party members, without drawing them into Party activity, the system of personal leadership was applied, and is still being applied in many cases, also in the provincial Party organisations and in all the units of the Party structure in general. There are as yet no Party committees of a broad enough composition, committees elected—as far as general conditions allow this—by the whole provincial organisation, and consisting of the most devoted, and experienced Party members who are in close contact with the masses of workers. Owing to such a system, the provincial Party organisations do not lead an intensive political life, they do not carry on mass work and do not attempt to convert themselves into mass organisations, they are passive in regard to current events, they do not show the necessary initiative, and get into the habit of waiting for "circulars from the centre". This standpoint, this system, all these errors and defects that are of a sectarian origin, assume quite inadmissible proportions in the recruiting activity of the Communist Party. There are many cases when for a long time hundreds of revolutionary, thoroughly tested workers who have distinguished themselves, are not admitted into the ranks of the Party, in order not to lower the qualitative standard of "select Communists", of the "elite". In many localities this is practised on the plea of protecting the Party from the influx of agents provocateurs. But in reality, this whole practice, all these harmful methods are the product of a sectarian-anarchist legacy, the outcome of petty-bourgeois revolutionism, inclination to "hero worship", a recrudescence of Casiquism in the ranks of the Party and the labour movement. On such a basis—if such standpoints, methods and habits are not energetically and radically eradicated—it is quite impossible to build up a mass Bolshevik Party!

The Party must go right into the masses, its local organisations must become mass organisations in which and through which all Party members carry on intensive work, participate in the discussion of questions and laying down of tasks, and do also their share in the concrete accomplishment of these tasks.

Comrades, such are the most essential critical remarks, which do not by far embrace all the questions and aspects of the activity of the Communist Party of Spain, that we would like to place openly before you in connection with the IV. Congress of your Party. In the last few years, we had to fight systematically and stubbornly for the rectification of the Party line, for the correction of mistakes, for a radical change in the general political activity and in the internal work of the Communist Party of Spain. Unfortunately, we do not yet notice the expected change, for the Party as a whole does not yet understand (because it has not been explained to it) what this change must consist of, and by what means it is to be effected, for several of the leading comrades are opposed to this change.

We expect the IV. Congress of the C.P. of Spain to deal seriously with this question of the change and its practical application. If the work of the Congress is conducted in a businesslike manner in this direction, this Congress of the Communist Party of Spain will play a role of paramount political importance, and will represent a turning point in the history of the Spanish Communist Party, and in the history of the development of the Spanish revolution.

We are convinced that the members of the Communist Party of Spain will show that they are not only intrepid champions of revolution, but are also capable of converting the Communist Party of Spain into a truly strong mass Bolshevik Party capable of successfully leading the proletariat to ultimate victory.

West European Bureau of the E.C.C.I.