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On the Second Five-Year Plan.

By V. Molotov.

Full Text of the Report Delivered at the XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.

Comrades!

The very fact that our Party is proceeding to discuss the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan speaks for itself. It shows, first of all, that our first Five-Year Plan is being successfully carried out. It further shows that we are absolutely certain that the year 1932 will see the completion of the Five-Year Plan, that we shall fulfil the first Five-Year Plan in four years.

One must consider more closely the importance of this fact, the fact of the drawing up of the second Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union.

Firstly, regarding the international importance of this fact. The international importance of this fact is that the workers of all countries, that the working population of all countries are able to compare the results of the rule of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist States with the results, with the first results, of the rule of the working class in the country of the proletarian dictatorship. In this respect we are not afraid of a comparison with the technically, and economically most advanced, with the richest countries in the capitalist world. At the present time, when the crisis has seized all capitalist countries and is becoming ever deeper and is destroying industry and the other branches of economy, a comparison between the bourgeois States and the Soviet Union is particularly striking. This comparison provides us with the opportunity to answer without hesitation the question, to whom the future belongs, to the proletariat and its power or to the bourgeoisie and its rule. It is clear that from the international

standpoint our success, the great success of socialist construction, which is embodied in the successful realisation of the Five-Year Plan and now in the first proposals of the second Five-Year Plan, demonstrates to the workers and toilers of the whole world that the future belongs, not to the rule of the bourgeoisie, but to the dictatorship of the proletariat; that the facts speak against capitalism and for Socialism.

Secondly, regarded from the inner Soviet point of view, the fact of our going over to the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan, is likewise exceedingly significant.

It is one of the decisive tests of what the leadership of the peasant masses by the working class, after the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, yields. In the Soviet Union, for the first time in the history of the world, power is in the hands of the working class, which is leading the toiling masses of the countryside with it and, together with it, is transforming the whole national economy on a socialist basis. Our success, the great success of the working class lies in the fact that the building up of Socialism is taking place not only in the town but also in the countryside, that the most backward part of the working population, the toilers of the village, are beginning to rise up to Socialism, towards the classless society.

Finally, from the immediate economic standpoint, our successes are successes of planned socialist construction. In no country in the world before has a planned State economy existed. Here we are making the first steps, and the results are already evident. From the solution of individual tasks we shall proceed to new and, with every year, greater tasks.

The success of planned socialist economy is not only and

not even so much the success of our planned economic organs. Our planning and our calculations are not limited to these relatively narrow confines. A proper economic work, the organising of national economic statistics and the working out of the plan can be carried out, and in fact will be carried out, only with the active co-operation of the working masses, who often in the course of the actual carrying out of the plans fundamentally revise the original proposals. Supported by this activity of the working class and of the working population in socialist construction, our economic plans are worked out under the leadership of the Party.

One must not, however, forget that tremendous work of drawing up a plan of national economy which has preceded the preparation of the second Five-Year Plan.

The first plan of national economy was the plan for electrification, the Goelro plan. This was a rough draft, a beginning, a first step towards the work of the general technical reconstruction of the national economy of our country. This Plan possessed enormous importance for the whole of our economic work and for the development of planning work itself.

We know, moreover, that a great work was performed for

I. The Results of the First Five-Year Plan.

You know, comrades, that the Party submitted two variants of the Five-Year Plan, the "initial variant" and the "optimal variant". The optimal variant, according to the view of the State Planning Commission for the Soviet Union, was calculated for more favourable conditions. The Party adopted as its basis the optimal variant, i. e., the Plan with the greater economic tasks. It is this optimal Five-Year Plan, calculated on favourable conditions, that we are now carrying out. It is an achievement of the Party that the slogan set up by the masses themselves of "Five-Year Plan in four years" is being successfully carried out. We are realising the before-mentioned optimal variant of the Five-Year Plan not in five years, as was originally anticipated, but in four years, that is to say, we are shortening the period for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in its optimal (highest) variant by a fifth.

The successes of the first Five-Year Plan are successes of the industrialisation policy, and therefore of the policy of promoting heavy industry, above all the production of the means of production. These successes are characterised by the fact that we now have a basis for completing the technical reconstruction of the whole of the national economy. This fact is of decisive importance for the further growth of socialism in the Soviet Union.

The successes of the first Five-Year Plan are also expressed in the extraordinary successes of collectivisation, in the setting up of collective farms and Soviet farms. In our backward villages, which only yesterday were split up into many tiny farms, we are building up big socialist farms on the basis of machine-technique. We have already reached a situation in which the socialist forms occupy a dominating position also in agriculture. The most difficult and most important task of the proletarian revolution has thereby been solved. Great and downright magnificent as the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan may be, it must not be forgotten that after the October upheaval the most difficult task consisted in the transformation of agriculture on the basis of collectivisation and highly developed machine-technique. It is precisely this task that the Party has fulfilled and is fulfilling successfully, and there can be no doubt that collectivisation will in the main be completed in the year 1932/33.

All this has enabled our Party to declare that the fundamental Leninist question "who will beat whom", has been decided against capitalism and in favour of socialism. This is the most important result not only of the economic but also of the political development in the past period.

One cannot help seeing that not everything during these years has followed the exact outlines of our Plan. The Party made changes in the first Five-Year Plan not only in regard to single years but also the whole period.

I will give a few examples. In the Five-Year Plan, for instance, it was not estimated that unemployment would be completely abolished at the end of the Five Years. True, the Five-Year Plan anticipated that there would be a tremendous diminution of unemployment, but at that time, at the moment the Plan was adopted, it was impossible to foresee that unemployment in the Soviet Union would be liquidated already

the setting up of the first annual plans, the "control figures of national economy". The first control figures for the year 1925/26 were confirmed. Since then they have been confirmed every year and are acquiring ever greater importance in regard to the conducting of national economy.

Almost simultaneously with the working out of the first annual national economic plans, we commenced to prepare comprehensive plans for transforming national economy. In the course of a number of years, the work was carried on for preparing the first Five-Year Plan, and at the same time the so-called general plan for transforming the national economy, calculated for ten to fifteen years, was prepared. This last-named work was not completed. But so far as the first Five-Year Plan was worked out and is being carried out, and now so far as the second Five-Year Plan has been worked out, so are the fundamental questions of the so-called "general plan" far exhausted with these two Five-Year Plans; the rest, however, will be submitted in a more developed form. Thus the proposal of the second Five-Year Plan was preceded by a great work, without which the preparation and the discussion of the second Five-Year Plan of national economy would be impossible.

in the year 1930/31. As you see, we have slightly exceeded our planned estimate, but it is to be hoped that such an alteration, or better said such an improvement of the Plan lies entirely in the interests of the working class and will be adopted with full approval by it.

In regard to the economic tasks of the first Five-Year Plan, the Party introduced such revisions as the creation of a new metallurgical base in the East, in the Urals and in the Kusnetzk district. In none of the four volumes of the Five-Year Plan is there any mention made of this second metallurgical base. Can one, however, now discuss the first Five-Year Plan without speaking of the new metallurgical base created by us in the Ural-Kusnetzk district? Of course not. The less so as the first furnace in Magnitorsk has commenced working and new furnaces will soon be set going in Magnitogorsk and in Kusnetzk. Thus here, too, we have made an alteration in the Five-Year Plan which is not a bad but a good alteration, to which not a single worker in the Soviet Union will raise any objection, but will rather be fully prepared to support it.

The Five-Year Plan called for a certain tempo in the collectivisation, but the actual result was different. We have already long surpassed the tempo of collectivisation and of the development of the Soviet farms as envisaged in the Five-Year Plan. This, too, is a very substantial alteration of the Five-Year Plan, but not a bad but a good alteration which considerably improved matters. The masses of the peasants, numbering millions, not to speak of the working class, will not raise any objection to this alteration, which is in fact fully and entirely in accordance with the policy of the Party and in accordance with Leninism.

Unfortunately it cannot be said that all our amendments to the Five-Year Plan have been good. Here and there the contrary was the case.

We must not, for example, forget the following three points. We did not fulfil our estimate for the raising of the productivity of labour in industry. This is a very big item on the debit side. It is clear that we must do everything in order to make this good, supported by the consolidation of proletarian discipline, the growth of technique and its mastery by our cadres.

We have also not carried out the proposals of the Five-Year Plan in regard to increasing the harvest yields. Here we are still on a very low level, considerably lower than the proposals of the Five-Year Plan. It is clear that in this sphere also we must straighten out the front, put matters right.

We have not fulfilled the tasks in regard to the reconstruction of transport, in particular of railway transport, and we feel the effects of this every day. It is obvious that also in this sphere we must work hard and persistently in order to improve matters more quickly and to raise our transport to its proper level.

Our survey of the results of the first Five-Year Plan from the political standpoint would be inadequate if we failed to deal with the question, under what conditions the struggle of the Party for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan developed, with what criticism and with what counter-pro-

posals the opposition groups, the Trotzkyists and also the Right deviators, came forward.

The lessons of the past are of first class importance for the Party and the whole of the working class. It is therefore necessary to remind you of the most important stages in the Party's struggle against the so-called "Left" and Right deviators. This is all the more necessary as the struggle against such deviations, and in particular against the Right danger as the chief danger, will be unavoidable also in the future.

I would remind you that the directives for the first Five-Year Plan were adopted by the Central Committee before the XV. Party Congress and were discussed at this Party Congress. The Trotzkyist opposition came forward with their counter-thesis against the thesis of the C. C. on the first Five-Year Plan. This counter-thesis was a very long-winded document, was thoroughly hostile to the line of the Party, and included every imaginable slanderous accusation against the C. C.

I would further remind you that the Rights, already at the time of the adoption of the thesis on the Five-Year Plan by the XV. Party Conference, attempted to come forward with their counter-plan. It suffices to point only to the so-called "Two-Year Plan", which in a concealed form was opposed to the decision of the C. C. on the Five-Year plan and to the political line of the Party.

There was enough said about all this at the time. The important thing now is, to consider the events of the past from the point of view of the results of socialist construction in the last three to four years. In this connection I must quote some extracts from documents and speeches of oppositional leaders of the Trotzkyist and the Right opportunist type.

Let us take the question of capital investments in industry, which, as you all realise, is of tremendous importance in the carrying out of the policy of industrialisation. In their counter-thesis to the thesis of our C. C. on the Five-Year Plan, the Trotzkyists wrote the following:

"Do they (the thesis) furnish an independent plan for the solution of the main question in regard to capital investments in industry? No. And they thereby help to bring about that, in practice, the anti-proletarian tendencies triumph more and more in the main question of the relations between the socialist and capitalist elements in our economy."

It followed from the Trotzkyist platform that the thesis of the Party on the Five-Year Plan led to "the triumph of the anti-proletarian tendencies"! Does it not sound ridiculous when one reads this now, four years afterwards?

What was said by the Rights regarding the tempo of capital investments in industry? They said, true in a somewhat confused form but nevertheless with a clearly outspoken political tendency, something to the following effect:

"One must not view the matter as if investments in industry would increase the whole time in geometrical progression until the coming of Communist society. A descent in the curve of investments is also conceivable."

In a word, the Rights slipped down a curve. (Laughter.)

Let us now take that which relates to the village. What did the counter-thesis of the Trotzkyist opposition say on the policy of the Party in the village? It said the following:

"The thesis of the C. C. quite wrongly lump together capitalism in the town and capitalism in the village when they maintain that agrarian capital develops only absolutely. In actual fact capitalism in the village is growing relatively as well as absolutely; it is growing with great rapidity and increases every day the dependence of the Soviet State and its industry upon the sources of raw material and exports in the hands of the well-to-do kulaks in the village."

It further stated:

"There is taking place a rapid growth of the capitalist elements in agriculture on the basis of small-commodity production. Hence, there is an increase in the **dependence of the State economy on the kulak-capitalist elements** in the sphere of raw materials, export and stocks of food." (Emphasised in the original.)

It is not necessary now to occupy ourselves with a thorough analysis of these Trotzkyist declarations. Ask our kulaks now, after three years of the Five-Year Plan, whether we are greatly dependent upon them, or whether they are more dependent upon the Soviet power! (Laughter.)

On the other flank, the Rights, it was repeated day after day that "the most important source of grain will still for a very long time yet be the individual farms of the peasants, and that therefore one must be more cautious in proceeding to the attack on the kulaks. As is known, the individual peasants did not agree with the Right deviations, and already in the year 1929 streamed in masses into the collective farms. We all know quite well how this took place and therefore it is not necessary for me to say more on this point.

But the chief matter finally consists in what the "Left" and the Right opposition said regarding the perspectives of the proletarian revolution as a whole. Let us call this to mind!

In the counter-thesis of the Trotzkyists there was elaborated the cowardly petty idea of the "beginning of a 'double power', which threatens the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Emphasised in the original.)

It will be remembered that the Trotzkyists charged our Party with developing in the direction of "Thermidor", that is the downfall of the revolution. How true this prophecy was may be seen from the facts relating to the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan and the tasks which we have outlined for the second.

At the same time, from the other, from the Right flank, we could hear whining voices saying "the trouble is that everything we build, all these factories and works, may soon fall into the hands of the whites." Perhaps some silly whites hoped something of this sort, but the greater their hopes the greater has been their disillusionment. According to its nature this was a repetition of the Trotzkyist Thermidor, only in another form. As is known, the Rights did not even shrink from accusing the Party of "feudal-military exploitation of the peasantry", thereby repeating the slanders of Miljukov's followers against the Leninist Party.

The above-quoted extracts from documents and speeches of Trotzkyists and Rights indicate the most characteristic elements of their political platforms. The fiasco of these platforms is so obvious that we now answer the declarations they made then simply with a smile, but at that time the Party had to conduct the most stubborn fight against the opportunists of the Left and Right variety.

How is it to be explained that, at a time when the Party successfully developed socialist construction and in spite of the resistance of the capitalist elements advanced rapidly, that at this time groups were to be found in it (some of which were for a time very large) which engaged in a fight against the Party, and in this fight spared neither words nor honour?

In the meantime it has become evident that precisely because Socialism had already at that time achieved tremendous successes, in that it successfully ousted the remnants of capitalism, precisely therefore oppositional tendencies arose which expressed the vacillations of the petty bourgeois strata. These oppositional tendencies, both of the "Left" and the Right variety, reflected in a corresponding manner the pressure of the bourgeois elements which, for quite understandable reasons, opposed the policy of the Party and found a peculiar reflection of their sentiments even within our Party.

Is it due to chance that precisely in those years in which the Party successfully ousted private capital from its last refuge in the town, from trade and home-work, that precisely at this time there arose an opposition, headed by Trotzky, against the policy of the Party? In order to conceal their bourgeois tendencies, Trotzky and his followers had to make use of "Left" phrases and "fine" gestures. It even happened that often certain elements which, true, were politically naive, but nevertheless close to the Party, were caught by this bait. But the actual nature of the "Trotzkyist platform" was marked by unbelief in the possibility of a victory of the working class over the capitalist elements under the given circumstances, by unbelief in the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union; and this led the Trotzkyists to actual capitulation to the bourgeois elements. They were only the mouthpiece of all those private capitalist elements in trade etc. which were rapidly ruined in the years 1925, 27.

Further, is it due to mere chance that precisely at that time when we developed the attacks on the kulaks—the last buttress of capitalism in the village—that precisely at this time there arose a new opposition of the Right opportunist type? In fact we know that this opposition was in the first place a peculiar miserable wail of the bourgeois kulak elements in the village who have been ruined. Meanwhile, the resistance of the kulaks and of the bourgeois intellectuals

allied with them was so great, especially in the years 1928 and 1929, that prominent members of our Party were at the head of the Right-opportunist opposition at that time.

Life has, in the main, drawn the lessons from the fight against opportunism in its two most important varieties. Trotzkyism has secured its place as the advance-guard of the bourgeois counter-revolution and has become a supplier to the latter of ideas for the fight against the proletarian revolution. Right opportunism, which is obviously the expression of

bourgeois influence upon the proletariat, is one of the chief suppliers of ideological wares to our class enemies. The Party exposed both these anti-Leninist deviations and raised the question whether Trotzkyism and Right opportunism was compatible with membership of the Party.

The Party has become steeled in the fight against these anti-Leninist tendencies; it has grown and has moved a step higher. This is one of the decisive prerequisites for our further victory.

II. The Political Character of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The political character of the second Five-Year Plan is formulated in the theses as follows:

"The XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. is of the opinion that the vast natural resources of the country, the Bolshevik tempo of socialist construction, the increasing activity of the broad masses of workers and collective farmers and the correct line of the Party will fully secure such a development of the productive forces of socialist economy in the second five years, that as a result the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union will be finally liquidated. The Conference is of the opinion that the fundamental political task of the second Five-Year Plan is the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and of classes in general, the complete removal of the causes which produce class differences and exploitation, the overcoming of the remnants of capitalism in economy and in the minds of the people, the conversion of the whole of the working population of the country into conscious and active builders of the classless socialist society.

On the basis of the liquidation of the parasitic class elements and the general increase of the national income, over which the workers have complete disposal, a considerably more rapid increase in the well-being of the working and peasant masses is to be achieved. The Conference is of the opinion that the supplies to the population of articles of necessity, including foodstuffs, must by the end of the second Five-Year Plan be increased at least two to threefold, compared with the end of the first Five-Year Plan."

In the part of the theses just quoted, there is fully and entirely given the political character of the second Five-Year Plan. I need deal only with the most important expositions contained in this part of the thesis.

In begin with the question of **classes and of the class struggle**. The theses say that the fundamental political tasks of the second Five-Year Plan include "the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and of classes in general" and "the conversion of the whole of the working population of the country into conscious and active builders of the classless socialist society".

These words express the chief elements of the political character of the second Five-Year Plan.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that Socialism is the abolition of classes, that Socialism is the creation of the classless society. In the words just quoted, therefore, there is formulated the task of establishing Socialism.

Is the task in regard to classes correctly set up here? Is the task of abolishing classes as set up in the theses of the C.C. capable of realisation? In my opinion this task is not only correct, not only capable of being carried out, but that only such a political setting of the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan follows from the policy of the Party, from Marxism.

The chief question that must be considered here is, how far is it correct that in the second Five-Year Plan we can set ourselves the task of finally abolishing the capitalist elements. That is the essence of the question.

If one approaches the question of classes in the following five years from this angle, then, and only then, can one concretise the question and receive a clear and, for a Bolshevik, indisputable answer. Let us examine the main question.

The economic plan adopted by the Party for the year 1932 assumes that, already at the end of the first Five-Year Plan, the share of the whole private sector in the national income will amount to less than 10 per cent. The next fact: We have already more than 60 per cent. of the peasant farms organised in collective farms; and there can be no doubt that the tasks set by the Party, practically to complete collectivisation in the

Soviet Union in the years 1932/33, will be fulfilled. This, however, means that already in the course of the next two years, as a result of complete collectivisation, the liquidation of the main part of the capitalist elements in the village will be realised. To this there should be finally added that the capitalist elements in big industry have long since been ousted and that in small industry and commerce they are playing a rapidly decreasing role. Consequently, there can be no doubt that in the second Five-Year Plan the Party can and must put the task of finally liquidating the capitalist elements.

But, it is objected, you may finally liquidate the capitalist elements, but how is it with the liquidation of classes altogether? Such a putting of the question involves a big inner contradiction, which leads to great confusion.

As you are aware, the fundamental task of socialism is the abolition of capitalism, or in other words, the abolition of classes, i. e., the abolition of exploitation of man by man. From this it follows that the complete liquidation of the capitalist elements means the liquidation of the exploiting class. Without exploiters there can be no exploited.

The theses point to the necessity of the "complete abolition of the causes breeding class differences and exploitation". Wherein is this to be expressed? We Bolsheviks know very well wherein this is expressed, as the Bolsheviks have accomplished the socialist revolution, which commences with the passing of the means of production namely, the land, the factories, works etc., into the hands of society, into the hands of the State. The basis of exploitation of man by man is the ownership by some individual of the means of production and the non-ownership of them by others. This divides people into classes and breeds exploitation. We know that in regard to big industry and the land the transfer of the means of production to the ownership of our Workers' State is completed long ago. The same process will now be finally completed in every other economic field as well, thus achieving the abolition of the causes that breed class differences and exploitation.

From what I have said it is clear that the complete liquidation of the capitalist elements and the complete abolition of the causes which breed class differences and exploitation, mean also the liquidation of classes altogether. If there are no capitalist elements, i. e., no exploiters, and if the causes of class differences are completely liquidated, of what classes can one then speak? Then one can no longer speak of classes in the real sense of the word. Consequently, in making the complete abolition of capitalist elements the task of the second Five-Year Plan, we at the same time inevitably put the task of liquidating classes in general.

Of course the liquidation of the capitalist elements is bound up with enormous difficulties, with the overcoming of the desperate attempts at resistance on the part of the kulaks and the bourgeois elements generally. The class struggle not only does not cease, but can and will, especially in certain spheres and certain periods, become considerably more acute. The complete liquidation of the capitalist elements is possible only on the basis of the complete carrying out of the policy of the Bolshevik attack, which overcomes each and every difficulty, which unites round the working class the broad masses of the toilers of the village against the kulaks and against all bourgeois-capitalist elements.

In interpreting the question of the abolition of classes there still exist not a few elements of schematism which has nothing to do with Marxism and with its theory of development. Here also the schematic ideas lead to great confusion and mistakes.

Therefore we have to deal with the question of the abolition of the classes somewhat in detail.

I begin with the question of the **working class**.

To Marxists it should be clear that since the working class captured power and took over control of all means of produc-

tion, big industry, land, transportation etc., it is no longer a proletariat in the direct sense of the word as it was under capitalism. In capitalist society the proletariat is deprived of the instruments of production and is therefore fettered with the chains of bourgeois exploitation. The position of the proletariat under capitalism is the position of an enslaved and exploited social class. Simultaneously with the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the taking over from it of the means of production, the working class becomes the dominating power in the State. From this moment there begins the liquidation of the capitalist class and the ground is prepared for the abolition of classes in general.

Since the working class of our country, in October 1917, achieved the biggest victory over the bourgeoisie in the history of the whole world, since then—we have in the meantime already entered on the second decade—the working class of the Soviet Union has not only freed itself from capitalist slavery, but has also become the ruling class which is building up the new socialist society. The historical role of the proletariat consists not only in its being the grave-digger of bourgeois society, but also in that it is the builder of the new socialist society. Thereby the State which the working class creates after its victory is used by it in order to liquidate the capitalist elements and at the same time to abolish classes in general. To the extent to which the capitalist elements are abolished, the roots of all class differences are removed from society, and thereby there is prepared the abolition of all classes and thereby also of the working class itself. The working class of our country has already made great headway in liquidating the capitalist elements. The following five years will be that period in which the question of liquidating the capitalist elements and classes in general will arise in its whole magnitude.

In fulfilling the task of liquidating classes the working class plays a special role. As the ruling class, the working class guides the whole work of socialist construction, including the liquidation of the capitalist elements and the transformation of small peasant economy on a socialist basis. Nay more, in the process of this fight for socialist production, the working class itself is re-educated, in that it produces from its own ranks increasingly active and conscious builders of Socialism, and is steeled in the fight against the capitalist elements and in the fight to overcome bourgeois and petty bourgeois sentiments both in its own ranks and in the whole mass of the working population.

We will now deal with our peasantry, or more correctly said, the working masses of the peasantry, as the question of the capitalist elements in the village has already been put.

Since the October revolution, fundamental changes which must not be overlooked have taken place among the peasantry. This applies especially and before all to the masses of collective peasants.

Although the toiling peasantry adopted the path of complete collectivisation only about 2½ years ago, it is clear to us that it has finally entered on the path of Socialism. In the fight against the kulaks the collective peasants (and there are already millions of them) have, under the leadership of the working class and in their overwhelming mass, firmly entered the ranks of the builders of Socialism.

They of course fully realise what they were before the October revolution. They cannot forget what they were under the rule of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners; that they were threatened with beatings by the police officers and the provincial officials and that they were frequently in the clutches of the priests and other "spiritual fathers". The peasant who compared his situation with the state of the half-starved workers and the conditions of living of the unemployed under the rule of capital, and saw no way of improving his situation in life, clung to his small bit of property, and on this basis there arose the powerful habits of the small property owner.

In the period of the second Five-Year Plan the whole of the working masses of the village will be included in the socialist transformation on the basis of collectivisation and highly developed machine-technique. This cannot take place smoothly and automatically; it can proceed only in a hard struggle against the remnants of capitalism in the village, only in the fight for the organisational-economic consolidation of the collective farms, and thereby in the fight for the transformation of the small property-owner of yesterday and the collective peasant of to-day and tomorrow into conscious and active builders of Socialism.

There will still be vacillations among the masses of the peasants: they are unavoidable at various moments and in various spheres. These vacillations will become particularly noticeable where our work is weak and where, however, the kulak and the bourgeois elements are active.

There is no need to point out that the present collective Peasants—and in the next few years the great mass of them—are no longer the old peasants, the individual peasants of the pre-revolutionary period. In the years of the revolution, and especially in the years of the rapid development of complete collectivisation, profound changes have taken place in the peasantry. The peasant has become quite another man. From an ignorant, backward, taciturn drudge he has become an active builder, an active collective farmer. Upon this basis, the ranks of active and conscious builders of Socialism in the village have grown so rapidly that one can say with conviction that in the second five years the whole of the working masses of the peasantry will be organised in collective farms, and thereby an end will be put to the rule of small property in the village which has obtained for centuries.

Completely to abolish the capitalist elements in the village means to carry out complete collectivisation. This can be accomplished only in an inexorable fight against the kulaks and in the fight for the socialist re-education of the masses of collective peasants, for the strengthening of proletarian discipline on the collective farms, for the decisive improvement of the organisation of the work of collective peasants. The organisation of this struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party is our chief work in the village. The result of the successful fight under this banner will be the abolition not only of the capitalist elements but also of small property economy in the village. This also means that we are faced with the task of abolishing the capitalist elements and classes generally.

Our workers and our collective peasants are already, for the greater part, in the ranks of the active builders of Socialism. The task of completely abolishing the capitalist elements and classes in general is at the same time the task of converting the whole of the working population of the country into conscious and active builders of the classless socialist society. The realisation of the task of creating a classless society in the second Five-Year-Plan is becoming a practical task. It is arising out of the successes of socialist construction already achieved and out of the totality of the tasks of building up Socialism laid down in the second Five-Year-Plan.

(To be continued.)

Planned Assassination of Comrade Litvinov.

Moscow, 6th February 1932.

The official telegraph agency of the Soviet Union reports:

Soon after the departure of the Soviet delegation to the Geneva disarmament conference the Soviet authorities learned from reliable sources that white guardists were planning an attack on the life of the leader of the delegation Comrade Litvinov. In view of this information, the vice-commissar for Foreign Affairs, **Krest'nski** sent the following telegram to the General Secretary of the League of Nations **Sir Eric Drummond**:

"The Soviet government has received reliable information according to which white-guardist emigrant circles in the camp of the former Generals **Miller**, **Dragomir** and **Shtilov** have organised a band of murderers with a view to assassinating the chairman of the Soviet delegation **Litvinov** during the next few days. According to the information of the Soviet government the chief accomplice of the would-be murderers in Switzerland is **Yuri Ladichenski**, who was the representative of the Russian Red Cross under the Czar. As People's Commissar Litvinov enters Swiss territory solely at the invitation of the League of Nations and as my government maintains no relations of any sort with the government of Switzerland, I consider it necessary to place my information at your disposal."

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow has received a telegram informing it that Sir Eric Drummond has handed the text of the telegram to the Swiss authorities in order that they may take the necessary precautions.

POLITICS

The Tariff Policy of the British Government.

By R. Bishop (London).

When on February 4, **Neville Chamberlain**, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the National Government, made the long-awaited announcement of the drastic reversal of British Fiscal policy comprised in the new Tariff decisions, he was hailed with tremendous cheers from the Government benches whilst the expressed enthusiasm of the Tory press knew no bounds. Yet the policy he proclaimed afforded no evidence of any lessening of the crisis of British capitalism, but rather demonstrated the extremity of the crisis and the desperation of the British capitalist class, compelled to abandon the very basis of its previous prosperity. The resolutions moved by Chamberlain comprised the following points: A 10 per cent tariff on all goods, with a few exceptions; the appointment of a Board of 6 Tariff Commissioners to erect a superstructure of additional duties, up to 100 per cent, on those articles deemed to need special "protection" and on all goods from countries which impose discriminatory duties on goods from Britain; the exemption of Empire goods until the Imperial Conference meets at Ottawa; schemes of re-organisation and re-equipment of industry to enable a more effective offensive against competitors in foreign markets.

The goods to be exempted include wheat, meat, raw cotton and wool. Wheat is to be subject to a quota system which admittedly will raise the cost of bread by ½d per loaf. The position of meat is peculiar. Apart from imports from the Empire, the majority comes from the Argentine, where the interests concerned are predominantly British—people like the Duke of Atholl and Lord Hailsham, the Minister of War, have large interests in the Argentine meat importations.

Actually the 10 per cent tariff is equivalent to one of a much higher rate, say 35 per cent, owing to the depreciation of the £.

Every kind of foodstuff the workers use will rise in price as a result of the new tariffs. Nearly half of the flour consumed in Britain comes from abroad, two-thirds of the rice, over 50 per cent of the butter, eggs and cheese, over four-fifths of the margarine, tinned milk, fresh and dried fruits etc. All these are to be taxed.

Not only manufactured articles, but raw materials, with the exception of cotton and wool, are to be taxed. Hides, skins and leather are imported in large quantities. The new tax will mean a rise in the cost of boots, shoes etc.

Ninety per cent of the timber used in building is imported from abroad, as are large quantities of most of the other materials used. The Government definitely announce there will be no increase in the housing subsidies granted, which means an increase in the rents of such new working class houses as may be built. One could go on ad nauseam, showing how the cost of living of the workers will be affected.

In introducing his proposals, **Chamberlain** attempted to show that Britain was weathering the storm. He claimed that the temporary tariff measures of the Abnormal Importations Act and the Horticultural Produce Act had prevented the adverse trade balance from reaching "disastrous dimensions". But, he went on, "On the other hand there is the growth of trade restrictions all over the world, the burden of Reparations and war debts, the fact that the British iron and steel, shipping and agricultural industries are still in the depths of depression". It is in this desperate situation that British capitalism turns to tariffs.

The **Labour Party** "opposition" case was put by Major Attlee, the Deputy-Leader of the Party in Parliament. "The Labour Party are not bigoted Free-Traders or bigoted Protectionists", he said, "and we do not regard either Free Trade or Protection as an end in itself. We think the tariff a very ineffective weapon, but we do not think there is any foul sin in using it". The Government scheme, said Attlee, was "unscientific and bad", the Labour Party wanted a scheme which would bring "stability in our economic life". A haphazard tariff, he concluded, "would not lead to the rationalisation or stabilisation of our National life".

It will be seen that nothing is further from the minds of the Labour "opposition" than to oppose genuinely the tariff attack. Whilst the workers are looking for a lead, which only the Communist Party can give, the Labour

Party concentrate on the "constitutional issue" of collective Cabinet responsibility. Their principal spokesman in the House condemns the proposal as "unscientific", and expresses a desire for "rationalisation of the National life", representing tariffs as something that don't matter, representing the Government, not as enemies of the workers, but as incompetents.

The speech of Sir **Herbert Samuel**, on behalf of the Cabinet dissentients, was of considerable interest. As the representative of the traditionally Free Trade Liberals in the Cabinet, he voiced the views of that section of the British capitalist class who are not yet convinced that tariffs will do anything to alleviate the situation. He claimed that the only thing that could do any good was the immediate and drastic overhauling, for the purposes of re-organisation, of British industry. He then made the concession, that as this re-organising was decided upon he would agree to "some measure of security for the industries concerned by means of a temporary tariff".

Despite the divergence of view expressed, Samuel and his colleagues are to remain in the Cabinet, the members of which may differ on details but are united in launching a further attack on the working class. Samuel having made his protest, will be useful in maintaining the support of the 5,000,000 or so Liberal voters for the Government.

The fundamental unity of the capitalist parties was never better shown. The Labour Party declare that Free Trade and Protection are not an end in themselves to them. Neither are they to either of the other capitalist Parties.

Whilst the Government spokesmen pretend that their introduction of tariffs is a "protective" measure, it is increasingly clear that its primary object is aggression, not "protection", aggression against the Imperialist rivals of Britain and against the working class. By keeping out foreign goods the British capitalists hope to transform the home market into a closed monopoly under their complete control, and by the artificial raising of prices in Britain to be able to sell more cheaply abroad at the expense of the British workers.

France and **America** have been quick to respond to the challenge and to take counter-measures. The **German** decision to reduce imports of British coal was frankly described by the "Times" of February 5 as being intended "to show that she is capable of retaliating against British tariffs. Even the **British colonies**, despite their exemption from the new duties until the Ottawa Conference, where attempts will be made to work out agreements, are already defending themselves against inroads created by depreciated sterling. Both Canada and S. Africa have discriminatory tariffs against Britain based on the lower value of the £. In the S. African Parliament on Friday the matter was raised of dropping this discrimination in view of the statement by Neville Chamberlain, but the Finance Minister made it clear that no such step would be taken.

The exact outcome of this new tariff war into which the British capitalist class have plunged after years of hesitation, it is impossible to foretell, but that it will lead to an unprecedented sharpening of international capitalist relations, and an attack on the workers exceeding in scope anything previously known is certain.

The Tariff Commissioners have been instructed to devise schemes for the rationalisation of the main industries; to the extent that the various industries adopt these schemes will they get favoured tariff treatment. Wholesale industrial rationalisation, involving wage-cuts, longer hours, more onerous methods of working, greater mechanisation and intensified speeding up, with consequent growth of unemployment, are to be used against the workers alongside the indirect wage-cut involved in rising prices.

One thing is certain. The attack that is being launched against the working class is the heaviest ever conceived in Britain. The proceeds of the Revenue Tariff, Chamberlain has stated, are to be used to reduce the higher scales of income tax and super tax.

Thousands of workers are beginning to realise with increasing clarity that each new attempt of British capitalism to salvage itself, means new and yet more ferocious attacks upon their standards, they are beginning to realise that the Labour Party does not intend to lead working class opposition but rather to stifle it, and in this position are looking in ever greater numbers to the C.P. for leadership. The new tariff cum rationalisation attack has come as a culminating point in the capitalist offensive, and the revolutionary movement has an unexampled opportunity to rally the workers in mass opposition by demonstrations and strikes against it.

The General Election and the Tasks of the Communists in Japan.

By Okano.

Recently the "Sekki" (Red Flag), central organ of the Communist Party of Japan, exposed the latest plot of the militarist clique to establish a military dictatorship by means of coup d'état which was to have been carried out on the 3rd November last. However, this plot ended in a partial fiasco. We say "partial", because the militarists failed in executing their original plan, but they, together with the financial magnates led by the **Mitsui**, succeeded in overthrowing the "moderate" Minseito Cabinet and in forming the **Seiyukai** Cabinet which is greatly under their influence. This Cabinet is the direct successor of the military-imperialist expansion policy formulated in the notorious Memorandum written by the late General Tanaka. Since its formation the new Cabinet, extending the robber-war from Manchuria to the whole territory of China and the Pacific Ocean, preparing aggressively the military intervention against the Soviet Union and Chinese revolution, intensifying the terrorist attack against the masses through mass-dismissals, wage-cuts, increased rents, depriving the peasants of their land, depreciation of the currency, high prices, heavy taxation, high tariffs etc., and through mass arrests and massacres of thousands of militant workers and peasants. Two social-fascist parties, the **Shapai-Minshu-to** and **Rono-taishu-to**, are now exposing themselves before the masses openly or covertly as the active supporter of imperialist slaughter and the starvation policy of the ruling classes, and as the loyal servant of the monarchy.

However, the war, in which the ruling classes try to find a way-out from the present economic crisis, is only aggravating instead of alleviating the crisis and is squeezing the last drop of sweat and blood from the toiling people. In the north-east provinces, where a terrible famine is raging, hundreds of poor peasants are every day perishing from starvation. In spite of the military-police terrorism and in spite of the treachery of social fascists, spontaneous revolts of hungry masses are breaking out in towns and villages, with armed fights between strikers and struggling peasants on one side and the police, military auxiliaries and fascists on the other, (e. g. at Himeji, Befu, Utsunomiya, etc.). In spite of furious militarist propaganda, revolutionary anti-war feeling is making itself evident in the armies, (arrests of soldiers and officers in the Nakano telegraph corps, the military academy, the 80th regiment, etc.). In spite of constant persecution, the **Communist Party of Japan** is increasing its influence and strength among the masses.

In such a situation, the Seiyukai cabinet dissolved parliament on the 21st January, because it wants to strengthen its political position by stirring up jingoist, chauvinist sentiment.

The general election is now taking place. The polling day is fixed for 21st February. The chief task of the Japanese Communists in the election campaign is to mobilise the broadest masses around the partial and central slogans of the Communist Party by applying the united front tactics from below against the predatory war, against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and landlords on the standard of life of the working people, against the military-police repression, as well as to widen and strengthen the influence and organisation of the Party among the masses. And this can be assured with success; only if we effect a capable combination of legal and illegal work in the campaign. The mistakes of the Japanese Communists in the October local election campaign—under-estimation of the campaign and the sectarian tactics—must be completely rectified this time.

By carrying on the uncompromising fight for defending the interests of the toilers; by organising and leading strikes, demonstrations, and other struggles of the masses, and by conducting energetic propaganda among the masses, every workers—employed, unemployed, woman and youth,—every peasant, every civil servant, every soldier and sailor must be made to see clearly that the only Party which fights against any attempt by the bourgeoisie and landlords to shift all burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling people is the Communist Party, that all other parties, from

the bourgeois parties to the "proletarian" parties, are manoeuvring in one or another way to deceive the masses to get them submit their interests to the interests of the ruling classes; that every worker who opposes the war and starvation policy must support the Communist Party and the revolutionary candidates. By contrasting sharply the revolutionary way-out of the crisis indicated by the Communist Party with the reactionary way-out of the bourgeois and "proletarian" parties, every worker must be shown that the Communist Party is the real Party of all toilers.

In contrast to the empty promises of all bourgeois parties and in contrast to the hypocritical, radical phrases by all proletarian parties, the Communists must point out concrete and immediate programmes for the workers, unemployed, peasants, soldiers, sailors and city poor around the following central slogans:

- 1) Against the predatory imperialist war. Immediate stop to the war. Immediate withdrawal of all Japanese troops from the occupied territories and Chinese waters. Fraternalisation of the Japanese and Chinese soldiers. Convert this war into civil war!
- 2) Down with the military-police monarchy of predatory war, starvation, unemployment and repression!
- 3) Long live the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants!
- 4) The confiscation of the land of all landlords, the Tenno and other big estates, and its transfer to the working peasants!
- 5) The 7-hour day, radical increase of wages and salaries, radical improvement of their condition!
- 6) High taxation on the banks, "concerns", trusts, and other industrial syndicates by a revolutionary workers and Peasants' government (Soviet)!
- 7) Complete independence for Korea, Formosa, and China! Defend the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution!

The ideological and organisational fight against the present war must be the first and foremost task of the Japanese Communists in the election campaign. The masses must be shown that this war is the war of the bourgeoisie, landlords and monarchy in order to save bankrupt Capitalism; that this war against the Chinese people is the continuation and extension of the capitalist offensive against the Japanese workers and peasants; that therefore they must fight against the imperialists and their lackeys shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese, Korean and Formosan peoples. In particular it is decisively important to conduct our anti-war propaganda and to organise the mass struggle among the soldiers, sailors, ex-service men, members of various military institutions, workers in munition works, etc. by linking it up with their immediate demands.

Of the slogans, mentioned above, the overthrow of the monarchy and the confiscation of land for the peasants are the overwhelmingly decisive tasks in the immediate stage of the Japanese revolution, and therefore they determine the chief character of the revolution at this stage as the bourgeois democratic revolution which quickly develops into the proletarian revolution. We must fight against any tendencies to leap over this absolutely inevitable stage of the Japanese revolution. At the same time, through the election campaign, we must energetically and relentlessly expose the real character of the Japanese monarchy which is the chief weapon of war, starvation and repression in the interests of the bourgeoisie and landlords, and we must also energetically and widely propagate among the masses that their central task is its forcible overthrow and that all bourgeois and "proletarian" parties are the active supporter of blood thirsty Tenno.

The mobilisation of the broadest masses by the tactics of the united front from below for our election programme are our basic organisational tactics in the election struggle. Together with the trade unions, the peasant unions, and other mass organisations, mass forms of struggle must be developed, such as strikes, demonstrations, mass meetings, factory gatherings, conferences of factory delegates, peasants meetings, joint meetings of workers and peasants, tenants meetings, and other

mass committees of struggle. This mass work can be carried on successfully if it is closely linked up with the development of the every day struggle of the masses.

Through the election campaign, the Communists must boldly recruit militant workers and poor peasants and must strengthen and enlarge nuclei in the factories, labour exchanges, villages, barracks and warships, and must also strengthen the mass revolutionary organisations of the workers and peasants, etc.

After the conclusion of the election campaign, the mass movement which shall have been organised in the course of the campaign must be developed and converted into legal or semi-legal local committees of mass struggle for a concrete demand. This will give the Japanese Communists a broad basis for organising the mass struggle and mass mobilisation.

At the time of writing the Japanese navy has begun to bombard Shanghai and at the same time the troops have begun to occupy Harbin. On the one hand the conflict between the imperialists, above all, between Japan and America, is intensifying to the utmost, whilst on the other hand the military attack against the Soviet Union and the Soviet districts of China is becoming imminent. In this situation, the task of the Japanese Communists becomes most important. The slogan: "Convert this war into the civil war" is rapidly becoming the order of the day for the Japanese Communists. But this can be accomplished only by the winning of the majority of the toiling masses over to our side by means of working among the masses and leading their struggles. A sectarian tendency, which is a traditional weakness of the Japanese Communists, must be completely liquidated. For this purpose the election campaign must be utilised to the utmost.

The Irish Elections.

London, February 8.

Until the end of last week it appeared that the de Valera Party would make considerable gains in the Irish General Election, but the British Tariffs scheme has somewhat altered the outlook. The decision to tax food and to allow Imperial Preferences appeals to many of the farmers, who find their chief customers in Great Britain. De Valera is hastily being compelled to promise that his Party, too, will try and secure Preferences from Britain. Cosgrave is playing on the belief that de Valera is unlikely to secure such favourable terms as he can, and is trying to rally the timorous to his side by a blood-curdling anti-Communist campaign and the promise of further repression of "Reds and gunmen".

The Government Party is running 95 candidates, whilst they will receive general support from some 35 Farmers' and Independent candidates. The Fianna Fail (de Valera's party) will run over 100 candidates, the Labour Party about 30. Two Communist candidates are being run in Dublin.

Meanwhile the Terror continues unabated. Evidence of ill-treatment at the hands of Civic Guards was given on February 6, at an inquest at Drumshambo (County Leitrim), on James Vaugh, a Republican leader who died on Christmas Day. Vaugh was taken in custody at Ballinamore Barracks, early in December, and it was declared in evidence that he complained of being beaten savagely and left for several hours stripped in a cell when he refused to give information about an ammunition dump.

Raids continue to be of frequent occurrence. Last week the offices of the National Aid Association (Prisoners' Dependents Relief Committee), in Dublin, were raided for seditious documents and fire arms. None of the latter were found, but large quantities of printed and typewritten documents were taken by the Civic Guards who carried out the raid. A few days ago a party of 20 detectives and a number of Guards raided a private house at Bray, and made a thorough search of the house and grounds. Part of the latter were dug up and the owner of the house was arrested. Another raid was made on the same day at Reechestown, Ardinnan; here a prolonged search was made, but nothing was found and no arrests were made.

The authorities are using these raids as a method of intimidation of people in country districts suspected of anti-government sympathies.

THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

Tardieu's Plan at the Disarmament Conference.

G. Péri (Geneva).

The first week of the disarmament conference would have been of little significance but for two facts: the first was the tabling by M. Tardieu of the "constructive proposals" of imperialist France, and the second was Vandervelde's solemn speech in the name of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International.

What caused this sudden and unexpected French drive? The opinion of the well-informed "Petit Parisien" is interesting. It writes:

"It is possible that certain circles in France may be disturbed by this courageous initiative. To them it must be said that France owed it to itself to repulse by a definite gesture the slanderous imputations to which it has been subjected. Nevertheless, it will retain at its own disposal all the living and material forces which it needs."

This is plain enough; France intends to maintain its military apparatus unimpaired. It is not prepared to abandon any of the demands contained in the Memorandum drawn up in July 1931. However, it considers it necessary to make a gesture in order to divert attacks; it does not want to be accused of taking up a purely negative attitude; and in consequence it tables a monstrous proposal. This proposal was drafted by the Supreme Council for National Defence as early as December last year. Its chief authors were Weygand, Boncour and Fabry. It is based on the ideas contained in the Memorandum and traces of this can be found on every page of the draft. As France has adopted the Military Bill of 1928 and reduced the length of military service, it is not prepared to tolerate any further interference with its military arrangements.

It must be pointed out that when the military laws at present in operation were adopted by the Chamber there was not the least suggestion made that they represented in any way a sacrifice on the altar of disarmament, as was afterwards suggested. In fact, the periods of service of one year and eighteen months respectively now in operation and the new military organisation have given the French army a fighting capacity greater than had been attained for a long time. This power is now to remain unimpaired.

The military alliances of France are also to remain unchanged. These alliances have created an army of 13 million men under the leadership of the French General Staff. In order to protect this network of alliances from any sort of attack, the French representatives demanded and obtained during the debates in the preparatory commission an agreement that no attempt would be made to reduce directly the war material supplies. The colonial forces of imperialist France also remain unimpaired, for France has energetically refused to permit these forces to come within the scope of the proposed limitations.

When M. Tardieu submitted his proposals he declared:

"We intend to maintain the principles of the Memorandum of July, but we are willing to make a step further."

It is not necessary to describe in detail here the system which is proposed by the Tardieu plan, but it is of interest to note the items against which the plan is directed:

1. Above all the French proposals are directed against those forces which might represent a danger to the Versailles system. The plan demands that the military clauses of the Peace Treaties as a result of which the defeated countries remain unarmed in a Europe otherwise armed to the teeth, shall remain in force. But the plan goes still further; it attacks those types of armament which the defeated countries might develop unduly without violating the provisions of the Peace Treaties. Why, for instance, is the civil air service placed at the head of those categories of armaments dealt with in the French plan? Because France intends to prevent the development of the civil air services of Germany and Italy if it can. Another category included in the "internationalisation" plan put forward by imperialist France, is that of warships with

a displacement exceeding 10,000 tons or carrying guns with a calibre exceeding 203 mm. This category naturally includes Germany's famous "Ersatz Preußen"; the pocket battleship which created such sensation last year.

The French plan does not provide for any reduction of armaments, but only for the "internationalisation" of certain armament categories. These categories are to be found amongst those types which the defeated nations were permitted to develop by the omission of the Peace Treaties to prohibit them. On the one hand, the French proposals encourage armaments in the hand of the League of Nations and on the other hand, they tighten up the international limitations on those categories of armaments which are still in the possession of the defeated countries.

Should the defeated countries struggle to throw off their chains, then the forces at the disposal of Geneva, the international air fleet, the international army and the international police, will be put into operation against them. In 1924 France defended the Protocol which provided for joint action on the part of the Powers against all States which might threaten the statute of 1919. Now the offender is to be dealt with by the international police of the League of Nations. Had the French proposal already been in operation last year, then the Geneva army would have been sent to Germany and Austria in order to prevent the Anschluss plan, or it would have threatened to occupy the Ruhr district and seize productive guarantees for Germany's "good-behaviour".

2. To this objection the answer is given that not Paris but Geneva will have the right to command the international army and institute sanctions. However, this answer is absurd. First of all because everything remains within the framework of the French system and this system is marked by its tendency to place the Geneva organisation under the thumb of the strongest military organisation on the European mainland. Further, the construction and composition of the Geneva apparatus have made it from the first day of its existence an instrument in the hands of the Powers and in particular of France. Geneva is a branch of the French Foreign Office. The twelve years history of the League of Nations proves this clearly enough. There is no doubt that the League of Nations Council and the League conferences are the arenas where the imperialist contradictions meet and wrestle, but at the same time it is clear that the League of Nations represents the best ground on which the imperialist Powers could find a solution of their rivalries, namely in the form of an attack on the Soviet Union.

The second edge of the French proposal is directed against the Soviet Union. It aims at putting into operation an idea which is dear to the Pan-Europe protagonist and anti-sovietist **Coudenhove-Kalergi**, i. e. the creation of an international army against Bolshevism. It provides for the right of this army to march through Germany on its way to the Soviet frontiers. The League of Nations will be in a position to decide that the refusal of the Soviet Union to open its frontiers to the Geneva army represents a *casus belli*.

Tardieu is right when he declares that France is prepared to make a further step. This time it is a tremendous step. No capitalist government has yet gone so far in its plans for an attack on the Fatherland of the international working class as imperialist France has gone with this proposal.

3. The Supreme Council of National Defence has in its wisdom foreseen everything. It not only thought of creating an international police force in the interests of those who benefit from the peace treaties; it not only thought of laying the basis for the organisation of an international army for the intervention against the Soviet Union, but Tardieu, Weygand and Boncour also thought of the insurrectionary movement in Indo-China, of the struggle against the Chinese Soviet districts, of the peasant insurrections in Spain, in Western Ukraina, etc. From the adoption of the French plan on, the aeroplanes of the French socialist Renaudel will not be called upon to bomb villages in Indo-China and in the Chinese Soviet districts and to rake the fugitives with machine-gun fire. All this will be done by the international air force of the League of Nations. This international air force will swoop to the aid of the rich peasants and landowners in Catalonia and Western Ukraina.

In justice it must be pointed out that the credit for this idea must not be given exclusively to the Supreme Council for National Defence in Paris. The pacifists are justly entitled to claim their share in the paternity of the plan. The ideas on

which the plan was based were first propounded by the radical **Bourgeois** and the idol of the socialist leaders, **Aristide Briand**. **Louise Weiss** publishes an article in "Europe Nouvelle" entitled "Tardieu et le Trocadero" in which she proves that the pacifist congress in the Trocadero in Paris put forward the principles of the plan before Tardieu published them. Not only that, but the internationalisation of the air fleet is one of the points in the programme of the **French Socialist Party**. **Leon Blum** warmly recommended this procedure in his book "Problems of Peace".

On the day before Tardieu put forward the French proposals, the disarmament conference listened to a speech by **Emile Vandervelde** on behalf of the Second International. Vandervelde came with a mission, namely to restore in the eyes of the international working class a meeting of international capitalists which had already suffered much discredit.

Vandervelde realised that he could only hope to fulfil his mission if he raged and fulminated seemingly striking terror into the hearts of the guilty government representatives. He subjected them to a moral dressing-down. He informed them that they did not "directly represent" the working class and he threatened them with "a catastrophe of the nature of the November revolution". However, for fear they might think he was not satisfied, he added that after all the fact, that they were all together there, was a great achievement and the further fact that the conference was presided over by his friend **Henderson** gave grounds for sanguine hopes.

Vandervelde's speech, decorated with "left-wing" phrases and gingered up with a little stage thunder, provides us with an object lesson, just as did the ultra "left-wing" manifesto published on the opening day of the conference by the Geneva socialist daily "Travail". The ordinary brand of vulgar pacifism has deteriorated in value so rapidly in the eyes of the masses that the socialist leaders are compelled to knit their brows and roll their eyes menacingly whilst delivering radical phrases. At the time of the Zimmerwald meeting **Lenin** wrote that the social pacifism of **Kautzky**, **Longuet**, etc., was more dangerous than the open social patriotism of **Renaudel** and **Scheidemann**. And to-day it might be said with equal justification that the "left-wing" declarations of **Vandervelde**, **Zyromski**, etc., are more poisonous than the open imperialist "pacifism" of **Paul Boncour**.

Only those really struggle against war who begin in times of peace to organise the anti-militarist work in the army, who refuse to remain safely under the cloak of legality, but who organise the illegal action against the bourgeoisie and who work with all possible means during an imperialist war to secure the defeat of their own bourgeoisie. This is the path of the workers in the struggle for peace. Everything else is nothing but treachery, hypocritical and hollow phrase-mongering and in the last resort encouragement of the war-mongers.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

Britain and the China War.

By R. Bishop (London).

Despite all the attempts of the Imperialists to hide their position, the role of Britain in the Imperialist attack upon China becomes increasingly clear. Whilst by means of taking the initiative in raising the matter at Geneva and by a pose of "impartiality" in the leading articles which appear in the newspapers, the British ruling class are striving might and main to disclaim any responsibility for the events that are taking place, the facts speak for themselves.

Of all the foreign powers which have penetrated and looted China in the past, Britain occupies the strongest position, and to-day the British Government, along with the Governments of the other Imperialist countries is encouraging the Japanese in their offensive, despite their hypocritical protests to the contrary.

Within China itself the reactionary Nanking Government is rapidly crashing to disaster and the Chinese Soviets are sweeping forward with growing determination and success. Nothing would please the Imperialist Powers more than to see Japan go forward to crush the Chinese Soviet Governments, and to this end are prepared to finance Japan and to provide her with munitions of war.

There are divergent interests within the camp of the Imperialists it is true, their rivalries have never been stronger than they are to-day, but faced with a world economic crisis and with increasing revolt among their workers at home and amongst the colonial workers and peasants under their heel, they are making frantic efforts to compose their differences. In a successful Japanese invasion of China, Manchuria and, later, Mongolia, they see the creation of a base from which to launch their long-planned war against the Soviet Union.

The situation is complicated by the fact that whilst the Imperialists seek unity in the face of the common enemy, they are also concerned with individually securing the largest share in the loot, at each other's expense.

Japan dared to bombard Shanghai because she was successful in seizing Manchuria with the support of Britain and France. The gates of the International Settlement were closed on the refugees who sought to escape the Japanese bombs. The British National Government was well aware of the plans of Japanese Imperialism, but refrained from issuing any warning note. How close was the understanding between the Western Imperialist Powers and Japan it is difficult to know, the Imperialists know how to keep their own counsel, but on the day of the bombardment of Chapei the "Times", the semi-official organ of the British Government, devoted a leading article to the defence of Japan, on the grounds of "serious provocation", declaring that other Powers similarly provoked had had resort to similar action.

After Chapei, the British press protested that "Japan was going too far". The real worthlessness of these protests is shown in the statement of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Yoshizawa, who claims that the Japanese action in Shanghai was all the time taken with:

"the Japanese Naval and Consular representatives acting in the closest collaboration with the Municipal Council, Municipal police, British, American and French consuls and the commanders of the international garrison."

It is now perfectly obvious that the Japanese made the International Settlement the base for their attack. In the International Settlement the troops of the various Powers are under the command of a British officer. The "Daily Mail" and the other Rothermere organs of the Press clamorously demands that the Powers must not go to war against Japan, nor must they impose a boycott or blockade.

The war that is on is not a war of the Powers against Japan, but a war of Japan and the other Powers against the Chinese workers and peasants.

In this position the British Labour Party has proved itself yet once again a Party of Imperialism. Every written line in the "Daily Herald", every spoken word of the Labour leaders is calculated to hide the fact that Britain has any share of responsibility for what is taking place. The whole blame is placed upon Japan; such criticism of the British Government as is indulged in, is for "its lack of a definite policy", not for its complicity in the murderous onslaught on the Chinese people.

The Labour Party has on two occasions constituted the British Government, it knows that in the past Japan and Britain have closely collaborated in their conduct of affairs in regard to China. They know that, with the more than strained relations existing between Japan and the U.S.A., the former would not have dared to go the lengths she has, had it not been for an assurance, understood if not verbal or written, that she could rely on the support of Britain and France.

The Labour Party pretend that the League is weak and cowardly for not acting. They conceal the fact that the reason why the League does not intervene except by meaningless Notes is that the League approves of what Japan is doing. In their speeches and in their articles the Labour Party is careful in view of the growing sympathy of the toiling masses for the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution, to avoid any mention of the Soviet Power in China or the Imperialist threat to the Soviet Union.

Whilst in their public utterances the political leaders and the newspapers as a whole are guarded in their expressions, a true indication of the feeling of the British capitalists was afforded when Lansbury raised the question in the House of Commons. Immediately an uproar rose from the back-bench members of the National Government, that Lansbury was being insulting to a "friendly Power". The real nature of the Labour Party "opposition" was shown in the way in which

Lansbury withdrew once the Government announced that there would be an opportunity later to discuss the matter.

The same illusions as those so sedulously sown by the Labour Party are also being spread by the **Independent Labour Party**, whose claim it is that they are revolutionary "Lefts".

Says the issue of the "New Leader" dated February 5:

"Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hovver have voiced the conscience of the civilised world so promptly and adequately by their timely protest in Tokio, that it may seem ungracious to make even a minor suggestion by way of completing their work. But in the light of this experience, so dearly bought, might it not be well to clarify the wording of the Kellogg-Briand Pact so that in future no unscrupulous Power may have an excuse for evading its stern imperatives."

There are reported to be 8,000 British troops in China to-day, as well as 45 British ships of war in Chinese waters. Their presence belies the peace talk which is so prevalent in London and at Geneva. From all parts of Britain it is reported that Army and Navy Reservists are being told to stand by, ready to be called up if wanted.

But despite the attempts of British capitalism to minimise the seriousness of affairs in China and to conceal their own role; despite the united front, extending from Baldwin and MacDonald to Lansbury and Maxton, there is a growing mass of workers who realise the truth about the situation, who realise that despite the absence of a formal declaration, there is war in China to-day, who realise that in that war it is not Japan alone who is the aggressor but all the Imperialist Powers, who realise that the League of Nations is not a weak instrument of peace, but a strong instrument of Imperialist war.

From trade union branches, factory meetings, mass meetings etc. resolutions are pouring in denouncing the role of British Imperialism in the East and demanding action in defence of the Chinese workers and peasants. The campaign of the **Communist Party** and the **League against Imperialism** is winning support from workers who hitherto have been solely absorbed in immediate bread and butter questions, because in the campaign it has been consistently pointed out that the two things — wages and conditions at home and the attacks on the Colonial workers — are closely interlinked.

On February 7 there will be huge mass demonstrations of workers in all the large industrial centres of Britain in protest against the Imperialist aggression and against the National Government of Starvation and War. From thence onward the movement must not be allowed to go backward. It must forge ahead with ever greater vigour, in alliance with the Chinese workers and peasants, for a Free Soviet China.

Friends of the Soviet Union and the Far Eastern Crisis.

The International Bureau of the "Friends of the Soviet Union" has issued a call for energetic and decisive action over the Far Eastern crisis. Through its national sections the F.S.U. will take the initiative in the formation of broad committees of action, to embrace the widest circles of workers, to carry through a campaign of mass demonstrations, factory meetings, etc. to register the solidarity of the workers in resisting the war plans of the imperialists and defending the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets against the imperialist attack. This campaign will relate the Shanghai events to the preceding action of the Japanese imperialists in Manchuria, to the developing world economic crisis, and to the significance of 1932 as marking the 15th anniversary of the workers' dictatorship, the successful completion of the Five-Year Plan and the inauguration of the second Five-Year Plan of socialist construction. It will also expose the role not only of Japan, but also of the other imperialist powers, France, England, America, in this attempt to dismember China, destroy the Chinese Soviets and consolidate the basis for the attack on the U.S.S.R. These activities will be closely linked up with the campaign for building up the F.S.U. as an international mass organisation based on groups in the factories and workshops of the basic industries, as well as with the organisation of the workers' delegations to visit the Soviet Union for International Women's Day (March 8th) and the May 1st celebrations.

Revolutionary Mass Struggle against Imperialist War Criminals and their Active Helpers!

Appeal of the Communist Parties of Western Europe and America for the Defence of the Chinese Revolution and of the U.S.S.R.

Workers and Toilers!

A war has broken out in the Far East which threatens to call forth a new world slaughter. Japanese Imperialism, in the course of a bloody campaign, has forced under its yoke and annexed the most important parts of Manchuria. It is now stretching out its greedy talons to seize the rest of China. Japanese warships and detachments of troops have occupied the most important Chinese economic centres of **Shanghai, Canton, and Swatow**. In Chapei, the Chinese quarter of Shanghai, red Shanghai, the most important proletarian centre in China, they have reduced whole streets to a mass of smoking ruins. Thousands of Chinese workers have fallen under the rain of shells from the Japanese guns. Japanese warships which bombarded **Nanking** are now proceeding up the Yangtse River into the interior of China in order to destroy **Hankow**, likewise a proletarian stronghold, and to prepare the way for the imperialist intervention armies to **crush the Chinese Soviets**.

The action of Japan has roused all the imperialist big Powers. The United States of America, France, England and Italy are also sending their warships and detachments of troops to the Far East in order to defend their own imperialist robber-interests and, together with Japan, to carve up Chinese territory and to **crush the Chinese revolution**. The strategic advance of the imperialist armies of intervention clearly reveals these aims. The occupation of Shanghai, Canton and Swatow, and the threatened capture of Hankow reveal beyond doubt the intention to encircle and throttle Soviet China.

At the same time, Japanese troops in Manchuria are advancing against Harbin, the administrative centre of the Chinese Eastern railway. The occupation of Harbin, which is expected at any moment, means a **serious provocation of the Soviet Union**, and a very serious step towards the war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The imperialist robbers united in the **League of Nations** stand with the whole of their military power on the side of Japanese imperialism. Never was the contemptible hypocrisy of the so-called League of Nations so insolently and cynically displayed as at the present moment when the imperialist Powers at Geneva are staging the disarmament comedy, whilst in the Far East they are organising and conducting a bloody war.

The League of Nations not only cloaks over the robber-campaign of Japan against China, it practically hands over Manchuria to Japanese imperialism and organises the forceful partition of China and the war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

A particularly miserable and bloody role is played by the **international social democracy**, which, just as in August 1914, does not move a finger in order to resist the furies of war, but deliberately and cold-bloodedly, as the chief agency of the robber League of Nations, supports and justifies the murderous acts of violence of Japanese imperialism against the working population of China.

The most dangerous ally of Japan in this war is **French imperialism**, which supplies the Japanese army with money and war material and is at the same time mobilising its central East-European watch-dogs: Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania, for an attack on the Soviet Union.

The **United States of America**, which next to Japan is intervening most actively in the Far East, under the hypocritical pretext of the "open door", is taking part in the hangmen's coup against China in order to push forward its own interests against Japan.

English imperialism stands likewise actively in the front of the robbers who wish to divide Chinese territory among themselves and are organising a blow against the Soviet Union.

Imperialist **Germany** is also taking part in the warlike conspiracy of world imperialism against revolutionary China and the Soviet Union.

In this hour of greatest danger the Communist Parties of Germany, France, England United States of America, Czechoslovakia and Poland call upon the working class of the whole world and all toilers to throw their whole weight into the scale in order to bring to nought the bloody plans of international counter-revolution and to defend the Chinese Soviets and also the Soviet Union.

The best way to demonstrate your solidarity with the Chinese toilers, with the revolutionary workers of Japan, the best way to defend the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution is to take up the **fight against the enemy in your own country**.

Fight for the defence of the Chinese Revolution and of the Chinese Soviets! Defend the integrity and independence of China! Demand the immediate withdrawal of the intervention troops and the expulsion from China of the white guardists and fascist military advisers from all imperialist countries!

We appeal above all to the dockworkers and seamen, to the workers in the munition factories and in the chemical industries: prevent and oppose determinedly the sending of munitions and troops from the capitalist countries to the seat of war in China!

Close an iron ring of revolutionary defence round the fatherland of all workers, the Soviet Union, this firmest stronghold of peace! Frustrate the base provocation plans of the imperialists! Call to the Japanese pirates:

Hands off the Soviet Russian Consulate and the other Soviet institutions in Harbin! Down with the imperialist war makers! Long live the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets!

Long live the revolutionary and the oppressed masses of the colonies! Long live the victory of world Socialism, which will finally break the yoke of the exploiters' rule, destroy the roots of imperialist war and give peace to the world!

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Germany,
Communist Party of France,
Communist Party of England,
Communist Party of America,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
Communist Party of Poland.**

Appeal of the Communist Party of Poland against the War in the Far East.

Warsaw, February 4, 1932.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland has issued an appeal against the attack by the imperialists on China and the Chinese Eastern Railway, from which we give the following excerpts.

The war in China concerns every one of you. Here it is a question of your own fate and that of your children. Nay more, it is a question of the fate of the working class and of all toilers. The war which is raging at the present moment in China is the war of the international bourgeoisie against the Chinese Revolution. . .

The bourgeoisie of the whole world welcome with howls of joy the bloody hangman's and bandit's work of the Japanese imperialists in China. The Polish bourgeoisie are besides themselves with joy and laud the Japanese bandits to the sky. The League of Nations, which in reality constitutes the international political Stock Exchange of the imperialist states

for their bandit-interests, supports with all its power the Japanese attack. . . . The Japanese representative at the League of Nations accepted the report on the Ukrainian complaints, on the bloody "pacification" of Western Ukraina by the Polish occupation, and is of the opinion that there is no oppression of the Ukrainians in Poland and that there has been no "pacification". The international bandits understand one another without many words. One hand washes the other.

If the international bourgeoisie declare their solidarity with the Japanese in the latter's attack on China, we workers and peasants answer: The cause of the Chinese working masses is our cause. Their enemy is our enemy. Their victory will be our victory!

The international bourgeoisie support the attack by Japanese imperialism on China, as the occupation of Manchuria by Japan is at the same time the immediate preparation for imperialist war against the Soviet Union. . . . The immediate object of this Japanese expedition against the Chinese Eastern Railway is no longer concealed. Its aim is to wrest the Chinese Eastern Railway from the Soviet Union and to set up a white-guard buffer-state. . . . Its aim is to force the Soviet Union into war, to interrupt the successful work of socialist construction in the last year of the Five-Year Plan, at the suitable moment to attack the Soviet Union from all sides, above all from the side of Poland and Rumania, to overthrow the hated dictatorship of the proletariat, to destroy all the achievements of the socialist revolution and to bring 160 million workers and peasants again under the bondage of the capitalists and landowners. . . .

There is only one force that can frustrate the criminal plans of the bourgeoisie: the force of the revolutionary resistance of the working masses of the whole world, the readiness of the workers and peasants of every capitalist State to stay the arm of their own imperialist bourgeoisie. . . .

The working masses in the whole of Poland are at present engaged in stubborn fights, under the leadership of the Communist Party, for bread, for work, for land, against exploitation, backwardness, fascist terror and national oppression. A broad wave of strikes is sweeping the country. The unemployed are coming out onto the streets in thousands. The peasants are driving away the tax collectors and the police. The toiling masses of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia are waging an uninterrupted and fierce fight against the bloody occupation.

Workers, peasants, soldiers! Your revolutionary front, which is becoming more powerful every day, must be turned against imperialist war. . . . It is necessary for every worker, for every peasant and every soldier to realise that the enemy is in his own country.

After some revolutionary instructions regarding the fight against war, the appeal concludes with the following slogans: Hands off China! Hands off the Soviet Union!

Long live the Soviet Union, the socialist fatherland of the international proletariat!

Long live the Chinese revolution!

Down with the imperialist occupation of China! Long live independent China of the workers and peasants!

Away with the imperialist occupation of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia by Poland!

Long live the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination up to separation!

Away with the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! Not a penny of taxes for the government of unemployment, hunger, summary courts and war!

Long live the workers' and peasants' government! Long live the Polish Republic of the workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils!

Appeal of the Political Bureau of the C.P. of Great Britain to all Members of the Party.

Dear Comrades,—We face a most dangerous moment in the fight of the working-class, but there are many evidences that we are not ready for the fight against imperialist war.

Thousands and thousands of Chinese working men and women are being butchered by imperialism. They are our comrades.

The flower of the Chinese workers and peasants are fighting against the Chinese Nationalist Government and the forces of Japanese, British, American and French imperialism.

The Soviet Union is menaced. The world trembles on the brink of a new 1914.

This is war in all its stark reality, but because Britain has not declared war upon China many comrades do not think it is a real war.

Don't let us run away from the brutal and unpleasant fact that large numbers of workers think that war is "good for trade" or are deceived by the pacifist manoeuvres. Three or four days' Press barrage about some atrocity in China, about the need for defending Britons who are in Shanghai, and a war fever could be worked up.

Such ideas must firmly be opposed, and we must organise the fight against war, above all by organising the workers' fight against the capitalist offensive on wages and unemployment benefits.

The stronger this fight, the greater the defeats that the workers can inflict upon the whole line of capitalist policy in trying to solve the difficulties caused them by the economic crisis, the line of lower standards for the workers, of Fascism and war.

Not another minute can or must be lost. Every factory cell and every local Party committee must convene special meetings to discuss what can be done in their factories and localities to fight against war and to build up powerful bonds of solidarity between the Chinese and the Indian masses.

We call upon every single member of our Party to stand to their post. The 11th Plenum of the Communist International stated in its resolution upon The War Danger, that:—

"The activity of every single Communist, will determine whether the sympathy which the broad masses of workers, the toiling peasants and the nations oppressed by the capitalist countries feel towards the U.S.S.R. will be converted into an active revolutionary struggle against preparations for war and the danger of a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R."

"The duty of every Communist Party, of every Communist, is to expose the Social Democrats as the agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the preparations for military intervention against the working-class of the U.S.S.R. to expose their false pacifism as an organic and integral part of these war preparations, and to win the masses away from them."

These words have an extraordinary meaning for us to-day. Let our Party, let every Communist show we will not fail in doing our duty in this terribly urgent and vital hour.

The Political Bureau.

Appeal of the C.P. of Italy to the Proletarians for the Fight against War.

L'Unità, the illegal central organ of the C.P. of Italy, has published an appeal to the Italian workers, which is being distributed throughout the whole of Italy in thousands of copies in spite of the fascist dictatorship.

Below we print the following most important passages of this appeal.

"The Conference of the imperialist Powers, which is ironically called a "Disarmament" conference, has opened whilst the guns are thundering in Manchuria and in Shanghai. Never before has the sham pacifism of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the social democrats, been so strikingly exposed as at this moment.

"War in China has been unchained!"

After exposing the aims of the imperialists: The partition of China, the destruction of the workers and peasants' movement, the overthrow of the Chinese Soviets and the subsequent attack upon the Soviet Union, the appeal continues:

"The hour has arrived when the proletariat and the unemployed must demonstrate by their actions their determination to prevent the imperialist war!"

"Three million unemployed are without any relief and are suffering from starvation! Twenty to thirty million persons are in dire misery! The unemployed must, by their organised forces, fight for their right to live: for bread and not for war!"

"Millions of peasants are living in misery; they do not want to pay taxes—taxes which serve for the preparation of war—they want to live: bread and land and not war!"

The imperialist war must not break out!

The Italian government has already sent a detachment of marines to Shanghai.

"Down with war! Down with the hands which are seizing China! Hands off the Chinese Soviets! Down with the hands

which wish to seize upon Russia! Bread, work and freedom for the Italian workers!"

After enumerating the slogans of action for the railway workers, seamen, dockers, for the workers in general, and the soldiers and sailors, the appeal concludes:

"Down with fascism! Down with the capitalist slavery! Bread and Freedom!"

"Long live the proletarian revolution which will destroy for ever the rule of the war makers!"

"Long live the workers and peasants' government! Long live the Italian Soviets!"

Against the War of the Imperialist Robbers in China.

Manifesto of the League Against Imperialism.

To all the exploited and oppressed in every country!

Rivers of blood are flowing in China. It is not alone the blood of Chinese soldiers fighting in defence of the independence and integrity of their country, but also that of thousands of defenceless old men, women and children who are daily being slaughtered in Shanghai, Harbin and in the other great cities of China. In its frantic haste to impose its yoke on the Chinese people and to force their capitulation, Japanese imperialism does not hesitate at any crime.

A war is taking place, a war of invasion and plunder with all its attendant horrors, massacres and desolation. One of the most monstrous crimes of imperialism in our time is in course of being perpetrated. Japanese imperialism, the chief actor in these murderous scenes, cynically and brazenly asserts that there is no question of making war on China. Whether or not this hypocritical assertion is sufficient to allay the scruples of the other imperialisms which are party to the crime, it cannot for a moment deceive any open-minded person.

The flagrant and brutal fact remains that the Chinese people is being assailed by the imperialist bandits from all sides, as by a pack of wolves. The foreign imperialists concentrate their fire in the first instance against Shanghai and the strongest centres of the Chinese revolutionary working class. The partition of China is on the point of being brought about. The effrontery of Japanese imperialism knows no restraint. Emboldened by the significant reticence of the League of Nations and the complaisance of the rival imperialisms, Japan hopes by arousing their greed to secure the full complicity of the latter. Certain it is that each of them, in reinforcing their military and naval effectives in Shanghai, think less of compelling Japan to put a stop to its predatory enterprise than of a profitable participation in the division of the spoils. At the same time, the irreconcilable interests of the imperialist Powers in the division of the spoils can at any moment find issue in a war between the U.S.A. and Japan culminating in a new imperialist world slaughter.

The reason for the complaisance of the rival imperialisms towards the bloody invasion of China by Japanese imperialism lies in the fact that they see in the partition of China a way out of the terrible economic crisis which is upsetting their whole system of exploitation and shattering the foundations of their rule. By this means they hope to consolidate their desperate situation, crushing the Soviet movement in China, letting loose a wave of repression against all the colonial peoples who are struggling for national independence and dealing a mortal blow to the Soviet Union.

It is in order to fulfil the common aims of imperialism, and thus to weaken its resistance to the realisation of their own plans of conquest, that the Japanese imperialists are devoting themselves with the utmost energy in **Northern Manchuria** to fulfilling the role of agent provocateur in regard to the **Soviet Union**.

A particularly despicable part is being played by the Social Democrats in this formidable conspiracy against the safety of humanity as a whole and against the freedom and independence of the various peoples. They assumed this task of holding in check the toiling masses and of calming their indignant fury against the imperialist assassins by spreading everywhere pacifist illusions and optimistic interpretations of accomplished deeds. While the guns and bombs thunder in Shanghai, Henderson and Vandervelde at the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations do their utmost to keep the awkward subject of the war in China completely out of sight. Thus, on the eve of the new imperialist war, these professional deceivers of the masses once again attempt to repeat the treacherous game which they played in 1914.

Neither the antagonisms between the different imperialisms nor the pretence of organisation of national defence by the Kuomintang leaders (who are themselves the creatures of imperialism and on this account justly held in detestation by the Chinese people), nor the pacifist phrases of the Social Democracy and its idol, the League of Nations, can save China from the fate which the imperialists are preparing for it.

What is essential is that the exploited masses and the oppressed peoples of all countries should hasten to the aid of their Chinese brothers. It is urgent and indispensable that they should oppose this large-scale bloody adventure of oppressing imperialism with an equally wide mobilisation of all anti-imperialist forces and with energetic, organised mass action. To be effective, such mass action must pursue concrete aims. The principal task which devolves on the toiling masses and their militant organisations is that of preventing by all means the despatch of arms, munitions and troops to the Far East.

The International League against Imperialism demands from the toiling masses in the imperialist countries and the millions of oppressed in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, who agree with its slogans and participate in its campaigns, that they should in the immediate future concentrate all their attention on the events in China and in all their economic and political struggles conduct a fight without cessation and with the maximum of energy for the stopping of the massacre of the Chinese people by the Japanese militarists, for the withdrawal from China of the armies of occupation of all the imperialisms, against the partition of China, against the destruction of the Chinese Soviets, for the overthrow of the power of the Kuomintang executioners and for the defence of the U.S.S.R. in the face of the provocation and armed aggression of the imperialists.

International Secretariat League Against Imperialism.

The League Against Imperialism Mobilises the Sections against the Predatory War of Japanese Imperialism in China.

The International Secretariat of the L.A.I. has held a special session devoted to study of the situation resulting from the war in China. It noted with great satisfaction that its **Japanese Section**, in the face of the terror regime prevailing in the country of the slaughterers of the Chinese people, has carried out energetic action against this war of invasion and plunder. The Japanese Section of the League Against Imperialism has convened numerous public meetings of protest against the war and it has distributed among workers, peasants, students and soldiers proclamations denouncing the crimes of Japanese imperialism and emphasizing the fraternal solidarity which links the toiling masses of Japan with those of China. The **Chinese Section** of the League Against Imperialism has also intensified its activity, both against the Japanese robbery and against the executioners of the Chinese people who are at the head of the Kuomintang and Nanking Government.

After examination of all aspects of the situation, the Secretariat adopted the text of an **appeal** to the anti-imperialist masses of all countries. It further decided to send directives to its Sections in the Far East, calling upon them to give an ever greater scope than hitherto to their anti-imperialist actions and to co-ordinate, as far as the conditions permit, their struggle against Japanese invasion, against intervention by other imperialism and against the anti-Soviet provocations.

The International Secretariat has also considered the possibility of convening a **joint conference** of its Chinese, Japanese and Korean Sections, in order to co-ordinate their revolutionary struggle.

The Secretariat has also made it its task to intensify its activity among the **colonial students** in Berlin and other capital cities of Europe. The establishment among the anti-imperialist students in **Berlin** of an East-Asiatic anti-imperialist group was noted as an important success in this direction. The proposal of this group to publish a bulletin against the war in China was unanimously approved.

All the Sections of the L.A.I. in Europe, America and the colonial countries are called upon to launch a determined campaign against the Chinese War.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Competition of the Giant Works.

(Documents of the Epoch).

"The fifty thousand tractors that you must give the country every year are fifty thousand projectiles that blow up the old bourgeois world and pave the way to the new Socialist order in the countryside."

(I. Stalin. Greetings to the workers of the Stalingrad Tractor Works on the day of its opening.)

The Stalingrad Tractor Works was lagging behind. The production programme was not being carried out to the full. The workers did not find it easy to cope with the new mode of production, hitherto unknown in Russia, it was not easy for them at first to grasp the new complicated technique.

The Moscow "Pravda" sounded the alarm. This is what it said in an article devoted to the situation in the new Stalingrad Works:

"In January, instead of 1,000 tractors the works produced 750. In February, even less than that. In March—a further decrease. In the first three months the output of the Stalingrad Works was 2,000 tractors short. On an average, the works turns out only 23 tractors a day.

Very slow progress is made with the proper use of the equipment—our main task at present. Hundreds of benches stand idle every day owing to mishaps." ("Pravda", April, 1931.)

"In their press they mercilessly expose their own failures and inadequacies, and tell frightful stories about the incompetence and mismanagement of this or that factory. These stories are then taken up by the correspondents of capitalist newspapers in Riga and Warsaw, and cabled to the entire world. They are printed in the "white" Russian newspapers of Berlin and Paris, and so comrade Kautsky has unquestionable Bolshevik authority for his pictures of the failure of, for example, the Stalingrad Tractor Works.

Now their enemies (the enemies of the Bolsheviks) throughout the world speak gladly about the Stalingrad Tractor Works." (Upton Sinclair. August 13, 1931.)

"Translated into Russian, Stalingrad means Stalin's city. Stalin means a man with a will of steel. But even a will of steel cannot be of any assistance where objective conditions for contemporary industry have not been created." ("Vorwaerts", middle of 1931.)

"Dear Comrades! We read a few days ago in 'Pravda' how work is getting on in your works, and how you are getting on with the carrying out of the programme. This was the cause of considerable alarm and anxiety among our workers. Our public organisations, the Party organisation, the works committee and our factory newspapers roused all the workers. Comrades, there was every reason for alarm and anxiety, considering that the tempo of your work does not contribute to a rapid development of socialist construction, to the growth of industry and agriculture. Hundreds of tractors which should have been, but have not been, delivered to the Soviet and collective farms, constant breakage of benches and machinery owing to clumsy and careless treatment—this is what we learned from 'Pravda' about the Stalingrad Tractor Works.

How do we, Putilov workers, carry out the programme? In the first quarter, the quarter of reorganisation, we turned out 30 to 40 tractors a day. Now, when we are already reorganised, we turn out on an average 60 tractors in 24 hours.

We therefore think that we have the right to demand of you the same work that we are demanding of ourselves.

Dzerzhinsky*) Metal Workers! Manual, administrative and technical workers of the Stalingrad Tractor Works! We call you into the foremost ranks of the socialist shock works. Do make an effort! Gain a victory for the tractor works! Shock

*) The Stalingrad Metal Works bears the name of our late comrade, Felix Dzerzhinsky.

brigaders, imbue every worker with the spirit of socialist competition! Rouse the laggards!"

(From the letter of the Red Putilov Workers to the workers of the Stalingrad Tractor Works, April, 1931.)

"To hear these reproaches is hard on us. Everything was correct: That we are not carrying out the programme, that there was no proper system in the departments, and also that we did not fight industrial shortcomings with sufficient energy. What were we to do? Were we to answer you by making promises? But would promises alone have satisfied you and allayed your anxieties? We resolved to let our answer be: tractors!

Comrade Stalin's clear and succinct directions how to control work and work in the new manner, in new conditions, became our programme in the struggle for tractors.

We started a ruthless campaign against slackers in our own midst. The young workers' organisation was being steered for hard work in the fight for tractors. Old factory workers, sent to us from Leningrad, Moscow, Baku and Dniepropetrovsk factories, taught the youth who had come into the ranks of the proletariat from the villages of Portianovka, Sabachnia, Zhurkovka and others proletarian discipline and ability to work for themselves and their class. They taught the youth to love their machines and treat them with the greatest care, for these machines are ours, they belong to the proletarian state.

The shock brigades marched in front, paving the way to the organisation, and shock brigaders set the example for Bolshevik work and tempo. The "Dzerzhinsky" workers learned how to work from the farrier of the Dniepropetrovsk works, Platon Moskovchenko, a Communist.

Red Putilov comrades, since the receipt of your letter there have been many changes here. We have liquidated the break, and are carrying out the programme. But there is a long path still before us. We must make our works produce at its full capacity, we must take off the conveyor up to 144 machines a day."

(Reply of the Dzerzhinsky workers to the Red Putilov worker. October 1931.)

"Andriustchenko, Sivko, Motia Krilova, Chernov, Razin, Bachirov—all of them known by their portraits on the red board displayed in the central passage of the works, the shock brigaders' alley—were at their posts at the night shift. They knew: 80 is our goal. From tonight a change must set in.

Till 2 a. m., the night dinner interval, one motor followed the other. The shift was in good spirits. 46 already on the conveyor, that was a certainty, the tanks of the radiators were kept in readiness, but Talalaiev went with the brigade to the workshop, and made them hurry up with the transference of the 21st tank; Zaosanin's shift at the small conveyor had assembled 26 motors in 4 hours; the testing shift had already delivered 20 motors, and had promised 18 more by 5 a. m. If one did one or two hours overtime, the proposed 80 would possibly materialize.

Pavlov was actually smiling when he led his shift to dinner." (J. Ilyin, from the book, "A Night in the Assemblage Department", written in the Stalingrad Works.)

Stalingrad, September 24. (Sent by cable.)

One hundred tractors were taken off the conveyor today in the Stalingrad Tractor Works.

(From the press, 25. 9. 1931.)

The Output of Tractors

	Stalingrad Tractor Works	Red Putilov Works
April	806	1,906
June	1,509	2,028
October	2,330	2,350
December	4,080	2,488

"The works that formerly employed 1,500 men stands now idle, no signs of life there, except firemen who march up and down. Six large buildings that two years ago were humming like a beehive, stand now empty, the machines that turned out 'clay tracks' have been carted away, nothing doing now. Our employer, Harry Harvester, has gone bankrupt, and is hopelessly struggling in the clutches of his creditors."

(From a letter signed by four American workers in Stockton, U.S.A., 1931.)

Stalingrad, December 28th (sent by cable).

Today, the Dzerzhinsky Works turned out 120 tractors. Similar cablegrams on December 30 and 31.

A new Claimant to the Championship.

The Kharkov Tractor Works, Set Going in October, Develops Its Tempo in Bolshevik Manner.

Output	
October	50 tractors
November	391 "
December	787 "

Latest data—yearly result—regarding the output of tractors by three Soviet Giant works:

	1930	1931
Red Putilov Works	12,095	21,128
Stalingrad Works	1,012	18,443
Kharkov	—	1,300
Total	13,107	40,871

The programme for 1932 is 82,000 tractors. This programme will be carried out, despite the probable annoyance of the gentlemen in "Vorwaerts" and other enemies of the international proletariat and its shock brigade—the Soviet Union.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Unemployed and Young Toiling Workers of the Whole World, Fight for Bread, Work and Freedom!

From the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

The toilers of the whole world are faced with unemployment, hunger and misery. Every day fresh factories are being closed, fresh tens of thousands are added to the 40-million army of the unemployed; among them are thousands of young workers. The apprentices are dismissed immediately before or soon after the termination of their apprenticeship. Hundreds of thousands of boys leaving the school do not get any work. Great masses of scholars and students are without a position after having concluded their studies.

In Germany, in Austria, England and other countries, the young unemployed are robbed of the last remnants of unemployment benefit. In most countries they do not get any benefit at all. Where benefit is still being paid out, it is intended to stop it altogether or to replace it by meagre relief in kind. The young unemployed are starving, but millions of centners of food are rotting in the storehouses or are thrown into the sea. It is intended to keep down the young unemployed by means of **compulsory labour**. The misery of the unemployed and working youth of the oppressed nations and colonies is indescribable. This campaign of starvation against the masses of unemployed is accompanied by an uninterrupted attack upon the wages of the masses of workers and youth still employed in production. Short-time work is increasing. **The international bourgeoisie is endeavouring to overcome the intensifying economic crisis at the cost of the millions of unemployed and miserably paid workers.**

War as the way out of the bourgeoisie from the crisis has commenced. On behalf of the imperialists and in agreement

with the League of Nations, Japan is conducting a war in Manchuria for the partition of China, which is at the same time a war of provocation against the Soviet Union and a war against the revolutionary China. Millions are spent on armaments whilst millions of unemployed are starving.

The leaders of the social democratic parties, trade unions and youth organisations are the most faithful supporters of this campaign of starvation and war on the part of the capitalists. The trade union leaders prevent every fight against wage cuts; the social-fascist Ministers are in favour of the cutting down of unemployment benefit. Hungry young unemployed and striking young workers are fired on. The "Left" social fascists attempt by means of radical gestures and oppositional phrases to cloak this starvation policy and also to prevent every struggle.

Only the Young Communist International and its sections have hitherto conducted the fight of the young unemployed. Young Communists and revolutionary trade unionists have organised the fight for the demands of the unemployed and the young workers. They have organised and conducted hundreds of young workers strikes, hunger marches of young unemployed, demonstrations and congresses, numerous struggles against compulsory labour and forced labour.

Young unemployed, young workers! Under the leadership of the Young Communist Leagues, convert this hunger-winter, into a winter of fight for work and bread, fight with us young Communists in every country for our demands to provide you with work and bread, for our emancipation programme.

For this fight for work and bread it is necessary to set up the united front of the young unemployed and young workers. In every factory you must set up fighting committees and fighting programmes, including the young unemployed and their demands. Prepare in every factory the strike for this demand under the leadership of the fighting committee. **Organise the political mass strike, the sharpest weapon against the predatory imperialists. Young unemployed, take part in the strike preparations, become red strike pickets. Set up young unemployed committees in every locality and at every Labour Exchange. Put forward your own demands! Young workers in the factories, send your representatives into the young unemployed committees for the common struggle.**

Young unemployed, young workers! demonstrate, hold mass meetings, organise demonstration strikes, strikes at Labour Exchanges and hunger marches. Send deputations with your demands into the Parliaments. Support these deputations by mass meetings and demonstrations. Send your representatives from the factories, the Labour Exchanges and the rural districts to large unity conferences, and resolve there upon measures for the common struggle of the unemployed and the toiling youth in town and country. Set up defence organisations in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges against the fascist terror. Social democratic, christian and fascist youth, fight with us! The fight for work and bread is your fight. Send your representatives into the fighting committees of the unemployed and workers, to the unity congresses. Organise yourselves. Join the youth sections of the red trade unions and of the red trade union opposition. Join the Young Communist League!

Only when you have achieved your freedom, only then you will have bread and work. Only in one country in the world, in the Soviet Union, where the toilers have won freedom, has unemployment been liquidated.

The fighting call of the young unemployed and of the toiling youth of the whole world must be: We are for the Soviet Union! We defend it and we fight against any war provocation and imperialist attack. We also want to overthrow capitalism, we also want to establish such a Soviet Union!

The events in Germany, Poland, and China show the approach of the revolution in these countries. The toilers and the youth must accelerate this decisive struggle by their fight for work, bread and freedom. Revolutionary youth in all countries, support by your fight the revolution in these countries and prepare for the overthrow of capitalism in your countries.

Young unemployed, young workers in town and country, social democratic, fascist and christian young workers of the whole world, by your struggle convert this hunger-winter into a winter of struggle of the great united front of all exploited and oppressed youth of the whole world for work, bread and freedom. Fight under the leadership of the Y.C.I. and its Sections for the overthrow of the decaying, capitalist system.

**Executive Committee
of the Young Communist International.**

FOR LENINISM

Bolshevism in the International Arena up to the World War.

By N. P o p o v.

I.

"Bolshevism has existed as a political tendency and as a political party since 1903." (Lenin: "Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder.")

"The rise of Communism", writes Lenin elsewhere, "is inseparably bound up with the fight of so-called Economism (Opportunism, which denies the political struggle of the working class and its leading role) against the revolutionary social democracy in the years 1897 to 1902. Economism, which was supported by the Bund, was overcome and pushed aside by the campaign of the old "Iskra" (Munich, London and Geneva in the years 1900 to 1903), which restored the principles of the social democratic party (founded in the year 1898 and then broken up as a result of arrests) on the basis of Marxism and revolutionary social democracy. At the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (August 1903) the followers of the Iskra split: the majority kept to the principles and the tactics of the old "Iskra", whilst the minority went over to opportunism and received the support of the former enemies of the "Iskra", the Economists and the Bundites." (Vol. XII. 1st Russian edition, page 476.)

Thus Lenin connected the organisational crystallization of Bolshevism at the Second Party Congress with the defence of the principles and tactics of the old "Iskra". On all questions of the struggle of the working class, not only in Russia but also in the international arena, the old "Iskra" always adopted a consistent Marxist standpoint. After this can one maintain that Bolshevism entered the international arena only in the first years of the world war, but up to then was obviously a national-Russian phenomenon, an offspring of Russian backwardness? Can anyone maintain this without flying in the face of the generally known historical facts?

"Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution." (Stalin.)

In the period of the old "Iskra", Europe already entered on the imperialist phase of the development of capitalism, the epoch of imperialist colonial wars for the distribution and redistribution of the world*). In Russia the first revolution was approaching, which according to its social character was a bourgeois-democratic revolution, but, with the prospects of its developing into the socialist revolution, **was right from the beginning, according to its methods and forms, a proletarian revolution.** And already in "What is to be done?", the book which was rightly regarded as a sort of "Evangel" of the "Iskra" supporters and later as an "Evangel" of Bolshevism, we come across the fundamental formulation of the fight against opportunism on an international scale from positions which differ in principle from the positions of the II. International.

The theoreticians of the II. International preached collaboration with the opportunists (only Plechanov and Rosa Luxemburg, on occasion, and in words, were in favour of separation from the opportunists). In actual fact, opportunism prevailed in the whole practice of the II. International, in spite of all its bandying about with revolutionary phrases.

"It must not be forgotten that between Marx and Engels on the one side and Lenin on the other, there lies a stage of the unrestricted domination of the opportunism of the II. International, the ruthless fight against which had to be one of the most important tasks of Leninism." (Stalin: "Problems of Leninism".)

In contradistinction to the leaders of the II. International, Lenin, in "What is to be done", emphasised that the opportunist

* "In the last 10 to 15 years, especially after the Spanish-American war (1898) and the English Boer war (1899 to 1900), the economic and political literature of the old and new tendency more and more frequently makes use of the term Imperialism as characterising the present epoch." (Lenin Vol. XIII. 1st edition, page 245.)

ist tendency, **was transmitted from bourgeois literature into socialist literature."**

Lenin wrote in "What is to be done", having in mind opportunism on an international scale, that.

"Freedom of criticism is the freedom of the opportunist tendency in the social democracy, freedom to convert the social democracy into a democratic reform party, **freedom to smuggle bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into socialism**". (My emphasis. N.P.) And Lenin already at that time pronounced most emphatically against such "freedom".

"We are marching as a small group, holding each other firmly by the hand, along steep and precipitous paths. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies and must march nearly always under their fire. We have united in accordance with a freely adopted decision, namely, to fight against the enemy and not to land in the neighbouring swamp, the inhabitants of which have calumniated us right from the first because we have united in a special group and have chosen the way of struggle instead of the way of conciliation. And now look: many of us are beginning to cry: come into the swamp! If one teaches them better they reply: What backward people you are! You are not ashamed to deny us the freedom to call you to a better way!—Oh yes, gentlemen, you have the freedom to go wherever you want to, even into the swamp; in fact we find that the proper place for you is in the swamp. We are even prepared to help you to settle in it. But let go our hands. Don't cling to us and do not sully the great word 'freedom', for we are likewise free to go where we want to go; free not to go into the swamp but to fight against those who return to the swamp!" (Volume IV second edition, pages 368,369.)

Here we have the **comprehensive formulation of the fight and the separation not only from opportunism, but also from the conciliators on an international scale.**

Bolshevism entered the international arena as consistent revolutionary Marxism of the incipient revolutionary epoch not in the years of the imperialist war but right from its inception.

It was precisely because the consistent-Marxist revolutionary views of the Bolsheviki were contrary to the views prevailing in the II. International, that Bolshevism, in the first years of its existence, was completely isolated in the international arena. The period of the eve of the first Russian revolution, when even the Left forces of the II. International, Rosa Luxemburg and Parvus, to say nothing of Kautsky and Plechanov, supported Menshevism against Bolshevism, is particularly characteristic in this respect.

Only the energetic struggle of the Bolsheviki in the international arena, the reinforced propaganda of their revolutionary views on an international scale, the extraordinary international importance of the first Russian revolution, in which the Bolsheviki succeeded in drawing the decisive proletarian masses over to the side of their revolutionary tactics, and finally, the experiences of the intensified class struggles in the European countries resulted in an end being put to the complete isolation of the Bolsheviki in the ranks of the II. International. As a result of the direct influence of the Russian revolution and the revolutionary tactics of the Bolsheviki, a Left wing began to be formed in the ranks of the II. International, which with all its half-heartedness and all its inconsistency, nevertheless before the war conducted a certain fight not only against opportunism but also against centrism.

This influence most greatly affected the Polish social democracy and the German Lefts.

II.

In going through the works of Lenin written between the first revolution and the world war, what particularly strikes one is that in these works there already exist **all the elements of the thorough analysis of imperialism** which was given by Lenin in the years of the war. Lenin pointed to the **growing role of the trusts and other monopolist institutions which continue the concentration of capital, the impoverishment of the masses, the sharpening of the class struggles, the ever-extended policy of colonial wars and annexations on the part of the imperialist States, including Tsarist Russia, the formation of the united front of the reactionary bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletariat in all capitalist countries.**

It is particularly interesting to note that already in this period, Lenin (contrary to all Centrists and Lefts who wrote about imperialism, contrary to Hilferding and Rosa Luxem-

burg), described imperialist capitalism as **decadent capitalism**. In this connection the article: "**Civilised Barbarism**" which was written by Lenin and published in the "**Truth of Labour**" of September 17, 1913, deserves special attention.

"Wherever one may go, at every step one comes across tasks which humanity could solve immediately. But capitalism hampers everything. It has piled up heaps of riches and made men the slaves of these riches. It has solved the most complicated tasks of technique and prevented the introduction of technical improvements owing to the poverty and ignorance of the population, owing to the callous avariciousness of a handful of millionaires. Civilisation, freedom and wealth under capitalism remind one of an overfed rich man who is rotting while he is still alive, and will not allow anything young to live." (Volume XVI, second edition, pages 622/623).

In the years between the first revolution and the war, Bolshevism severed all formal connections with opportunism (liquidators) and centrism (Trotzky), with concealed liquidationism, finally consolidated its independent existence (at the Prague Conference) and succeeded in exposing the liquidators as liberal labour politicians and isolating them from the mass of the proletariat.

In these years Bolshevism conducted a systematic fight against opportunism and centrism also in the international arena, by doing everything that lay in its power in order to stir up the revolutionary elements which were capable of a decisive struggle and separation from opportunism. In the countries in which splits took place in the parties in this period (Holland, Italy), Lenin wholly and entirely supported the policy of the revolutionary elements of these countries which carried out the split.

Long before the war Lenin exposed all the elements of the conversion of pre-war opportunism into social chauvinism. In the article devoted to the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, he wrote:

"This vote on the colonial question (at which nearly half of the Congress and the majority of the German delegation declared in favour of colonial policy N.P.) is of extraordinary importance. Firstly, it most strikingly exposes in this connection the socialist opportunism which yields to bourgeois seduction. Secondly, there is revealed here one of the negative aspects of the European labour movement, which might do no little harm to the proletariat, and therefore deserves serious attention.

Marx has on many occasions referred to a saying of Sisondi which is of great importance. The proletarians of the antique world, so runs the saying, lived at the cost of society. Modern society lives at the cost of the proletariat. A propertyless, but non-toiling class, however, is incapable of overthrowing the exploiters.

Only the proletarian class, which maintains the whole society, possesses the power to accomplish the social revolution. But the extended colonial policy resulted in the proletariat being **partially** (Lenin's emphasis, N.P.) placed in such a situation that not only his work maintains the whole of society but also work of the almost enslaved peoples of the colonies...

Under such conditions, there is created in certain countries the material economic basis for infecting the proletariat of one or another country with colonial chauvinism." (Volume XII, second edition, page 79.)

Thus already in the year 1907, Lenin exposed the mechanism of that support of the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie by the labour aristocracy and the apparatus of the social democratic party and the trade unions, which has become strikingly evident since the first days of the world war.

At the Stuttgart Congress, as well as at the subsequent Copenhagen Congress (1910), Bolshevism, as is known, endeavoured to unite the Left elements on an international scale.

In the article "**Marxism and Revisionism**" (in the volume "**The Teachings of Marx**" which was published in 1908 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Marx' death) Lenin once again characterised revisionism on an international scale as a closed system of liberal bourgeois views, and brought the approaching period of sharpening class struggles and revolutions immediately into connection with the perspective of the inevitable splitting off of the revolutionary Marxists from the revisionists.

"That which we experience at present often as ideological points of dispute over the revision of the theories of Marx.

that which at present is expressed in practice only in regard to individual questions of the labour movement as tactical differences of opinion with the revisionists, and the splits on this basis—all this the working class will undoubtedly have to go through on an incomparably larger scale when the proletarian revolution accentuates all disputed questions, when all differences are concentrated upon those points which have immediate importance in determining the attitude of the masses and compels them, in the fire of the struggle, to distinguish friend from foe, to drive away the bad allies in order to be able to deal decisive blows to the enemy.

The intellectual fight of Marxism against revisionism at the end of the 19th century is only the prelude to great revolutionary battles of the proletariat, which in spite of all the vacillations and weaknesses of the petty bourgeoisie, is advancing to the complete victory of its class." (Volume XVI, second edition, page 183.)

In his articles on the Stuttgart Congress, Lenin fought not only against open opportunism but also against centrism, especially the centrists of the German social democracy. He described the substantiation of Bebel's resolution on the fight against militarism as one-sidedly dogmatic, dead, because it allowed the ideology of Vollmar (open revisionist, N.P.) to percolate through.

Lenin sharply criticised the attitude of Bebel at the Essen Party Congress of the German social democracy in the year 1907, where Bebel, together with the future murderer of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Gustav Noske, defended the idea of the social democracy supporting a war of defence. Lenin emphatically opposed the official view of the German centrists that the police conditions in Germany allegedly prevented the Party from waging a fight against militarism.

"Jaurès' remark, that the German social democracy, which in its early days, in the years of the exceptional laws against the socialists, was able to withstand the iron fist of Bismarck and has now become incomparably bigger and stronger, has no cause to fear persecution on the part of the present government, is quite to the point." (Volume XII, second edition, page 317.)

In his article: "**The Case of the King of Portugal**" (1908), Lenin stigmatised Vandervelde, who declared in a tortuous phrase "that he honoured all dead", i. e. the king as well as his murderers, and in this connection Lenin pointed to the extraordinarily important fact that:

"The Republican tradition has become very weak among the socialists of Europe. This is understandable and can to some extent be justified insofar as the approach of the socialist revolution deprives the fight for the bourgeois Republic of its practical importance. But not infrequently the weakening of the Republican propaganda does not mean an actual striving for the complete victory of the proletariat, but a feeble recognition of the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat in general." (Volume XII, second edition, page 151.)

At the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau in November 1908, Lenin, on the question of the acceptance of the English Independent Labour Party into the International, directly opposed Kautsky and insisted that the Bureau should state in its resolution that this Party is not completely independent of the Liberals and does not conduct a completely independent policy. (Vol. XII, page 347.) Finally, Lenin wrote on the occasion of the Copenhagen Congress and the attitude of the leaders of the German delegation there:

"In general the Germans are incapable at international Congresses of carrying out a line consistent, in principle. Wurm's (a centrist) impotency in face of Elm (a revisionist) only illustrates once again that crisis in the German social democracy which consists in the approaching inevitable, decisive conflict with the opportunists." (Vol. XI, Part 2, 1st edition, page 105.)

One could quote dozens of similar examples from any volume of Lenin's works written in this period. We do not mention those polemics which Lenin conducted against Kautsky on the Russian question, when Kautsky supported the Trotzkyist liquidatory August bloc, and went so far as to assert that the Russian Party was dead.

III.

But the article written by Lenin immediately on the eve of the world war entitled: "**What must not be imitated in**

the German labour movement" deserves special interest. The article was written on the occasion of the journey of Karl Legien, the leader of the German social democratic trade unions, to America and on the occasion of the publication of his book describing this journey, in which Legien makes fun of the "editors" who had blamed him because, in his speech at a meeting of the American Senate, he said not a word about Socialism. Lenin wrote:

"Just think, this pseudo-socialist laughed that a socialist could get the idea that it is necessary to speak against capitalism. Such an idea is utterly alien to the statesman of German opportunism. They speak in such a way that will not render them disagreeable to capitalism. And they who dishonour Socialism by this lackey denial boast of their shame."

The affair with Legien offered Lenin the opportunity to generalise conclusions in regard to the German social democracy as a whole, as well as in regard to its centrist leaders.

"Legien—he is not just an ordinary rank and filer, he is the representative of the army, or more correctly said, of the officers corps of the army of the trade unions. His speech is in no way a chance utterance, in no way a slip, in no way a mistake on the part of the provincial German official who is embarrassed by the amiable American capitalists who are not infected with police arrogance. If that were the case it would not be worth while wasting any words on Legien's speech.

But that is obviously not the case. At the International Congress in Stuttgart, half of the German delegation proved to be also such miserable socialists and voted for the arch-opportunist resolution on the colonial question.

Take the German periodical "Sozialistische Monatshefte" and you will constantly come across contributions by such politicians as Legien, whose attitude to all the most important questions as the Labour movement is out and out opportunist and has nothing in common with Socialism.

And if the "official" explanation of the official German Party is that nobody reads the "Sozialistische Monatshefte", that it has no influence whatever, that is not true. The Stuttgart case has shown that it is not true. The most prominent and responsible politicians of the Parliamentary fraction, the leaders of the trade union Federations who write in the "Monatshefte", uninterruptedly and without hesitation, permeate the masses with their views.

The "State optimism" of the German party was long characterised in its own camp by people who have merited from Legien the (from the standpoint of a bourgeois) contemptible and (from the standpoint of a socialist) honourable nickname, "these editors". And the more often the attempt is made in Russia by the Liberals and liquidators (of course including Trotzky) to transmit this amiable quality to our country, the more determinedly it must be opposed by us." (Volume XII., first edition, page 424.)

In actual fact, **Trotzky, together with all other Mensheviks**, attempted in the course of many years to inculcate into the workers of Russia veneration for the social democratic parties of the II. International, and especially for the German centrists. And on this line Trotzky conducted an unheard-of fight against Lenin. Basing himself on the authority of Kautsky, Trotzky proposed the Russian workers to exchange the old revolutionary slogans of 1905 for the slogan: "freedom of combination" under the conditions of the Stolypin era. Now, however, the Trotzkyist smugglers have the cheek to assert that Lenin, in the pre-war years, did not fight against opportunism and against centrism.

Thanks to the rotten liberalism of some historians, thanks to the extraordinary carelessness of these same historians with regard to selections from Lenin's works on international questions, the Trotzkyist thesis that Bolshevism entered the international arena only in the years of the war, has right up to recently been able to make its appearance frequently in the pages of our books and periodicals.

This thesis put forward by the "school" of Trotzkyist smugglers has nothing in common with an in any way objective history of Bolshevism.

Bolshevism entered the international arena right from the first moment of its birth.

In its whole history, in its whole activity, not only in Russia but also in the international arena, in the course of many years, under the leadership of Lenin, Bolshevism, as consistent revolutionary Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, was prepared, from the first days of the imperialist world to occupy a correct position, determined to break with the II. International which had gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governments and to take the initiative for the organisation of the Communist International.

And the whole history of the Comintern is the history of the Bolshevisation of its sections, of the organic appropriation of the programmatic-tactical and organisational principles of Leninism by the latter, both in the experiences of their own struggles as well as in the experiences of the international labour movement as a whole, in the first place however of the movement in that country where, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, the proletariat has had power in its hands for fourteen years and is successfully building up the socialist society.

THE NEGRO MOVEMENT.

Dingaan's Day in Cape Town.

By Molly Wolton.

Dingaan's Day, December 16, the anniversary of the day when, in 1838, the Zulus in Natal and Zululand, after a courageous and desperate resistance, were defeated by the combined forces of the Dutch and British, has in the last few years been observed by the Negro workers of South Africa, under the leadership of the Communist Party, as an anti-imperialist national liberation day, a day of mass demonstrations and strikes against Dutch and British oppression and tyranny.

The preparations by the Party for Dingaan's day 1931 were closely linked up with the development of mass work around the factories, docks, among the agricultural workers and share croppers in the Cape.

In contradistinction to former years when Dingaan's Day was made an isolated event of burning passes, this year the Party here in the Cape carried out systematic work among the Dock workers, linking up the Dingaan's Day Campaign with the grievances existing among the Dock workers, such as short time, bribery and corruption in securing jobs, favouritism, rationalisation measures resulting in more unemployment and greater intensification of labour etc. In the Tobacco and Clothing Industries (where we have red Unions), Dingaan's Day was placed as a day of struggle which these workers have to support if they want to improve their standard of living. In the Government Railway Shops, where the workers are working short time, and where the previous privileges which they enjoyed, such as travelling facilities, are being taken away from them, this was pointed out to be part and parcel of the ruling class policy to shift the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers, black and white, in the above works where the bulk of the workers are Europeans (all the skilled workers) and where the Government's policy of displacing native labour by poor white at a slightly higher rate is causing great dissatisfaction among the native workers. There we pointed out that only by a policy of militant action on the part of Black and White could they stop the worsening of their conditions, also that the white workers have to support the struggle for National Independence of the native masses. Already now they must begin to dissociate themselves from the Imperialist policy of the Rulers. In the native locations around Cape Town, where the Municipality is harrasing and persecuting the residents, imposing high rents and imprisoning the people for non-payment of same, also forcibly ejecting residents from one location to another where rents and train fares are twice as high, the C.P. carried on an agitation round these demands for non-payment of rent and taxes, for right of residence etc., thus linking up the daily struggles of the masses with our higher political aims.

The C.P. also carried on an agitation for non-contributory social insurance for the unemployed with a definite appeal to them, not to pay rents and taxes.

Definite successes were recorded this year. We had mass meetings and demonstrations in the locations around **Cape Town**, a tremendous mass rally in Cape town, the biggest since the Seamen's strike of 1925, composed of black and white workers (predominantly black), Native and European speakers putting forward the policy of our Party, a procession through the streets with banners, and slogans carried by white and Black and a further mass meeting on the Parade. During the whole of this campaign we had to carry on a relentless struggle against the national reformist Prof. Thaele, exposing his counter-revolutionary role and showing the masses that only the C.P. and the Red Unions can lead the masses in their struggles against Imperialism.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed in the factories, also about 3,000 leaflets were sent to such places as Middleburg, Cradock, Port Elizabeth, Worcester etc., urging them to protest in mass demonstrations and strikes against oppression.

During the whole campaign we popularised the successes of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the improved conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union.

Although many weaknesses were present in our campaign, we can definitely say that it was a turn along the lines of Bolshevik mass work. All prerequisites exist in the Cape Province to build up a strong Party, the A.F.T.U. (African Federation of Trade Unions) and the other mass organisations. Only by consistently carrying out the line of the Communist, and by a relentless fight against remnants of Buntingism, white chauvinism and opportunism can we achieve these tasks.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

Economic Crisis in Canada Deepens.

By Sam Carr (Toronto).

Canada entered the new year with a record of decline in every important section of national economy. Life has exposed the "prosperity around the corner" economists. The promises of the conservative government under the leadership of R. B. Bennett, to restore the pre-crisis conditions went down the way of all election promises.

Some recently published statistics show the trend of Canadian economy during the year 1931. In spite of prohibitive tariffs and the infamous anti-soviet embargo, industrial output of Canadian factories further decreased by 17%. The General price level, which fell during 1930 18% below that of 1929, further declined 12% during 1931.

Figures on the operations of some important branches of Canada's industry during the last year, clearly show the steadily deepening crisis. Car-loading for the 52 weeks of 1931 amounted to 2,570,520 cars which was a decrease of 575,727 cars from the 1930 total and of 1,124,895 cars from the 1928 figures. The most important Canadian industries are responsible for the greatest proportion of this decline in car-loadings. So we find that the greatest rate of decrease was in the mining and pulpwood industries, the first one showing a 44% and the second a 43% decline in shipments. The total receipts of the Canadian Pacific Railways for the year 1931 declined by 20.9% as compared with the preceding year.

The **automobile industry**, one of the most important in the country, suffered heavily. During the first 11 months of 1931 the production of passenger autos and trucks declined 45%, throwing thousands of automobile workers into the army of unemployed and resulting in a general forcing down of the standard of living of the automobile workers of Canada.

The **Newsprint industry** of Canada, the greatest export industry of this country, went down together with all others. In the course of the first 11 months of 1931 — 2,033,121 tons of newsprint was produced as compared with 2,319,368 tons during the corresponding period in 1930. Operations have averaged 58% of the rated capacity of the mills against 70% in 1930.

The **building industry** is showing a tremendous decline, resulting in mass unemployment among building trades workers. The total of construction contracts for all Canada in the last month of 1931 was 11,257,300 dollars, the smallest monthly record in the past decade.

The figures of car-loading already given above indicate the situation in the **mining industry** of Canada. With the

exception of a certain increase in gold-production, all other fields of mining show a continuous decline. Whilst the statistics for all available countries show a decline of 13% in coal production, Canada takes the lead with a 20% decline in coal output. The output of nickel (of which Canada is the major source in the world) declined by over one third of the 1930 total. The copper output went down by 4% and the output of zinc by 12%. The asbestos mine also suffered a decline in production of more than 33%.

In volume, **imports** during the last year fell by about 25% and **exports** by nearly 20%. Here the policy of the conservative government for higher tariffs resulted in a worsening of the position of Canada on the world market instead of being the avenue for bringing back "prosperity". During 1931, thirty different nations hit back at Canada—retaliating the policy of high tariffs. In some cases it went to a ridiculous extreme. So we see that Greece for example increased tariffs on Canadian products more than ten times the old rate. The tariff rate on a bushel of Canadian wheat was brought up to \$6.90 cents whilst the price on the Canadian market was below 50 cents per bushel.

The plight of the **farmers** during the past year increased greatly. Whilst various factors of the world situation made possible a slight increase in the wheat exports—the financial returns from all grains and their products were about \$80,000,000 less than during the corresponding period of 1930.

Unemployment—part time work and wholesale wage cuts, reduced immensely the standard of living of the Canadian workers. To make the situation much worse the taxation system places a 30% heavier burden on the population this year as compared with the preceding years. Municipal taxes are steadily increasing—resulting in the wholesale auctioning of workers homes, for non-payment of taxes.

As a result of the economic situation in the country—the growth of political reaction (vicious attacks against revolutionary movement, outlawing of C.P. etc.) and the obvious impotence of the government of Mr. Bennett to cope with the worsening situation, greater sections of the population lose the confidence in the present economic system.

Everything is done to dispel the danger that the lack of faith in the system of capitalism brings. "Sunshine columns" in leading capitalist newspapers, which elevate the sale of a few thousand dresses, the export of more turkeys, or the employment of a few more workers in a cigar factory, to signs of general economic revival. The Prime Minister works overtime on pronouncing the coming prosperity whilst the only accompaniment he receives is the further closing of important shops, decreasing employment, bankruptcy of hundreds of municipalities and the prospective liquidation of the Trans Canada Highway project, meaning that 18,000 workers will swell further the rapidly growing army of unemployed and destitute.

The leading financiers of the country feel that something drastic must be done to maintain the faith in capitalism. So we have Sir John Aird, President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, making speeches about the benefits of the capitalist system, defending it by boasting that it goes hand in hand with democracy (?) and taking for it the credit of all progress humanity made during the last century.

That the leaders of the Canadian financial and economic system can no longer afford to limit themselves to empty phrases about coming prosperity is indicated by a recent speech of Sir Herbert Holt, President of one of the richest banks in the world, the Royal Bank of Canada and himself the richest capitalist in the country. He declared:

"The enemies of the capitalist system may rejoice at the impending destruction of the system, but that is no reason why believers in the present order of society should make things deliberately worse by exaggerating the extent to which dislocation and destruction have gone.

The general framework is no longer intact, as it was two years ago and it is urgently desirable that conditions should improve. There are evidences of decay, but they are not yet so serious as to warrant the conclusion that nothing can be done."

The above statement needs no comment. The crisis is deepening. The dissatisfaction of the masses rapidly increases. The **Communist Party** will not only resist all attacks upon its very existence, but it will reorganise rapidly under the new conditions of illegal existence and lead the Canadian workers in the struggle against the system of starvation, exploitation and destruction.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Conditions of Women's Labour in the Capitalist Countries.

By M. Bulle.

Woman labour conditions in the capitalist industry were always excessively hard. In recent years, in connection with the world economic crisis, the labour conditions of the entire working class, and especially those of women workers, worsened considerably.

In the capitalist countries, a longer working day is being introduced, as a measure of capitalist rationalisation. For instance, in Germany, the average length of the working week in the textile industry is 51-54 hours, and frequently even 60 hours. With the tacit consent of the Social-Democratic trade unions, the 44 hour week for women, which exists in Austria, is not applied in practice. In France, at the first national women's conference of the Red Trade Unions, November 1931, among the main demands there was the demand of struggle "for strict application of the 8-hour day, and for the 7-hour day without wage cuts". In Italy, Roumania, Poland, and Yugoslavia, the women workers' working day lasts 10 to 12 hours. In the United States, women workers in the textile industry have an 11-hour day in some states. In China, the working day is being systematically lengthened.

	1928	1930
Thus, the working day in British enterprises:	11 hrs.	12 hrs.
Japanese	12 "	13-14 "
Chinese	13 "	14-16 "

In Japan, despite the existence of the 10-hour day law, women workers are kept 11 to 13 hours at work, and in a number of small enterprises, even 15 to 16 hours. In India, there is an 11-hour day law with a dinner interval, but women workers are kept 11 to 13 hours at work without an interval, even on underground work. Strenuous work with a long working day, absence or nonobservance of laws for the protection of woman labour and motherhood and childhood, excessive rationalisation, growing intensification of labour, the premium system, accompanied by increased speeding and, frequently, absence of even the most primitive measures for the safety of the workers, result in premature exhaustion of women workers, in mass sickness, nervous breakdown and an enormous growth of accidents.

Labour power is exploited now as never before. Capitalist rationalisation is carried through, mainly, not by means of improved machinery, but by means of an incredible intensification of individual labour power, men and women alike. In France, conditions of labour are so exhausting, that in a series of industries—metal, chemical, artificial silk—women workers lose their labour capacity after two to three years, and become invalids. At the Plenum of the women workers trade union committee of the C.G.T.U., December 1931, the woman delegate of the French Red Trade Unions made the following statement:

"In the textile industry, there is total absence of even minimum measures for the protection of labour. In the spinning mills, woman workers work almost naked, in stuffy rooms, frequently unbearably hot. The work is done in an atmosphere saturated with dust—this is the cause of many serious complaints. Women spinners are all inclined to tuberculosis. These complaints frequently result in death."

In Poland, the introduction of capitalist rationalisation brought in its wake an increased number of accidents among women workers. According to the statistics of medical specialists, the intensification of labour has greatly increased the number of abortions and premature births. In Lodz, in the beginning of 1931, first aid was requisitioned 125 times a day for women who had fainted from exhaustion.

In Great Britain, in the artificial silk factories, where the temperature has to be very high, women workers frequently faint from the heat. In the new rationalised British factories, speeding-up is the order of the day. During

the whole shift, the woman worker cannot for a minute leave her work. In the old enterprises there is no ventilation whatever—women workers inhale dusty, stuffy air. Tuberculosis is usual among the women workers of these enterprises. In Yugoslavia and Roumania, women workers carry extremely heavy loads in the building industry and underground work. Woman labour is applied for handling quick silver and lead. The number of abortions and prolonged sickness among women workers has considerably increased. In Italy, in the match factories and glass works, after two to three years work, women workers' health is completely undermined.

In Germany, all machines work at a maximum rate in the rationalised enterprises. The conveyor system does not give women workers a chance to rest for a minute. The employers keep a large staff of controllers-calculators who decide on the new minimum time for the production of this or that detail. When women workers cannot do the work given them in the fixed time, they must work longer without additional pay. We see a similar picture also in the other capitalist countries.

In the East, the conditions of woman labour are even more appalling. The brutal exploitation of woman labour has assumed monstrous dimensions. Even bourgeois public men have to admit this. For instance, in the article by Das on woman labour in India, published in the "Revue de Travail", October 1931, we read the following statement:

"The conditions of woman labour are very hard. Many small factories are badly built and not adapted to the climate of India. Lighting and ventilation are bad, there is great congestion and not enough protection from steam gas. The enterprises for the cleansing of cotton and rice, and for the manipulation of tea are extremely unhealthy owing to dust. In Summer, the temperature inside is much higher than outside, and the moisture required for some operations is very harmful to the women workers. The latrines are far from ideal, and there are no separate ones for women. There is not enough drinking water during the summer season. Women have no possibility to wash themselves, neither are there separate rooms for eating and resting..."

About conditions of woman labour in China we read in a press correspondence of September, 1931:

"Step by step the capitalists attack the standard of living of the workers, the working day is gradually lengthened, women workers are maltreated, insulted and dismissed. Their position is truly appalling... In the summer months, when the heat is stifling, it is not allowed to open the windows in the silk spinning mills, though the premises are full of hot steam. Foremen and overseers walk among the workers with whips and 'use the whips on the backs of those who are not quick enough at their work.'"

Analogous conditions of labour for industrial women workers exist in Japan, Korea, Indo-China, Indonesia and a number of other Eastern countries.

Alongside of this, open buying and selling of women into slavery still exist in a whole series of countries. In the North of China, for instance, there are, according to the Chinese press, slave markets where in times of bad harvest and elemental calamities, an enormous number of women, chiefly peasant women, are sold into slavery. They are bought by agents sent by manufacturers for exploitation in the factories and workshops. They are also bought for domestic service in well-to-do families, for brothels, etc. In 1930, according to the Chinese press, Generals Fen-Yu-siang and Yian-Si-shang levied a tax for every woman sold into slavery, made hundreds of thousands of dollars out of this slave traffic!

There is information about women sold into slavery from South America, Guatemala and Afghanistan. The baseness and infamy of capitalists, on the hunt for larger profits, truly knows no limit!

Only in the Soviet Union labour conditions improve from year to year. Mastery over technique, scientific organisation of labour, mechanisation—everything is done to ease the hard physical labour of men and women workers. In the country of successful construction of socialism, the difference between mental and physical labour is gradually disappearing.