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## The Schleicher Government in Germany.

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

The new Government in Germany has been formed. Its Chancellor is General von Schleicher, who at the same time occupies the post of Reichswehr Minister and Reichs Commissioner for Prussia. The Minister for the Interior is Herr Bracht, who up to now was Prussian State Commissioner. The Minister for Labour is the reactionary Syrup, whilst the rest of the Ministers, apart from the newly appointed Commissioner for Provision of Work, Gereke, have been taken over from the Papen Cabinet.

The growing proletarian mass movement and the increased differences within the bourgeoisie resulting therefrom brought about the overthrow of the Papen Government. Owing to the fear of the bourgeoisie as to what the reply of the masses would be and owing also to the differences in the bourgeois camp, it has not for the time being come to the formation of a government with Hitler as Chancellor. General Schleicher is to carry on the further development of fascism by coercive measures and "social" gestures, at least over the Winter.

Behind Schleicher there stands big industry. The "Tägliche Rundschau", which is closely connected with Schleicher, quite openly admits:

„how much the chairman of the Federation of German Industries, Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach, had

endeavoured to bring about the formation of the Schleicher Cabinet and even brought influence to bear in this respect on the national socialist party. It looks as if a number of leaders of heavy industry, shipping etc. insisted on a candidature of Schleicher."

The Schleicher Government represents a new intensified stage of the fascist regime. The circles connected with General von Schleicher have far-reaching intentions. They aim at linking closely together the national socialist movement and the reformist trade unions and converting them into a firm and direct basis for the rule of capital and its fascist dictatorship. Schleicher has been working in this direction for years, and is now endeavouring to strengthen the connections with the A.D.G.B. (and the Reichsbanner) and also the connections with the national socialist party, at the same time favouring the Strasser wing with a view to isolating Hitler and eventually splitting the national socialist party.

Big industry, in the first place the Krupp group, has set the Schleicher Government a definite task:

"The purpose of the Schleicher Cabinet", declares the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of December 5, "is to secure for German politics a breathing space of 12 weeks, during which negotiations can be conducted between the holders

of power and Hitler . . . The new government will place this chief aim in the foreground and, while holding firmly to the great achievements of the Papen era, economic revival and Prussian counter-revolution, must make concessions in all minor spheres to meet the need of the people, economy and parties for peace."

The Schleicher Cabinet is thus to be followed by a government which shall include the national socialists.

The Schleicher dictatorship is to **continue the Papen policy in a more ruthless form**, but supported more directly and strongly by the bourgeois parties with a mass following: by the social democracy, by the Centre and by the national socialists.

Schleicher has been called into office in order to ban the terrible spectre of the coming **Winter**, which looms up like a nightmare before the bourgeoisie, by means of the sabre and "social" manoeuvres. The bourgeois press, including the social democratic "Vorwärts", is accordingly attempting to mask the government of General Schleicher (who in 1918 recommended Noske "to put up against the wall" anybody found with weapons in hand) and to represent it as being a "government of truce", a "government of social understanding", of "social and national concentration".

The wage reductions which Krupp and Co. have now newly introduced, are to be carried out less by means of the Papen Emergency Decrees, and mainly by means of arbitration awards, voluntary agreements with the reformist trade union bureaucracy, reduction of working hours without wage compensations, and similar methods. The cutting down of the social services is to take place somewhat according to the plan of Herr Gereke under the cloak of "providing work". The alteration of the Constitution and the reform of the Reich begun by von Papen are to be handled cautiously for the time being, according to the methods divulged by the "Kölnische Zeitung" of December 3rd:

"It is no longer a secret that the Reichswehr Minister does not consider the speeches of von Papen and von Gayl regarding the plans for reform as very useful, this not because he is of a fundamentally different opinion, but because he holds the view that one should not talk so much about necessary reforms but rather actually carry them out."

The workers are to be held down, strikes combated and the revolutionary labour movement and the Communist Party persecuted by means of the most drastic measures. On the day after the formation of the Schleicher Government, the Party Conference of the Communist Party in Bavaria was dissolved by the police who entered the meeting hall with drawn revolvers, because, it was alleged that the Communist Party, under the decisions of the XII. Plenum of

the E.C.C.I., was carrying on high treason. The monstrous hard-labour sentences will continue to be pronounced, and eventually a sham partial "amnesty" will be issued in order to divert the indignation of the masses from the Schleicher Government. In the sphere of **foreign policy** the new government will attempt, with the aid of the relations of the German heavy industry with the French heavy industry, to lessen Germany's isolation, and with an increasing Western orientation to continue the imperialist armament policy.

The Schleicher Government is supported at the present time most openly by the Centre Party and the Christian trade unions. The **German nationalist party** also supports the Schleicher Government.

The **national socialist party** is pretending to oppose the government in order to retain hold of its working class followers and to realise the chancellorship of Hitler. (The industrialists take care, that this "opposition" remains loyal and that in practice the national socialists support the government.)

The **social democracy**, under the cloak of a fight against Papen, prepared the way for the Schleicher Government as a "lesser evil" and supports it behind an oppositional mask. The "Vorwärts" designated the formation of the Schleicher Government as an "initial success". After the conversations between Schleicher and the A.D.G.B. leaders, Leipart and Eggert, the A.D.G.B. addressed a letter to the General setting forth the programme of toleration and advocating shortening of working hours without wage compensations.

The Schleicher Government will be just as little able to cope with the profound **economic crisis** as was the von Papen Cabinet. Unemployment is increasing, the deficits in the treasuries of the Reich, the States and the municipalities are reckoned at 2,000 million marks; the agrarian crisis is becoming more acute. The **proletarian mass movement** is growing. In the last few weeks a considerable number of factory meetings adopted decisions protesting against the sentences imposed by the class courts; there have been also a number of political protest resolutions and several short political protest strikes, while at the same time there is to be recorded a considerable strengthening of the unemployed movement and an increasing number of spontaneous worker's demonstrations. The differences within the bourgeoisie still continue. Very significant in this respect was Hindenburg's letter to Papen on the occasion of the latter's resignation, which made an indirect attack against Schleicher and reflected the quarrel between the industrialists and the big agrarians.

The **Communist Part of Germany** is the only Party which declares war to the knife against the Schleicher dictatorship and is mobilising the masses against it. It warns the workers not to be induced by the phrases about a truce, to give up the weapon of the strike. It is increasing its efforts to build up the united front.

# The Struggle for the Classless Society.

## Achievements and Difficulties of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.

By D. Z. Manuilsky.

Abridged Text of the Report Delivered on November 21, 1932 at the World Congress of the International Red Aid.

### I. On Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.

#### 1. Socialism of to-day.

The purpose of my report is to give you a picture of socialism to-day, socialism, as it is being built up in a huge country covering one sixth of the earth's surface. This socialism is not utopia. It is not merely the age-long dream of the best minds of men, it is not only the science of Marx and Engels, it is not only the gradual working out by humanity of the iron law of historic necessity—it is already a reality which we are witnessing in our own day.

150 million people, of whom only 10 million are Communists and Y.C.L.ers, are building socialism under the pressure of historic necessity as the only rational and vital social and economic system for our day. This actual and concrete socialism under which already millions of people are living, is vastly dif-

ferent from the caricature of socialism depicted by bourgeois economists and politicians and their social democratic hangers-on. This is not "academic socialism", which looked upon the intervention of capitalist governments in economic life as the beginning of socialism. The international social democracy to-day has returned to this "academic socialism", which actually reflects the process of unconditional subjection of the capitalist government to the rule of the large trusts. This is not the bankrupt "reformist socialism" of before the war, hoping to incorporate "socialism" into the capitalist system bit by bit, by means of social reforms. Nor is this the crass and cynical falsification of the social democracy, by representing as socialism monopoly capitalism, sometimes in the form of pre-war so-called organised capitalism, and sometimes in the form of "nationalisation" of the debts of bankrupt capitalist undertakings, to which huge sums are paid out of the government budget at the expense of the masses of the population. Nor is this either the "constructive socialism" of Mr. MacDonald, the rich benefits of which have been recognised through hard ex-

perience by the British workers, particularly the labouring masses of India.

Our socialism has nothing in common with the establishment of "socialism" by democratic parliamentary methods, and with the fascist legend of "corporative government" and the Hitler "Third Empire". It is not a petty bourgeois idyll of wellbeing of all classes, a general paradise on earth. It is a harsh and hard struggle of the workers to establish an order of society which is in harmony with their present-day interests and their ultimate aims.

Socialism in the Soviet Union is the dictatorship of the proletariat serving as a stronghold against the Capitalist world which surrounds it and against the groups and classes within the country which are combating this young socialist structure. And this phase of the proletarian dictatorship is one which not a single country can avoid.

But for the workers this proletarian dictatorship based on the abolition of the exploitation of man by man is the most highly developed and genuine proletarian democracy which has been known in history. Our socialism, which is at the same time both dictatorship and proletarian democracy over a large period of the whole epoch of world proletarian revolution, is the transition period from capitalism to Communism covering a number of stages: war communism, the N.E.P. organised attack on capitalist elements, and transition to thorough collectivisation on the basis of liquidating the kulaks as a class. All these stages in our country have been linked up with irreconcilable class struggle. As a result of this struggle the Soviet Union has entered the period of socialism, has completed the foundations of socialist economy and has become firmly established on the road to socialism.

But our socialism—this is not yet the perfect socialist society, it is not the second phase of socialism—communism. The rule of the proletarian dictatorship has not yet died out in our country. We have not achieved equality in consumption, and we have not yet abolished the conflicting interests between the towns and the villages, nor have we yet achieved a real socialist exchange of commodities. At the same time all the enemies of socialism and agents of the international bourgeoisie, coming forward as social fascists and anarcho-fascists, who support the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in their own country, have the audacity to come forward as critics of socialism of the Soviet Union from the "left", and question the socialist character of our structure from the standpoint of the ultimate aims of Communism.

Our socialism can not be taken apart from its material basis, nor from the historic conditions under which we have had to lay the foundations of socialist economy.

## 2. From Tsariat Russia to the Soviet Union.

What was the country like as a result of war and intervention, when it came into the hands of the Bolsheviks?

Industrial production had dropped almost to one eighth, or to 13.8% of the pre-war level. The annual production of cast iron in 1920-21 was 115,000 tons. Now we produce that amount in 6 days. The output of the textile industry had fallen to 9.4% of the pre-war level, the paper industry to 5.3%, non-ferrous metals had fallen by 1921 to 2.2% of the pre-war level, etc.

We were an almost illiterate country. More than 75% of the population could neither read nor write. Our country was a country with a drunken budget, and our government was a saloon government.

We were a country of religious obscurantism and superstition, a country of wild national fanaticism and pogroms.

We were a country of chronic starvation among the peasantry.

We were a country with a frightfully high death rate and an especially high infant mortality.

The country of the tractor as we see it to-day, was once the country of the Russian wooden plough. The country of the Dnieprostroi used to be lighted by primitive torches. The country of automobile transportation was formerly a country of vagrants, pedestrian barefooted Russians wandering along the railway lines in search of a chance to earn a few kopeks. The country which is courageously pointing out to humanity the road to the new life, now the vanguard of the world proletarian revolution, was up to the war the real gendarme of Europe. Spurred on by the mighty will of the Communist Party and its leaders Comrades Lenin and Stalin, this country, within only 15 years has already forged ahead along its course, the role and significance of which must be measured

in centuries. And we are only at the beginning of socialism, we have only built the foundations of the socialism, we are successfully terminating only our First Five-year-Plan, and are only sketching out our second Five-year-Plan. We are driving ahead at a tremendous straim, for we have not yet overcome the difficulties of socialist construction in the first "launching" period.

## 3. Two Worlds.

The XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. set forth three basic tasks for the toilers of our country, namely: 1. Complete reorganisation of the economic life of the country; 2. two to three fold increase in the production of articles of mass consumption, as compared with the first Five Year Plan, and 3. the building of a classless society. Basically speaking, these three tasks under conditions of working class power make up the basis of socialism. Their significance is all the greater owing to the fact that we have to carry out these tasks at a time when the restoration of basic capital has been suspended in the capitalist world, when the consumption of the masses has greatly declined, and the gulf between classes is becoming greater.

It seems as if two different planets had crossed each other in their course through space. On one of these planets we have a continual reduction of production, growth in unemployment, decrease in the number of workers employed in production and lowering of their standard of living conditions, while on the other absence of unemployment, growth of the industrial proletariat and continual improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the workers.

On one planet we see the destruction of all political, economic and social rights won by the working class through decades of class struggle, the abolishment of social insurance and relief to the workers and, notwithstanding the intensified plundering of the workers we find a cessation of new capital investments; on the other planet we see the further extension of the most far reaching social relief measures for the workers in all forms and, side by side with this we find a tremendously large investment of capital in the socialist industrialisation of the country.

On one planet we see the ruination of cities, bankruptcy of municipal governments, closing down of power stations, gas works and of schools, while on the other planet we find new cities springing up on the steppes and in the forests, new railway and tramway lines being built, all types of new schools being opened and the budget of municipal administration advancing by leaps and bounds.

On one planet we see the ruination of millions of peasant farms. On the other planet we see the voluntary uniting of peasant farms into collective farms, the mechanisation of agriculture and a firm tendency to abolish the contradiction between the towns and villages.

In the capitalist world we find a colonial and predatory policy with regard to the enslaved peoples, a policy of oppression and throttling of the national minorities; in the Soviet Union we see the socialist industrialisation of distant regions, the advance of national culture among the backward nationalities, and a distribution of productive forces in such a way as to enable even the most backward nationalities among them to catch up to the foremost industrial centres within a very short time, both economically and culturally. In the countries of capitalism we see cultural reaction, which goes hand in hand with fascism, obscurantism of the church, concordats, a setback in the direction of ignorance and savagery, and technical development in the matter of murdering workers, while in the Soviet Union we see a tremendous cultural revolution, a forging of new cadres of builders of socialism in all fields, and we find a feverish struggle for the mastery of technique, so as to enable us to catch up and outstrip the foremost capitalist countries.

## 4. Socialist Reconstruction of the National Economy.

Let us then consider present-day socialism in the U.S.S.R. from the viewpoint of these three main tasks which have been laid down by the XVII. Party Conference.

What does complete reconstruction of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. mean? It means, first of all, placing our socialist economics on a new power basis. The electrification of the country is the most important link in the reconstruction of the national economy. It is common knowledge what enormous importance Lenin attached to electrification, which, combined with the Soviet regime, he considered as socialism. A characteristic feature of the world capitalist economy is that the power basis of its industry differs from that of its agriculture.

While industry has been for a long time making use of the achievements of modern technique, agriculture has preserved in most cases its traditional modes of tilling and exploiting the soil. This duality of the power basis of industry and agriculture which helps to make agricultural labour much less productive than industrial, is one of the main reasons of the discrepancy between agrarian cost of production and prices, as well as of the contradictions between town and country. And one of the most elementary conditions for the liquidations of these contradictions between town and country, which are typical of capitalism, is uniformity of the power basis of industry and agriculture. Only socialism will be able to solve this task, which we are successfully carrying through now by means of the establishment of state farms and Machine and Tractor Stations and through compact collectivisation of agriculture.

For the second Five-Year-Plan we have set ourselves the task of producing electrical power up to 100,000 million kilowatt hours, which means that the power aimed at will amount to 22 million kilowatt. This means that we want to catch up to the United States and doubly outstrip Germany in its most flourishing period—1929. The existing electrical stations give already about 17,000 million kilowatt hours, i. e. 9 times more than consumed by our pre-revolution economy.

The biggest undertaking with regard to the electrification of the U.S.S.R. during the period of the second Five-Year-Plan will be the utilisation of the Volga-Kama water basin, the powerful electrical station of which must be placed at the service of the new industrial districts. It is proposed to erect three very large electrical stations here, in the Samara-Yaroslav-Kama district, among which the station at Kamyshin, with the proposed power of about 2 million kilowatt, will give almost onehalf of the electrical power supplied by all the stations in the U.S.S.R. in 1932. If the Dnieprostoi, one of the greatest marvels of the contemporary world, was equal to the most advanced technical achievements of our century, the Volga power system exceeding the Dnieprostoi 25 times in magnitude, leaves far behind the most ambitious projects of world capitalism, and raises the whole world technique to an unprecedented level.

Second, the reconstruction of the national economy presupposes **re-equipment** of already existing factories and works, and construction of new works on the basis of the achievements of modern technique. We have already re-equipped 75% of the old enterprises. The "Amo" works which has a yearly output of 25,000 motor cars, has grown out of the "motor car workshop" inherited from Riabushinsky. And such re-equipped works we count by the hundred. But we are at the same time developing the erection of new giant works. Some of them are already in operation, and others are nearing completion—the Magnitogorsk and Stalinsk metal works, the Nizhni-Novgorod automobile works, the Kharkov and Stalingrad tractor works, the ball-bearing works, the Ural and Kramatorsk machine building works, the Lugansk locomotive works, the Volkhov and Dnieper aluminium works, the Saratov combine works, the Rostov agricultural machinery works, the Solikansk potassium works, the Voskressensk super-phosphate works, the Bereznikovsk and Bobrikovsk chemical works, the Turksib trunk line, etc. With regard to the light industry—the textile combine in the Ivanovsk industrial district, cotton mills in Fergan, Ashkabad, bread factories which are the largest in the world, meat factories, canned goods works, etc. In the first three years of the Five-Year-Plan 769 new enterprises were set going, and in 1932 about 500. Tens of millions of rubles have been invested in all this. Our whole country is literally in the grip of the creative enthusiasm of construction. It is covered with scaffoldings. There isn't a single town, even the smallest, which in the past could hardly be discovered on the map, that is not building something to-day. 19 new towns have sprung up like mushrooms: Magnitogorsk, Stalinsk, Novoye Zaporozhie, Dzerzhinsk, Kemerovo, Bobrikha, Frunze, etc. Towns such as Kharkov, Stalingrad and Cheliabinsk are hardly recognisable. In five years the number of hand and brain workers has doubled, it has grown from ten to twenty-one million.

Third, the reconstruction of the national economy requires the development of branches of industry unknown in our country in the past. We were in the past a country of the textile industry, even articles of general consumption were imported from abroad. We are becoming now a country of **heavy industry**. The nature of our economic structure is changing; the specific weight of the light industry and agri-

culture is relatively diminishing in the economics of the country, whereas, the specific weight of the heavy industry is increasing. While in 1928 our heavy industry was responsible for 27% of the national revenue of the country, in 1932 this percentage has reached the figure of 35. And the specific weight of our whole industry has grown in the national revenue of the country from 45 to 60% in four years. We have become a country of **heavy machine building**. Plants such as the Kramatorsk, Sverdlovsk and a series of other machine building works which are already or are being completed and equipped with up-to-date plant, can produce any kind of machine representing the latest up-to-date achievements. Our share in the world machine building has grown from 3.5% in 1913 to 21.4% in 1931. We have long ago more than fulfilled the Five-Year-Plan in four years with regard to machine building. We are producing bloomings, rolling mills, crackings, powerful turbine-generators, we have learned to produce benches for the heavy industry, and have developed our own **electro-technical industry**. We are producing electrical engines, motor cars, dirigibles and airplanes. We have already supplied our agriculture with 167,000 tractors, and by the end of the second Five Year Plan we shall supply 750,000. Through the erection of works such as the Nizhni-Novgorod, Yaroslav and the Amo, we are becoming a country of automobile transport.

The old Russia has never been a country of chemistry. The U.S.S.R. begins to **master chemistry**. The enterprises in Bobriki and Berezniki are our first achievements in this field. Who among us knew in old tsarist Russia how to produce synthetic rubber, nitrogen from the air, artificial silk? In the past, our country imported non-ferrous and light metals. At present the U.S.S.R. develops its own production of copper, nickel, tin and lead. Our works have already turned out the first tons of Soviet aluminium out of Tikhvinsk bauxites.

The map of our country has changed. **New industrial districts have sprung up**. The old tsarist Russia concentrated its industry in "genuine Russian" centres (Moscow, Leningrad), in the hungry districts, where cheap labour power was available (Ivanovo-Vosnessensk), condemning the "border districts", populated by peoples oppressed by tsarism, to the role of agrarian appendage. The old industrial districts were small oases on a general background of impassable Russian roads and mire in which the Russian villages were floundering. The second coal and metallurgical base in the Ural and Siberia, Karahanda, the Khalilov district on the Volga, the non-ferrous metal district of Central Asia (Ridder and others), which are connected now, through the Turksib and the new trunk lines in the course of construction, with the centre of the Soviet Union, change the whole aspect of the great country. In Central Asia where caravans were slowly moving, where bedouins and nomads sang their endless songs of sorrow in the desert sands, where Asia slept for centuries in its boundless vastness,—Sormovo and locomotives are gaily running, building operations go on full steam ahead, and the nomads of yesterday are transformed into builders of the new socialist society. Beyond the Polar circle a whole town has sprung up—Khibinogorsk. This bleak but wealthy region with its enormous stores of apatites and nephelites and its whole mineral wealth, assumes now an enormous importance. It is becoming a powerful base of the chemisation of the country and of raw material for the superphosphate works. At the Bering Strait, near the region of eternal ice, highroads are being built, and prospecting is carried on energetically for the utilisation of the inexhaustible wealth of this erstwhile forgotten region.

To the districts of the far north where the population was dying out from various diseases, including syphilis, carried there by the tsarist colonisers, the Soviet power went with the physician, the drug store, determined to include these districts into the general process of the industrialisation of the country. This gigantic work is carried on quietly, without fuss, but what enthusiasm, what unknown heroism in this creative mass effort!

Fourth, the most important task in connection with the reorganisation of our national economy is the reconstruction of agriculture. This presupposes the **electrification** of agriculture. Thus, we expect to supply in the second Five-Year-Plan up to 10,000 million kilowatt hours electrical power to our agriculture, using first of all the power of the district electrical stations, and also the power of the electrified transport in the zone of the railway line 25 kilometres on both sides. This will

allow us to electrify about one-fifth of the whole sowing area of the Union. This also presupposes its **mechanisation**. 167,000 tractors are already at work in our fields, whereas Germany has only 20,000 tractors and Italy 23,000. By the end of the second Five Year Plan we expect our tractor draught power to reach 15 million h. p., making good the decrease in horse-draught power in the last years. We shall not require more tractor works, because the Stalingrad and Kharkov works, as well as the Cheliabinsk works which will be in operation by the 1st of January, 1933, fully guarantee the fulfilment of this programme. With regard to other agricultural machines, in 1937 our machine building works will supply the collectivised countryside with 9 to 10,000 million roubles worth of machines i. e., ten times more than we gave in 1932. By 1937, we shall have up to 750,000 half-ton machines in our motor lorry depot.

Already this spring we had 2,000 machine and tractor stations which were at the service of almost 40% of the whole sowing area. Our country is justly proud of these hotbeds of socialist technique and culture, for you will find nothing like it in any of the capitalist countries. By 1937, we shall have between 5½ and 6,000 machine and tractor stations in the Soviet Union, and the energy capacity of every one of these stations will be equal to that of an average textile factory.

The reconstruction of agriculture is connected with its chemisation. During the revolution years we have extended the sowing area of the country by 30 million hectares. In 1931 alone, when the enormous successes of our policy of compact collectivisation, became noticeable, we extended the sowing area by 14.2 million hectares, i. e., owing to collectivisation we extended our sowing area in one year to an extent which took the United States 15, and Canada 30 years. But owing to the weediness of the soil—the result of our backwardness in agriculture—and to the inexperience of the young cadres in our socialist agriculture, the yield of our fields is very low. Increasing the yield is a problem for the solution of which we require enormous quantities of phosphor, potassium and nitrogen, which our chemical industry cannot yet supply. In 1932, we used over 2 million tons of mineral fertilizers in our fields, 20 times more than in the tsarist time. But this is not enough. We expect to increase our chemical industry five times in the period of the second Five-Year-Plan. With regard to the output of mineral fertilizers, we will take first place in the world, and satisfy all the demands made by our agriculture. Chemistry has been converted in the capitalist countries into a monstrous instrument of gas and bacteriological war, but we in the U.S.S.R. shall convert it into a powerful instrument for the improvement of our agriculture.

Alongside of the chemisation of agriculture, our country must master agro-technique, must carry through amelioration works on a large scale in the form of artificial irrigation in our drought districts. Our best scientific forces are now at work on the project of a powerful electrical station on the Volga, near Kamyschin, which, by means of artificial irrigation will transform these arid districts into a flourishing region and one of the main wheat bases of the U.S.S.R.

The agricultural problem is now our main problem, on the solution of which depends the rate of the reconstruction of the whole national economy. It is not by any means a simple problem. Here we do not have, as in industry ready patterns in the capitalist countries of such large agricultural enterprises as the state farm "Gigant" or our stock-raising state farms. In this field, we are pioneers, even with regard to technique. This autumn we met in various localities with recurrence of kulak opposition, with the intention of sabotaging here and there the fulfilment of the sowing and grain collecting plans. But only hopelessly petty bourgeois elements could imagine that the great revolution we carry through in the countryside, breaking down age-long backwardness and habits will be accomplished without any impediment.

Fifth, the reconstruction of the national economy presupposes a further utilisation of the enormous natural wealth concealed beneath the soil of the U.S.S.R. We are working at the systematic and rational utilisation of our natural wealth. The forests of our Union constitute one-fourth of the forest area of the globe, one-third of the world store of gold comes from the Ural mines and the gold fields of Siberia, and 95% of the world supply of platinum comes from us. With regard to the stores of iron, we surpass the whole capitalist world. We own 40% of the world stores of oil and surpass any country in the world with regard to our oil wealth. With regard to coal deposits, we occupy the third place in the world, yielding only to the United States and Canada.

It is only now, under socialism, that like Columbus we discover our country. No less than three quarters of the wealth enumerated here has been discovered under the Soviet regime.

In order to do justice to these enormous tasks connected with the reconstruction of the National Economy, we stand in need of a great cultural revolution, of enormous cadres of human material, who in a common effort, would master this stupendous task. We have everywhere a great shortage of technicians and engineers, we have to train the cadres we require as we go along. Is it therefore to be wondered at that there are in our factories cases of very low productivity of labour compared with similar factories in the capitalist countries, that there is much waste and damage in our process of production? Nevertheless, we have already accomplished the most important task of the cultural revolution: We have almost got rid of illiteracy in our country. We can say that 80% of the adult population can read and write.

The whole country is studying. There are 20 million children in the elementary and secondary schools alone, since the introduction of universal compulsory education. The publication of school books has reached a figure unknown in any capitalist country. 2½ million people, about 70% of whom are workers' and peasants' children, attend universities, technical colleges, workers' faculties and vocational schools. The circulation of our newspapers amounts to 40 million copies compared with 2,700,000 in 1913. Comrades, let us also consider the figures with regard to the organisers of our socialist construction in all branches of work: economic, Soviet-administrative, military and Party. To say that in our directors of large industrial combines and of individual factories, our chairmen of provincial and district executive committees, our secretaries of Party committees, our Red commanders, from the Lugansk worker Comrade Voroshilov, downwards are, flesh of the flesh, bone of the bone, workmen, —is tantamount to saying something that everyone knows. What down-trodden sections of toiling peoples populating the U.S.S.R. has the Soviet power awakened? The workers of our country are closely connected with their Soviet power, not only politically, but also through social and family ties. The working class knows that its Soviet power gives it everything it can give, that there is no other power so welded together with the working class, as the power of the state of proletarian dictatorship. In this lies the secret of our strength, comrades. And this profound organic connection between the working class and its State power no one is able to undermine and shake.

##### 5. Increased Consumption of the Masses.

The proletarian revolution has not only improved the material conditions of the working masses, but has increased their consumption. The peasants, who were systematically underfed, eating mainly potatoes and onions up to the revolution, only after the revolution had fats, meat and dairy products on their tables. The peasant youth recruited in the Red Army give a very instructive picture of the recuperation of the villages. The collectivisation which has been carried out during the past few years has, in the regions which have been thoroughly collectivised, turned over to the peasants the orchards, land and equipment of the kulaks, the total value of which comes to 400 million roubles. At the same time collectivisation has put an end to the process of differentiation among the peasantry. In the past two years alone (1931—1932) the government turned over to agriculture machines of all types, having a total value of 1,500 million roubles.

Our Right opportunists, pointing to the negative factors in certain regions, attempt to prove that collectivisation has brought about a temporary decline in the material situation of the peasantry. This is not true. If this were true how could we explain the disappearance of unemployment in our country. Undoubtedly one of the factors in liquidating unemployment in the Soviet Union has been the tremendous growth in industries, but this alone could not have absorbed all the labour power with which the labour exchanges were flooded as a result of the influx from the villages. If, now that we have made a start with mechanised agriculture, which has released considerable labour power in the villages, we still have no influx of labour power in the cities, it is because the collectivised village guarantees material conditions for the peasant masses sufficient to keep the peasants away from the temptation of shifting into industry.

Still more far reaching changes have been brought about by the proletarian revolution and the achievements of social-

ist construction with regard to the situation of the working class. And here it is not a matter merely of the absolute and relative increase of wages. Numerous investigations of the budgets of working class families have shown that in the Moscow district the monthly consumption of basic food articles per capita of the population (bread, potatoes, vegetables, meat, and lard, fish and sugar)—quantities which we still consider insufficient, have increased more than one and a half times in comparison with the average pre-war consumption.

But is it only such figures which are characteristic in showing the improvement of the material conditions of the working class? What about the very fact that the threat of unemployment does not hang over the workers of the Soviet Union at a time when the unemployed number tens of millions in the capitalist world! And the extension of all types of social insurance in the Soviet Union? And what about the fact that in every workers family there are a number of members employed in industry, that women labour in the Soviet Union is paid the same as that of men and that adolescents and apprentices are given special protection and careful training? Where in any country is there such labour legislation as we have in the Soviet Union? Or rest homes, sanatoriums, medical service, workers clubs, theatres and concern for the social welfare in the workers quarters? The buildings we are now putting up for the workers, at an expense of 2000 million roubles for this year alone, is guaranteeing dwellings for about 3,000,000 workers and employees!

The chief thing is that the working class is the master of this great country. We have fulfilled the great testament of the Paris Commune. He who was formerly nothing, has now come to be everything.

Let us take further the distant national republics like the Tartar Republic, the Kirghis Republic, Uzbekistan, etc, the population of which was kept by Tsarist and capitalist Russia in a situation of colonial slavery—in dirt, poverty and continual undernourishment. Only the proletarian revolution is establishing the conditions for a humane existence for these people. It has awakened the demands of the masses. The Kirghis nomad lived in a tent, never washed himself, went around in home woven cloth, and skins for warmth. Now he is demanding soap, factory made cloth, factory made shoes and the living conditions of the city person. Before the revolution our country produced 25 million pairs of shoes, a year. In 1931 we produced 85 million pairs of shoes. Our workers and peasants rightly are no longer willing to feed on cabbage soup without meat, and kasha, but are demanding meat, fats and the varied diet of a cultured person. Our public kitchens provide food for 16 million persons but this is far from sufficient, because the woman liberated from the kitchen, is making more and more demands of the social order which released her from the slavery of the home. Of course there has been a decrease in the consumption of the former parasitic classes in Russia. Let Messrs. Kautsky, Otto Bauer and Blum who maintain that there has been a lowering in the consumption of the masses, try to explain the fact that the death rate in the Soviet Union has fallen sharply (in 1930 it had fallen by 37% in comparison with 1913), and explain why the Soviet Union has an increase in the birth rate greater than that of any capitalist country! In 1930, out of 160 million people in the Soviet Union there was a growth in the population of 3 million persons, while for all European countries taken together, with a total population of 360 million the increase was the same as for the Soviet Union, namely, 3 million. In all capitalist and colonial countries tens of millions of workers and their wives and children, are doomed by capitalism to suicide, death from disease and homelessness.

The savage encirclement of the Soviet Union forces the country to build up its economic life from the standpoint of the maximum independence of the capitalist world. If the proletarian revolution was not belated in the capitalist countries, socialist construction in our country would be taking another turn and its development would be still more tremendous.

We should build up our economic life on the basis of an international division of labour, determined both by natural conditions and the level of development of productive forces. We should like in that case to develop in every way all those branches of industry serving the needs of the masses. But we are forced to build factories which produce means of production and to adapt consumption in our country to the requirements of industry. Our factories are working for the time being to a great extent for other factories, instead of for broad markets

of consumption, as we should like. Hence our added difficulties with regard to the consumption of the masses.

Take also our agriculture under conditions of proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries. Our country, which now, under the pressure of the terrific drop in prices of agricultural products throughout the world, is carrying on an unequal exchange with the capitalist world, would be able to keep large stores of food products, which could be devoted to internal consumption.

But what measures are we now taking, under conditions of the belated proletarian revolution, for increasing the consumption of the working masses?

In the second Five-Year Plan we intend to extend our sown area to 170 million hectares, and increase the productive capacity of the land by not less than 40%. We are planning to increase stock raising to 70 million heads, including 30 million cows, our hog raising to 45-50 million hogs, our sheep raising to 120 million sheep, etc., which should guarantee to provide our population with 40-65 kilograms of meat per person annually, and 250-350 liter of milk per capita. Our young Soviet stock raising farms are already firmly established. To-day we can estimate our livestock at 2½ million head of cattle, 4½ million of sheep and 1 million hogs; to-day our Soviet farms are providing the government with 300,000 tons of meat. With a view to speedily improving the supplies for our population, we are taking steps to develop collective farm trading. These measures have already met with considerable success, and as a result large numbers of our population not directly employed in the enterprises are being provided for in this manner. We are now taking very important steps to place the responsibility of supplying the workers on the managers of the various enterprises, directly linking up the matter of provisions for the workers with the task of increasing labour discipline. We have no doubt that these measures will produce good results, both with regard to the further improvement of the provisioning of the workers, and in the matter of increasing the productivity of labour. We have now developed in all the big enterprises auxiliary departments for producing articles of widespread consumption, which offers the possibility of placing on the peasant market this year goods amounting to 500 million roubles.

In five years the Soviet Union will be the most advanced industrial country in Europe; in electrification it will stand on a level with the U.S.A. The Volga Basin will be the greatest bastion of electrification in the world. Then there is the exploitation of the water basins in Siberia, above all the Angara Basin. In addition to the big electric power stations, the country will be covered by a network of local power stations. The Soviet Union will be putting out 22 million tons of cast iron a year and as for fuel, 250 million tons of coal, 80-90 million tons of oil and 65 million tons of peat. The Soviet Union will build 35,000 kilometers of new railways, and will electrify the most important railway lines in the country; the country will be covered by a network of canals and new waterways of world significance. The Volga will be connected with Moscow, which will connect Moscow with the Caspian Sea, and the Don will be connected with the Volga.

In intensification of labour, the Soviet Union will outstrip the foremost capitalist countries, and increase the productivity of labour 120-140%; it will lower the cost of production 30-35%, the production of light industry will be increased 3½ times as compared with 1932. Instead of 3,000 million meters of cotton textile we will have in 1937 6,500 million meters; instead of 100 million meters of wool, we will have 300 million meters; instead of 30 million meters of silk, we will have 300 million meters; instead of 87.2 million pairs of shoes, which we have now, we will have 290 million pairs, etc. A tremendous development is planned for the food industry, which is to expand 3-3½ times as compared with 1932. The production of sugar will be increased to 65 million tons, which is three times as high as the present production. The production of canned goods will reach 5,000 million cans, etc. The entire population will be served by public dining rooms in the new buildings and large industrial enterprises. Our most important cities will have their houses heated by the waste steam from industrial plants; asphalt will be widely applied throughout workers' quarters, running water and drainage systems will be introduced on an extensive scale, parks will be opened up and street car lines will be built. Our red capital Moscow will have its underground railway. We will be a country where there is no illiteracy, where the entire younger population from 7 to 17 years of age will

be drawn into compulsory general political-technical education. Our agriculture will be completely mechanized. Every district will have its collective farm agronomist and its veterinary. We will be a country of complete collectivisation; we will have an army of organisers of socialism in the villages 8 million strong.

## II. Society without Classes.

What will a society without classes be like?

What will socialism be like in the Soviet Union from the standpoint of class relationships? Lenin wrote in 1918 about the five social bases in our revolutionary economy. Since then socialism has become the predominant base in our country. Now not only banks, factories, sub-soil products and the earth itself have been socialized, but also two-thirds of the means of production in agriculture. One-third of the individual peasant farms have not yet been drawn into the socialist base. But even our socialist sector is not a uniform whole; socialisation takes different forms; consistently socialistic in industry and of a collective farm and cooperative character in agriculture. But the very fact of the predominance of socialist relationships in our economic life has in itself prepared the way for carrying out the tasks of building a classless society. The completion of collectivisation in agriculture is the basic condition for building a classless society. But this building of a classless society will not come about all at once in a purely ideal form. We have been building this society since October 1917, when we liquidated the bourgeoisie, and we are completing it now, drawing into the process of socialisation the peasants who produce on a small scale. In the period of transition to a classless society the Soviet Union is going through a number of "transition phases", before arriving at the "antithesis" of a class society, namely, a society without classes. Our collective farm peasant is no longer a representative of the small scale producing elements, which continually "generate" capitalism and the bourgeoisie from day to day, from hour to hour, spontaneously and on a mass scale" (Lenin). But it is impossible to identify the collective farm peasant of to-day, or the collective farm peasant under conditions of complete collectivisation in the Soviet Union, with the worker of socialised industry, because the socialised means of production on the collective farm belong not to the government, but to the collective farm, because the collective farm peasant can offer on the market products of the non-socialised sector of his farm etc. From the artel form of socialisation of the means of production in agriculture, we will proceed to government ownership of these means of production via the machine and tractor stations. But this means that we shall arrive at a classless society through the formation of new proletarian masses in agriculture—tractor drivers, combine drivers, mechanics, turners etc. This proletariat, along with the workers of the Soviet farms, is first of all the standard bearer of socialism in agriculture.

But does not the fact that we are approaching a classless society dispose of the question of internal counter-revolutionary forces? We cannot dispute the fact that under conditions of capitalist encirclement these forces cannot completely disappear, and even in a classless society they will be encouraged and supported by this external capitalist environment.

The actual forms of class struggle under conditions of a classless society undergo a radical change. Lenin wrote that under conditions of socialism the struggle for a socialist attitude towards labour becomes a question of class struggle. And actually, socialism of to-day in the Soviet Union is characterised by a sharpening of this form of class struggle. The struggle against idleness, graft, the struggle against looking upon socialist property as "government" property in the old sense, implying that you should grab all you can from it, the struggle against cheating the Soviet Government, and the struggle against "the formidable force of habit of millions" are struggles no less bitter than the struggles during the Civil War on the front. In the struggle against this enemy we have to resort to the most decisive measures, which are not only understood but approved by the international working class. The avenging hand of the proletarian dictatorship falls mercilessly upon the heads of speculators, embezzlers, thieves and plunderers of social property, whom the international social democracy and the entire capitalist world take under their protection.

We are approaching a highly developed classless democracy of complete Communism, but we are approaching it

through an allround consolidation of the apparatus of proletarian dictatorship. This will be democracy without force, but democracy in the world arena, democracy of the new human being who has gone through the bitter struggle from the rule of necessity to the rule of freedom. We have already started building the structure of this classless society. Already our Party, our trade unions and our Soviet Government are surrounded by growing millions of non-party active builders of socialism at the workbenches in the enterprises and in the fields on the collective farms. We have 4 million members in the C.P.S.U. alone, 6 million in the Y.C.L. S.U. and 18 million in the trade unions. And we have 16 million peasants who yesterday ran their own small farms and have now entered the great school of socialist construction on the collective farms. Our active enthusiasts are the embryo of the future classless democracy of the Communists. But to-day the proletarian dictatorship is well armed in order to defend the cause of the revolution and socialism from all attacks.

But will not the formation of classless society in the U.S.S.R. signify the immediate abolition of N.E.P., the abolition of the money-commodity form of circulation which is inherent in the N.E.P., and the transition to direct socialist exchange of products? No, comrades. N.E.P. and money-commodity forms of circulation will continue to exist for a certain period even under classless society because, in order to abolish them it is necessary above all to have three basic conditions: Firstly, it is necessary to have such a development of productive forces and technique which will ensure that the needs of the toiling population on the whole will be met; secondly, it is necessary for socialised agriculture, like socialist industry, to have a consistent socialist character; thirdly, the technique of socialist registration, bookkeeping and distribution must be so perfect that money will be superfluous as a means of circulation.

And if we raise these questions now before you, we do it because international social democracy is deliberately confusing the question of socialism in the U.S.S.R. either by economic categories borrowed from capitalist society or by every kind of utopian rubbish. On the one hand, it describes N.E.P. and money-commodity forms in Soviet economy as a category of a capitalist type which allows it to describe our system as "state capitalism", and on the other hand, it connects the idea of classless society with complete communism where equality has been realised not only in production but in consumption, where the state does nothing, where no proletarian dictatorship is necessary, where "the direction of things replaces the direction of people". In the programme of the Comintern we read that not a single capitalist country, even a highly developed one, can avoid the N.E.P. stage after the proletarian revolution. This N.E.P. will not be some special ramification of a capitalist nature "mechanically" attached to socialism but is an organic part of socialism at a definite stage of its development. Hence it follows that the money-commodity form of circulation which is inherent in the N.E.P. period differs radically from the money-commodity form in capitalist society, because in this country the government keeps the chief political and economic levers in its own hands.

In the period of socialism, the money-commodity form on the whole is a means of socialist statistics, control and distribution. And if we talk about abolishing N.E.P., we do not think at all that this change will be suddenly decreed by a single law. N.E.P. will die away just as its money-commodity will die away, being squeezed out by direct socialist exchange of products.

The social democrats who defend in every way the formal "equality" of bourgeois democracy reproach us with not having equality, which is only possible under complete communism. For the first time in the history of mankind we have created the material conditions for equality which is not formal but genuine, the criterion of which is labour, the participation of man in useful labour in production. Only on the basis of this equality which has been established by us in production is it possible to develop it to the equality of consumption in the era of complete communism. But the uncouth bourgeois lackeys find that we have not transformed society radically enough. In very truth there is no limit to fascist cynism. We have not yet the equality of the era of communism, because we are only at the beginning of socialism in our country. The reason for this is mainly because international socialist democracy split the working class and hindered the world proletarian revolution.

For instance, there are differences in wages in this country.

There are branches of industry which receive better pay and branches which receive lower pay. The picture of the general growth of wages in the Soviet Union is at the same time an expression of the inequality of growth in the various branches.

In general, the increases in wages for all industry from 1928-1932 was 51%. The wages of the workers in the coal industry rose by 90%, in the iron and steel industry by 75%, in the cotton, wool and printing industries by 30%. Foreign specialists are in a more highly privileged position, than, for example, the members of our Central Committee or the government. But we pay a high price for the special knowledge of people who honestly wish to help the working class to build up their socialist economy.

It is true that we have inequalities in supplies. We have no intention of supplying the ex-landlords, capitalists, police, priests, and even members of the Menshevik C.C. from the government funds even if we incur the danger of violating that democratic principle of "equality" which is dear to the heart of Kautsky. There is a part of our population with regard to which the Soviet Government undertakes the duty of government supply—first of all the workers in the leading branches of industry, and the new construction works, while the other groups of workers and office workers, must obtain their supplies through government and cooperative stores and through the collective farms markets. If we take the collective farms, we see that here, to a much higher degree than in socialist industry, it is possible to speak of the application of complete equality, ("from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs") in the sphere of consumption.

Slackness on the job in collective agriculture is concealed by their "equality" of consumption. We are carrying on an irreconcilable struggle against the relics of this petty bourgeois "equality" which disorganised collective farm construction.

And just as classless society does not mean either the complete abolition of the class struggle or the liquidation of N.E.P. or the operation of the complete equality of communism, so it does not mean the abolition of the government of the proletarian dictatorship.

No-one who is not an agent of the bourgeoisie, but wishes seriously to bring about the liquidation of the bourgeoisie not in words but in practice, can be against the government of the proletarian dictatorship, the only infallible means of bringing about the abolition of all states whatsoever. Among all countries and peoples, the U.S.S.R. alone stands nearest to the abolition of the state, because the toilers of the U.S.S.R. have brought about a proletarian revolution. While the anarchist gentlemen are cackling about the end of the state, we have liquidated the government of the ruling classes as the apparatus of oppression of the exploited in the hands of the exploiters.

The government of the proletarian dictatorship has not only become an organ for the crushing of the resistance of the exploiters but it is the material basis which creates all the pre-requisites for the further dying out of the state in general.

## Eight Years Hard Labour for Tarashkievitch.

Warsaw, 2nd December 1932.

The trial of Tarashkievitch, the leader of the West White-Russian "Hromada" and a former deputy, has now ended with a sentence of eight years hard labour for Tarashkievitch and the loss of all civil rights for ten years.

In 1928 the Polish bourgeoisie made an attack on the national-revolutionary West White-Russian "Hromada" which had several hundred thousand members. The police arrested the whole Seym fraction of the "Hromada" and several hundred prominent members. The organisation was prohibited and Tarashkievitch and many others brought to trial in a mass process in Vilna. Tarashkievitch was sentenced to twelve years hard labour. Under mass pressure and a protest campaign throughout Poland his sentence was reduced by half and in the spring of 1930 Tarashkievitch was amnestied by the Polish President. However, Tarashkievitch was not intimidated by Pilsudski and returned to his work for the working people of West White-Russia. He was then re-arrested and the trial has just taken place in Vilna with the result recorded above.

While in the capitalist countries the bourgeois State is developing in the direction of increased purely repressive police functions, getting rid of any obligations whatever with regard to the toiling population, in the U.S.S.R. there is an increasing growth of the social and economic functions of the state, and the government here is thus becoming a social government such as mankind never witnessed before.

But look closer, comrades, at the things which are taking place in the U.S.S.R. Even at the present stage of Socialism you can discern the vague outlines of society with a "dying out" state. The work of the Polit Bureau of our Party is centred chiefly around economic questions. Our Plenums of the C.C. our Party conferences, in many respects call to mind meetings of business managers. The fearless organiser of the masses, the agitator and propagandist of the prerevolutionary epoch has become the practical builder of socialism. All these are embryonic elements of the dialectics of the consistent dying out of the state. Is there any need to speak of the growing social functions of the proletarian dictatorship, functions which are growing every day, the improving system of social insurance, health insurance, the protection of mothers and infants, education, etc. The successes of the U.S.S.R. in this sphere are known to everyone and they show with the greatest clearness the direction in which the state of the proletariat will grow in the future.

But when at present the anarchist gentlemen propose that the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. who are organised in the state of the proletarian dictatorship should disarm, should renounce measures of compulsion towards the elements which are socially dangerous for our system, then the C.P.S.U. the Party which bears tremendous responsibility towards the international proletariat for the cause which is the cause of the toilers of the whole world, can only reply "impossible".

And the fact that we Bolsheviks acted in the proper way, when we preferred first of all to break the back of our bourgeoisie, to pass through our school of socialist construction under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, is shown by the whole of the 15 years of experience of the construction of socialism in our country. What has happened to "organised capitalism", to capitalist stabilisation? What has happened to democracy as the path towards socialism? Where did the German social democrats lead the revolution on November 9, 1918? What are the results of the Labour government in Britain?

The Soviet Union stands as a firm rock in the midst of earthquakes, while the democratic fascist regimes are falling headlong into the abyss. The U.S.S.R. is the only country which knows where it is going, what it wants, what is the social ideal for which it is fighting, what its young generation are living for. This was written by one of the unbiased Englishmen who visited the U.S.S.R. Only here can you find the healthy and fresh enthusiasm which can move mountains. In a tremendous country there is rising a new generation of people which does not fear any difficulties and privations and is prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of liberating the toilers of the whole world. It looks on its revolution, its socialist construction, as part of the world proletarian revolution.

And in this international consciousness lies the invincible and enormous strength of this generation. Invisible threads link it with all those who in capitalist countries are suffering and struggling against the yoke of capital. The blood of the workers which was shed in Geneva a few days ago and which is spilled by the capitalists all over the world is felt by this generation as if its own blood was being drained drop by drop. The torturing of the best fighters of the working class in the countries of the white terror are felt by this generation as pains in its own body. With an attentive ear, it hears the steps of its class brothers who are buried alive in the stone jails. Year after year, it accumulates class hatred for the dying capitalist world which shoots down and strangles the workers and peasants. The ruling classes in the capitalist world had better not risk opening the flood gates of this hate on their system of violence! Woe to those who attempt to harm this generation, its cause and its country! It will fight tooth and nail for its cause and its country, with your support, comrades, with the support of the whole international working class. And whatever trials it may be our fate to bear, we shall inevitably win the victory because we are the only class, the only world Party and the only country at the present day which has a great future before it.



## POLITICS

### War Debts and Imperialist Rivalry.

By R. Bishop (London).

The controversy around the demand of the U.S.A. Government for the payment of the next instalment of the war debt owing to them by Britain on December 15 brings out with crystal clearness the depth of the capitalist crisis and the deep-seated nature of the Anglo-American antagonism.

The main contention of the **British note** handed in in Washington on December 1 is that the crisis is so severe and likely to intensify that any payment such as that demanded would only worsen the situation. This is in striking contrast to the tone adopted by the capitalist press—Government and so-called Opposition alike—which in strident tones announces (as it has often announced before since 1918) that prosperity is round the corner, that the tide is turning etc.

Secondly the British note aims at representing the crisis as being mainly due to the indebtedness of the capitalist nations one to the other—thus throwing the onus on the United States as the principal creditor.

"The British Government", says the Note, "believe that it will not profit a creditor country to collect a few millions in pounds or dollars if it thereby perpetuates a world disorder, which reacting on itself, involves losses of revenue many times greater..."

"The payment of war debts has, in their view, been proved inconsistent with the present economic organisation of the world and any resumption of these payments is bound to accentuate the present crisis and to compromise fatally all efforts to counteract it."

The note goes on to say:

"The countries of the world cannot even begin to consider how to restore the mechanism until the causes which undermine confidence have been removed."

Having branded the U.S.A. as the factor which is holding the world back from prosperity the note continues with veiled threats of a tariff war against the United States by way of reprisal.

Having presented this analysis of the causes of the crisis, as a screen for the world-wide breakdown of capitalism and as a further cause of conflict against the U.S.A., the British Government has decided to pay the December instalment if need be—under protest, and gold has been dispatched from Britain for this purpose.

The decision to pay in the last analysis was not taken without there being a sharp division of opinion among the British capitalists themselves. Whilst they have presented a united front in arguing that Britain should not pay and that the payment would be even more harmful to America than to Britain, the tone of the Press and the speeches has varied considerably. The powerful Beaverbrook press has come out with the declaration that Britain should not, cannot and must not pay and has pilloried those members of the Cabinet (Baldwin, MacDonald, etc.) who have led the group who throughout have stood for a policy of paying under protest.

The case for payment was put bluntly by the imperialist **Leo Amery**, a Tory ex-Minister for the Colonies, in a speech at Birmingham on November 28. He said:—

"Repudiation or default is a double-edged weapon for a country like ours which is still to-day the greatest creditor nation in the world. A country which apart from war-debts, is owed by the rest of the world £4,000,000,000 four times as much or more than we owe the United States cannot afford repudiation.

"At this moment we are engaged in insisting by every form of economic pressure on the Irish Free State's fulfilling obligations it undertook to us. At this moment there is being discussed on what terms and conditions India is to be set up as a selfgoverning federation.

"What security shall we have for the hundreds of millions that have been invested in India if our own example shows that definite pacts and pledges mean nothing in particular? No we cannot repudiate.

"But the next question is, can we pay? The first problem in respect to that is whether we can find money

here. If we can get the unemployment figure back below a million, as I have no doubt we can, we shall save the nation two or three times as much as would be involved in the paying of the war debt."

It will be seen by the speech of this arch-imperialist that Britain, which has so often set up as the custodian of the world's financial morals—witness the attitude to the Free State and the Persian Government to-day—if it pays the instalment at all will do so not because of any high principle but as a safeguard against losing the infinitely greater sum which it itself hopes to wring from the sweat and toil of other peoples, largely the toilers of the colonial countries. At the same time the hope is expressed that the necessary money to pay America (if it becomes necessary to do so) can be obtained by saving on unemployment insurance.

How is this to be achieved? By reducing the number of those in receipt of unemployment relief, says Amery, to 1,000 000. But this is not the same thing as reducing the number of unemployed persons to 1,000 000. However they may try to disguise the fact the imperialists know full well that as the crisis develops so will unemployment rise, not decrease; what they aim at is to reduce the number of persons receiving benefit while still leaving an ever increasing mass of unemployment. Already 700,000 have been struck off by the Means Test.

It is of extreme significance that the Prime Minister and Sir John Simon (Foreign Secretary) have both left for Geneva where conversations with Herriot are to take place. Of this the "**Times**" remarks:

"It is felt that Geneva affords a useful ground for discussion on a wide variety of subjects, not necessarily confined to the Disarmament Conference."

At Geneva the imperialists of Britain will try to reconcile the differences between Germany and France and thus to strengthen the European imperialist bloc against America, its great imperialist rival, and against the Soviet Union.

The question of the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" will of necessity arise at Geneva, and France and Britain will threaten to smash this if they are forced to pay by America. Lausanne did not remove the inter-imperialist contradictions, it merely shifted them to a different plane.

The attitude of the British press on the matter is as follows: The "**Times**" regrets that it should have been said that Britain was not going to pay, but carefully avoids any statement supporting the idea that Britain should pay. The "**Morning Post**" takes up the attitude that "British honour is at stake", that there is more to lose than to be gained by repudiation. The "**Daily Herald**" takes up a particularly belligerent attitude. Its main story on the front page of the issue of December 2 is headed "Britain Warns U.S.A. Of Tariff Danger" and threatens America that if she insists on payment, "Britain will be forced to take steps to restrict United States imports. This would be done by high tariffs."

Thus it is evident that though this instalment has brought the question to the fore, its payment or non-payment will not solve it; in the coming period it will be the focus of the ever intensifying antagonism between the two imperialist giants.

That the transfer of £29,000,000 (a small sum as international financial transactions go) should be held by the capitalist statesmen to further threaten the very existence of capitalism is an indication of the seriousness of the crisis, and gives the lie to the professional optimists of capitalism who are forever professing to see, and thence prophesying, the speedy passing of the clouds and a return to "prosperity".

It is significant that while this outcry is made about the American debt no word is ever uttered about suspending the payment of £300,000,000 war debt interest which is annually extrated from the toilers of this country to pay the internal bondholders, the British capitalists themselves.

The war-debt struggle is bringing all the deep-rooted capitalist antagonisms to the surface and bringing rapidly nearer the new world-war for which the capitalist world is preparing.

While British imperialism is manoeuvring with its rival, the United States, the **anti-Soviet campaign** is reaching unparalleled heights of venom and lying distortion. The Press and the back-bench M.P.s who are the vehicles of these lies are looked on with smiling approbation by the Cabinet Ministers who, themselves in the background, are preparing for war and intervention more energetically than ever before.

## The Importance of the Non-Aggression Pact Between France and the Soviet Union.

By L. F. Boross (Berlin).

Two days after the ratification of the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Poland, the news arrived of a new great victory of the peaceful policy of the Soviet government. On November 29, the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and France was signed.

The worst enemy of the Soviet Union, the "gendarme of Europe", the head of the international intervention preparations has been compelled to give a public undertaking not only to the Soviet Union, but before all to its own working population, to refrain from any attack on the Soviet Union and to remain neutral in the event of an attack by a third State on the Soviet Union. French imperialism had to give a pledge to the Soviet Union

"not to interfere in any way in its inner affairs, and in particular to refrain from any action aiming at calling forth or favouring an agitation, propaganda or an attempt at intervention having as its object to threaten its territorial inviolability or to change by force the political or social regime of the whole or part of its territory."

One of the worst enemies of the Foreign Trade monopoly of the Soviet Union, French imperialism, which only recently attempted by special boycott measures to injure Soviet exports, which was at the head of the fight against alleged "Soviet dumping", now publicly undertakes:

"not to participate in any international agreement the practical effect of which would be to prevent the purchase or the sale of goods or the granting of credits to the other contracting party, and not to adopt any measures aiming at excluding the other party from any participation in its foreign trade."

The chief protector of the white-guardist counter-revolution, who even up to the present tolerates and promotes the formation of white-guardist military formations in France, under whose protection the friends of Gorguloff are still able to carry on their criminal war-preparations, under whose protection a counter-revolutionary Menshevist "Georgian Government" could work in order to bring the country of the Georgian workers and peasants again under the knout of the oil imperialists, has been compelled to undertake;

"not to create, to protect, to equip, to subvention or permit on its territory either military organisations having as their object an armed fight against the other contracting party, or organisations which arrogate to themselves the role of a government or to represent the whole or a part of their territories".

As in all such cases hitherto, the social democracy will also this time attempt to deceive the masses regarding the meaning of this non-aggression pact. They will say: Why do people speak only of the Soviet Union's will to peace when the French government has also signed the pact and the above-mentioned obligations are mutual? The Pact shows, they will add, that the Communist legend of the danger of intervention threatening the Soviet Union is not to be taken seriously.

This time, however, it is not even necessary, in order to expose them, to cite the 15 years record of crime of French imperialism and the actions proving the peaceful policy which the Soviet Power has unswervingly pursued for 15 years. It suffices to read the above-quoted conditions in order to see that they pledge the Soviet Union to do nothing else but what it has done hitherto, whilst they directly forbid that which French imperialism has done, thought and willed hitherto. It is precisely because this is the case, because the danger of intervention is so acute, that the Soviet Government fought so persistently for the conclusion of pacts of non-aggression.

No class-conscious proletarian, however, will have any illusions as to what such public undertakings on the part of capitalist governments mean. Nobody will imagine that French imperialism will not tear up this Pact when it thinks

the moment suitable for so doing, just as in the Japanese robber war against China and in the Manchurian question it trod underfoot the Kellogg Pact into which it had solemnly entered. Non-aggression pacts are not an all-sufficing protection against imperialist war. The whole vigilance, the whole anti-war feeling of the French working population is needed in order to prevent the French bourgeoisie from making use of the non-aggression pact in order, behind the mask of readiness for peace, to increase their preparations for intervention.

But the political importance to the proletariat of this non-aggression pact is nevertheless very great. This importance lies in the fact that the Pact is a product and at the same time a new weapon of the international class struggle.

If the Soviet Union has been able to force the signing of the Pact by the French Government, this means before all a success for its consistent policy of peace, in which it is supported not only by the working masses of the Soviet Union but by all the honest toilers of the world. It means that the class forces behind it have grown. It means that the successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan, the further rapid advance of socialist economy is enforcing respect from even the bitterest enemy, and compelling him to enter into obligations which run counter to his whole thoughts and intentions. It means that the number of those toilers in the capitalist countries who regard any war against the Soviet Union as a war against themselves is steadily increasing. The recognition of this fact is forced upon the class enemy more and more by the great election successes of the Communist Party in Germany, Bulgaria, Greece, Belgium and other countries and by the powerful response to the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress, particularly in France.

And if French imperialism undertakes, even if only in words, to cease its criminal machinations and is compelled to adopt a **fresh mask** in order to hide its interventionist countenance, this means that the class forces standing behind it have been thrown into confusion by the blows of the world economic crisis. It means that the capitalist Powers are hopelessly entangled in a net of imperialist antagonisms and complications. It means that the League of Nations is more and more displaying its impotency to conceal effectively the imperialist war-preparations and to clear away the obstacles preventing the formation of the anti-Soviet united front. It means that capitalism, weakened by its crisis and by its inner antagonisms, by the sharpening of the class struggle, is obliged to resort to new means in order to pursue its imperialist aims.

But just as the conclusion of the non-aggression pact is the result of the **class struggle**, its further fate, its further role also depends upon the international class struggle. The increased incitement against the Soviet Union in the most influential French bourgeois papers such as the "Echo de Paris", "Le Journal", etc. shows how the French bourgeoisie intend to carry out the undertakings contained in the non-aggression pact. If precisely on the day of the signing of the non-aggression pact there was again served up in the French imperialist press the stupid old legend that the Red Army of workers and peasants has concluded a military alliance with the German Reichswehr of General Schleicher, this only shows how little the interventionist forces feel themselves bound by this Pact. The refusal by the Rumanian government to sign a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union shows that the imperialists have left a door open not only for masked but also for **open, unconcealed** war-preparations against the Soviet Union. The support which French imperialism is according the Japanese robber campaign in Manchuria and China, and also the monstrous war-preparations which France and its vassal States are eagerly making, show how great and acute the danger of a new world war and a war of intervention against the Soviet Union still is.

The non-aggression pact places a powerful weapon in the hands of the French proletariat in order to thwart the war intentions of its imperialist bourgeoisie. The non-aggression pact gives the French proletariat the possibility of showing more than hitherto the difference between the words of peace and the warlike acts of French imperialism, and thereby mobilising the French working people for effective fight against imperialist war.

## The Anglo-Persian Oil Dispute.

The "Isvestia" of December 2 contains a report from its Special Correspondent on the oil dispute that has just broken out between England and Persia, in which it is stated:

The telegraphic reports from Teheran and London regarding the cancellation of the Anglo-Persian concession by the Persian Government is a fact of great political importance, for the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is a great world concern which, along with Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell, is, so to speak, one of the pillars of international imperialism.

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company plays an exceedingly important political and economic role in the system of the British Empire; it maintains close connections with the British General Staff and controls about thirty other oil undertakings. The present conflict between the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Persian Government forms the climax to a whole number of collisions connected with the activity of this Company in Persia, especially in the period since the world war. The origin and activity of this Company constitutes, to use an expression of its official historian, a "romance of the spirit of British enterprise". It constitutes a case of colonial robbery and cynical plunder which is rare even in the period of imperialism.

In the year 1901, Mr. M. K. D'Arcy, an Englishman, obtained from the Shah of Persia for the trifling sum of £20,000 a concession to exploit the oil of the whole of Persia, with the exception of five northern provinces, for the period of sixty years. The Company, on its part, undertook to pay to the Persian Government an annual royalty amounting to sixteen per cent of the net profits. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company did not, however, take this obligation very seriously. It freed itself from almost all control and for decades exercised sovereign government power in south Persia, maintained its own armed forces, possessed its own police apparatus and Post and Telegraph offices, and concluded political treaties of alliance with the governing princes and chiefs of tribes. It practically ignored the central government. It was only in the last few years that the Anglo-Persian became more moderate in its political aspirations, and this only after the failure of the revolt of the tribes in the interior, organised by it in 1924 against the central government (This revolt took place under the slogan: Separation of South Persia and its proclamation as an autonomous region).

The Anglo-Persian is linked up with the state machinery of British imperialism and has developed in a short space of time into one of the giants of the modern oil industry. The exports of mineral oil products from Persia increased sixty-twofold in value in the period from 1914 to 1930. The capital of the Company has grown in the same period from two million to 24 million pound sterling. The revenue from the Income Tax alone forms a considerable item in the English budget. Persia, on the other hand, has derived practically no benefit from this increased production.

In spite of the enormous profits made by the Company, the balance sheets were so manipulated as to represent these profits as non-existent. The Company broke the record of all other oil companies in the traditional system of **capital improvements**. The shipping companies which were affiliated to the Anglo-Persian as daughter companies were permitted to increase their freight rates. Large amounts of capital were invested in undertakings in England and other countries, and finally, as already mentioned, the Anglo-Persian remitted enormous sums to England in the form of income tax. The balance arrived at by this means yielded to the Persian government a sum hardly worth mentioning compared with the actual profits of the company. As a result, it came to repeated disputes between the Company and the Persian government. The first big conflict in 1920 led to the Anglo-Persian admitting various "irregularities" in its balance sheet, and concluding a technical agreement which to a certain degree protected the Persian government against camouflaged increase of the company's outgoings.

But this treaty was systematically broken by the company in the following years. Especially in the last two years the Persian press has repeatedly called for a revision of the D'Arcy concession, the provisions of which in no way guarantee the interests of Persia. The Persian Government has also on several occasions proposed to the Company to take up negotiations regarding a revision of the conditions of the concession. These proposals, however, were rejected.

The last conflict arose in July last, when the Persian Government refused to accept the share of profits, which was again reduced. As a matter of fact output had increased by 6000 tons compared with the previous year. The Anglo-Persian Company had expended in the year 1931 over 9 million Pounds in purchasing shares of smaller oil undertakings and numerous shares in the Anglo-Egyptian Olex and also for investment purposes in Mesopotamia. According to the declaration of the President of the Anglo-Persian Company to the general meeting of shareholders in July last, "the past year showed the extraordinary financial power of the company". The reduction of profits, so far as they accrued to the Persian Government, therefore aroused fierce resentment in the Persian press and called forth sharp attacks against the Anglo-Persian. There was a general demand for the cancellation of the concession.

What importance attaches to the cancellation of the D'Arcy concession announced by the Persian Government? From the reports of the telegraph agencies it can already be seen that the English Government denies the possibility of a cancellation or revision of the concession, as there is no provision for this in the concession treaty. The Persian Government has on its side very serious arguments of a political character. In the first place it can point to the Persian Constitution, which expressly states that foreigners cannot acquire any concessions in Persia without the approval of Parliament (the same provision, i. e., the necessary approval of Parliament, applies also to foreign loans). As is known, the D'Arcy concession has not been ratified by the Persian Parliament, so that from the standpoint of the Persian Constitution its juridical basis is more than doubtful. The bourgeois specialists in international law will of course find thousands of reasons for discountenancing the decision of the Persian Government annulling the D'Arcy concession.

It is unnecessary to say that the solution of this question lies not in the sphere of juridical formulae but depends upon the relation of political forces. So far as the Persian Government is confronted in this question not only by an international oil concern but also by the whole economic and political power of the British Empire which stands behind the Anglo-Persian, the decision to cancel the D'Arcy concession is undoubtedly an act of great courage. It has only become possible because Great Britain, owing to the world economic crisis, has ceased to play its former role in the world. Whatever the results of the coming negotiations, the present Anglo-Persian conflict signalises a serious breach in the front of England's colonial policy. Its echo in the East will certainly help to increase the fissure in the already shaken edifice of Britain's world power.

## The Results of the American Elections.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

As this is written, two weeks after the presidential elections in the U.S.A., the results are not yet available even for Roosevelt and Hoover, not to speak of the vote for Foster and Ford, the Communist candidates, and Thomas, S.P. figure-head. The only data complete are for Congress, where the victorious Democratic Party has a majority comparable to the popular vote which swept the demagogue, Roosevelt, into power.

The Communist Party has evidently increased its vote a number of times. In 1928 Foster was credited with 49,000 votes as presidential candidate, plus many votes not counted because thrown out or stolen from him. This year, he was given 24,000 in New York City alone (9,000 in 1928); 11,000 in Chicago and its suburbs (1000 in 1928), in Minnesota 4,000 (incomplete), in two-thirds of Utah 1200 (in entire state in 1928 54), 5,065 in Iowa (incomplete; in 1928 2,960). In Arizona C.P. state candidates received as much as 12,538 (incomplete; Foster got 184 in the whole state in 1928); in Minnesota its congressional candidates got over 10,000, in New York City 26,200, etc. We see therefore, that in 2 cities and part or all of 3 states the C.P. candidate received practically as much as in the entire country four years ago. Local candidates received a total much greater. That enormous numbers of votes were stolen from the Communist candidates everywhere will be shown latter; whereas in Democratic strongholds, they stole from Republicans, Socialists and Communists (though to a far greater extent proportionally from the C.P.), and in Republican sections from the other parties, in all sections

they were impartial in suppressing Communist voters and votes.

The Socialist Party vote at present is 500,000, with little likelihood of more than an additional 200,000 when all votes are tabulated. The capitalist press of all shades had prophesied about 2,000,000 for **Thomas**, S.P. presidential nominee, and had supported him greatly with press and radio publicity, use of municipal meeting places, etc.

The following is the official tabulation of the popular vote for president:

Roosevelt . . . . .	21,682,858
Hoover . . . . .	15,266,604
Thomas . . . . .	524,466
Total	37,473,928
Roosevelt plurality	6,416,254

It is estimated there are still about a half-million votes to be counted, so that these totals are not final. Roosevelt got 472 electoral votes to Hoover's 59. Only 8-10 states were left with Republican governors. The Democratic victory could have been foreseen by the swing away from the Republicans in the Congressional elections of 1930 and more recently by the Democratic victory in Maine in September of this year.

The line-up in Congress will be as follows (these figures are final):

	Present Congress		New Congress	
	Senate	House	Senate	House
Democrats . . . . .	47	220	59	313
Republicans . . . . .	47	210	36	117
Farmer-Labor . . . . .	1	1	1	1
Vacancies . . . . .	1	4	—	—
Democratic majority	0	10	22	191

Roosevelt will have greater support in Congress than any other president since the Civil War. This is the first time in 40 years that the Republicans have been defeated in a straight two-party fight and the first time in 75 years that the Democrats have achieved an absolute majority of the popular vote cast. (Such is "democracy!") Some further light on this democratic land is thrown by the following facts: There are 61 million "potential" voters in the country, potential by the fact that they are native-born or legally naturalised citizens of voting age. But only 47 million were registered as qualified to vote, the rest being largely eliminated because they were Negro or poverty-stricken, or not known as good Democrats or Republicans. The actual vote, 38 million, made up only five eighths of the "potential" voters. Aside from this, millions of votes were destroyed, stolen, changed, or not counted, as is admitted by all and sundry.

The voting machines were out of order much of the time, especially for Communist candidates. In this Tammany (N.Y. Democracy, notorious for corruption) bailiwick the chief election official was sentenced to jail for corruption. In Newark the ballots were stolen by the Democrats. In Philadelphia the Republicans paid for votes at 25 cents and up, intimidating proletarian voters by threatening to stop their unemployment relief, especially Negro voters.

The cost of the election will probably never be known. The Democrats admit their National Committee collected about \$1,600,000 this year and the Republicans about an equal amount. During election week \$35,000,000 more currency was in circulation, much of which was doubtless spent in bribery and other election expenditures. These enormous sums are nothing new; in 1896 the Republicans raised \$12,000,000 to elect McKinley.

The "wet" sweep makes the repeal of prohibition certain, since the House has the necessary two-thirds majority to repeal it and the Senate nearly that number. The nine states voting on prohibition were all for repeal. This question, which both parties tried to put above the problem of the crisis and other basic economic and social questions, though in vain, will never be solved under capitalism. Bootlegging is an industry running into the billions in its investments and turnover, and such great bankers as Mellon and others are too closely tied up with it and its gangsterdom. It is noteworthy that all talk of repeal refers only to beer of slight alcoholic content and possibly light wines. It is likely to be solved by partial repeal plus the continued activity of the gangster-industrialist-banker confraternity in dispensing real liquors.

Roosevelt, the president-elect, is a wealthy aristocrat-banker, ex-Morgan lawyer, big-navy exponent, and withal a clever "liberal" demagogue. His vice-president is likewise a banker, Ku Kluxer and tool of the jingo publisher Hearst and of Wall Street. The new governor of New York Lehman, protege and war-monger associate of Roosevelt, is a banker in his own right, member of one of the leading Wall Street firms.

The Democratic Party, the party of "protest", is equally as representative of Wall Street as the Republicans. Among its leaders are Owen Young, forger of the Young-Plan chains about the German proletariat, bankers and industrialists. It is in every respect at one with the Republicans and on all questions which concern U.S. finance-capitalism they act together. In the future it is assured they will in general continue the Hoover policies—except the prohibition and to a certain extent the tariff. They may pretend to modify the Stimson policy toward the Far Eastern situation and perhaps decide on relations with the U.S.S.R.—but where they change it will be because Wall Street wishes it and has overcome the opposition of other groups of U.S. capitalism.

In Wall Street the results of the elections aroused little apprehension. Before the balloting the bankers were betting 7 to 1 on Roosevelt, so definite was his victory. The stock market, according to the N.Y. Post (Morgan organ) of the following day, "reflected chiefly the complacency of the speculative fraternity with the election results ... there was nothing in the way of disturbing selling". And the National City Bank more than a week before the elections stated, in the words of a summary in the N.Y. Times, "The most notable aspect of the current political campaign is the endorsement by both candidates and party platforms of principles of economy and sound money..." (Nov. 2). Wall Street's satisfaction was shown concretely by an immediate sharp rise in the stock market, which broke somewhat as stocks were sold on the wave of "good news".

It is generally accepted that Roosevelt's cabinet will have more great bankers and advisers of Wall Street than almost any in the past. Those mentioned are Young, Baruch, Traylor, Sabin, Reynolds, Davis, Baker, Raskob. A few "liberals" and a labour leader or farm politician may be thrown in for appearance's sake.

The entire press is stressing the fact that despite the great Democratic majority there will be virtually a coalition government, which is likely to go into effect during the remainder of Hoover's regime. Agreement on the need for a \$700 million budget cut, on the war debt question, on reducing public construction and federal jobs, on a sales tax, on prohibition, on foreign policy generally, etc. is already under way. The press is pushing this coalition to the utmost: "For a United Front", "A Four Month's Coalition" (editorial headings, Times, Nov. 14, 15); "Virtual Coalition Rule ..." (Sun, Nov. 15); "May Meet Hoover to Plan Interim Cooperation" (Herald, Tribuns, Nov. 15). The day after his election Roosevelt told the country it "transcends party lines". The Hoover-Roosevelt war debts conference, despite the programmatic stand of both parties against cancellation, is the cautious beginning of the joint action the international bankers are after.

In summary it should be pointed out that the masses of workers and petty-bourgeois cleaned house as effectively as the present stage of their class consciousness permitted. They ousted Hoover, symbol of the crisis and of capitalist oppression. That they believed the promises of a "new deal" and the liberalism of Roosevelt is a tribute to the efficiency of the democratic illusion, which is propagated so thoroughly through the press, church, radio, school and cinema, as well as through the machine of persuasion and intimidation which is the Democratic Party.

The press admitted the role of parliamentary democracy in fore-stalling revolutionary manifestations. Thus the Washington correspondent of the N.Y. Post (Nov. 9) wrote, "One very good theory of popular elections is that they are a substitute for revolutions ... Discontent has a chance at the ballot box. It waits for election day instead of erecting barricades in the street and throwing stones or bombs ... So a Democratic victory has the effect of easing the minds of the disaffected. Such classes begin a new period of waiting ... Isn't it reasonable to suppose that this result has eased the social strain to which this country has been subjected, eased it at least for a few months until perhaps the

evidences of recovery become more convincing!" The only trouble with this theory is that business recovery is not at hand: "There is little reason for expecting an immediate and substantial upturn in business activity." (Annalist, Nov. 11.) If anything the next months will show a decided worsening, due partly to seasonal causes.

Since Roosevelt and the other agents of finance-capitalism, who have replaced their discredited confrères, will carry out the same basic policies, and since there is no end of the crisis in sight, the mass discontent which was expressed in the elections will deepen. The slow awakening of the workers and farmers, of the Negroes and ex-soldiers, of the petty-bourgeois and intellectuals, which is now under way, will accelerate. As the attacks of the government and big business upon the masses increase they will lead to greater struggles—for relief, against wage-cuts, against war preparations, against Negro persecution, etc. The influence and membership of the American C.P. will grow in these struggles, as it breaks the masses away from the ideology of the two old parties of capitalism and the new one, the S.P. The elections have shown, however inadequately, the growing support of the C.P., and this will be further evidenced by the marches of the jobless, the veterans, and the farmers on Washington in the next few weeks.

## The Results of the Parliamentary Elections in Belgium.

By F. Coenen (Brussels).

The final figures of the Parliamentary elections in Belgium, which were held on November 27, are as follows:

	Votes	Per Cent		Seats	
		1932	1929	1932	1929
Catholics . . . . .	899,472	38.56	37.74	79	76
Social Democrats . . . . .	866,361	37.14	36.02	73	70
Liberals . . . . .	333,458	14.30	16.55	24	28
Flemish					
Nationalists . . . . .	126,116	5.41	5.94	8	11
Communists . . . . .	65,936	2.83	1.94	3	1
Fascists . . . . .	12,975	0.51			
Autonomists					
(Eupen) . . . . .	7,701	0.33	0.36		
Other Parties . . . . .	20,331	0.92			
Total . . . . .	2,332,350	100.00		187	

The Catholic Party has a net gain of 57,916 votes whilst the Liberal Party, which took part with it in the coalition government, has lost 35,656 votes, a decline of 10 per cent compared with 1929. The Liberals have lost votes in almost every part of the country, and it was only with the greatest efforts that they were able to maintain their vote in the three electoral districts of Brussels, Namur and Bruges.

The Catholic Party achieved its gains almost entirely in the Flemish districts. It succeeded in taking full advantage of the half-heartedness displayed by the Liberal Party for "tactical" reasons as a government party, and also of the religious fear of the rural population of Flanders, by holding up the bogey of an anti-clerical bloc.

The Flemish nationalist "Front Party", which follows in the wake of clericalism, also felt the results of the displeasure of the Bishops. If it had not achieved a considerable success in Ghent—15,254 votes compared with 5875 at the last election—and also made some trifling progress in the province of Limbourg, it would have come off very badly.

The gains of the social democrats, which fall short of the expectations of the leaders of the "Labour Party", amount to 63,014 votes. These gains were achieved before all in the Flemish districts, where the social democrats increased their vote by 41,769.

The Communist Party increased its vote by more than 50 per cent, polling 65,936 votes as compared with 43,237 in 1929. The biggest successes were achieved in Liege, where the Party increased its vote from 6660 to 13,616 and in Charleroi, where its vote rose from 5140 to 12,707. Considerable gains were also achieved in the following electoral districts: Thuin, 2000 votes as compared with 963, Ghent, 5172 votes as compared with 2788, Verviers 3318 votes as compared with 1946, Mons 3728 votes as compared with 2886, and Alost 684 votes as compared with 280 in the year 1929. In the electoral district

of Brussels the Communist Party made a further advance by polling 12,599 votes as compared with 10,437, and also in Nivelles where it polled 1071 compared with 591 votes at the last election.

In addition to these successes there were other constituencies where the Party gains were very trifling and in some cases where there was even a decline.

A Communist deputy has been elected in Brussels, Liege and Charleroi. Comrade Glineur, who has been elected in Charleroi, is serving a year's imprisonment for "insulting the king". His election as a Parliamentary deputy raises the question of immunity.

The Catholic-Liberal Government majority has been reduced by only one seat, but at the same time the Liberal Party has lost a good deal of the prestige it still possessed. The Clerical-Liberal government coalition will be maintained; at the present moment there is no other Parliamentary solution for capitalism. The social democratic party, which only gained three seats, cannot put forward a claim for admission into the government.

But the moment for the social democracy may come, for the government of finance capital must now proceed to carry out its notorious financial restoration plan: and the inner and outer difficulties, the differences in its own ranks, still remain and will become even more acute. In the meantime, the social democratic leaders will have to remain content with secretly supporting "in opposition" the reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie.

The main task of the Communist Party now is to organise its fight against the government, against the bourgeoisie and its supporters, by preparing, promoting and leading the extra-Parliamentary class struggle in accordance with its election programme, which it submitted to the working population and on the basis of which it polled 66,000 votes.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Class-War On the British Railways.

By R. Bishop (London).

The Railway National Wages Board is meeting at present to consider the demands of the railway companies of Great Britain for a further wage-cut to that imposed last year, making a cut of 10 per cent. in all.

In 1931 wages were cut by 2½-5 per cent. with the minimum wage reduced to 40/-. Now the companies want to make the cut a flat 10 per cent. and to reduce the minimum wage to 38/-.

In the last ten years rationalisation has reduced the number of workers employed by the railway companies by more than 100,000. Simultaneously with the new wage-cuts a pooling system is being adopted by the companies which will render 40,000 more railwaymen redundant.

The railwaymen are beginning to realise that if they accept the cuts this year, the only outcome is likely to be a demand for still further cuts next year. During the whole of the ten years the attrition of the workers' conditions has been taking place there has been strong resentment among them, but hitherto the reformist officials have been able, by dint of using militant language at the beginning of the negotiations, to get cuts accepted, although smaller cuts than those originally proposed by the companies. The companies' technique of asking for more than they really hope to get so as to present an appearance of sweet reasonableness in accepting less, is now completely seen through and there is a determination among every grade of railwaymen that the reformist officials of the unions shall not be able to ride away on militant but empty phrases from resistance to the attack.

While the companies plead poverty it is interesting to note that—

since 1921 they have paid the sum of £514,039,422 in dividend on shareholders' capital.

The companies make great play with the fact that before the war wages and salaries amounted to only £47,000,000, whereas now they are £102,000,000. Before the war the railways were the most sweated big industry in the country. Over 100,000 railwaymen were receiving less than £1 a week

for a 60 hour week. Some were receiving as little as 16/- per week.

The railways of Great Britain to-day have a capital of over twelve hundred million pounds. To their bondholders and shareholders they have distributed on the average £47 million a year since 1921. In 1921 the railway companies were amalgamated into four big combines, outside which there stands only the London Traffic Combine. This monopoly is being drawn even tighter by means of the Pooling arrangements now being arrived at and the buying up of many of the Road Transport Companies with which they have hitherto been in competition.

In the last 11 years, including 1931, there has been drawn out of the industry in industry and dividend payments the vast total of £514 millions. Only in four of these 11 years have the company paid less than in 1913, of which the General Manager of the old North-Eastern Railway said: "It was undoubtedly a peak year."

In March 1921 the railway companies of Great Britain employed 735,000 workers. The slump of 1921-22 brought this figure down to 676,802 in 1922. By the end of 1931 the figure was reduced to 614,700. In other words, where 6 men worked on the railways in 1921, there are only 5 to-day and the new pooling arrangements are calculated to intensify the process at unprecedented speed.

Particularly in the last five years the railway workers have come to learn from bitter experience the meaning of rationalisation. The closing down of stations was a first step. In 8 years 400 stations have been closed. The staffing of small stations with one man who combined the previous functions of two or three employes was the next. The closing down of goods depots and increasing centralisation followed, while the introduction of the Bedaux system and the utilisation of electricity to minimise the number of signal cabins required is now being actively carried through, along with the dreaded pooling.

The following figures may help to show how the workers' burden has been increased since the war. In 1930 each worker handled 1,910 passengers as compared with 1,770 in 1921, and 1,780 in 1923. In 1930 each worker bore 50 more tons than in 1920.

The receipts on the Big Four per worker are only £2 below 1925, whereas expenses are down by £16 per head. The net railway receipts rose from £34 per worker in 1935 to £48 in 1931. The rate of exploitation has increased by a third in six years.

The Board, which met to consider the demands of the companies on November 29, is compelled to make its award within 28 days. By its composition it is bound as in the past to award the company what it wants although the demand for 10 per cent. may be scaled down to 7½. The railwaymen are determined to resist. This makes the chance of a railway strike at Christmas more than a remote possibility. As a rank and file railwayman said at a mass meeting at Stratford last week: "If the companies want to spoil our Christmas dinners, we will spoil theirs."

The reformist officials of the three unions are making the most bold statements, stating that they will never agree to a penny reduction. But the workers have a vivid recollection that last year **Cramp** made the melodramatic statement, "Rather would I have my right hand cut off than sign any agreement involving further wage-cuts". Nevertheless he signed the agreement and both his hands remain intact to repeat the treachery.

But this year the position is different. Alderman Dobbie, the President of the National Union of Railwaymen, said in a press interview:

"A recklessness is apparent, which I have never known before among railwaymen. They feel that whatever happens they cannot be much worse off than at present."

The growing militancy, which Mr. Dobbie prefers to call "recklessness", is taking the form of developing a rank and file movement on a depot basis, which will be able to take action on its own, however much the reformists may attempt to repeat the betrayals of previous years.

In London a rank and file conference has been called by a group of over 40 influential members of branch or District Committees of the three rail unions. Delegates are going to attend from similar rank and file bodies in the Provinces. The Essex District Committee of the National Union of Rail-

waymen has instructed all its units to make preparation for strike action.

All of which is exceedingly disquieting to the bureaucrats. Mr. Cramp has issued a circular to N.U.R. (National Union of Railwaymen) branches warning them that if they have anything to do with unofficial movements they will render themselves liable to disciplinary action.

The rank and file railwaymen everywhere, however, are not so easily to be fobbed off, and there is a general recognition that the only way to prevent attack after attack being launched by the companies is to stand firm and to fight now.

The **Railwaymen's Vigilance Movement**, as the rank and file movement is styled, has issued a statement in which it says:

"In this struggle in defence of our conditions, the determining factor will be, not discussions at the National Wages Board, but militant preparation for struggle on the part of the railwaymen themselves."

And that opinion is shared to-day by a larger number of railway workers than ever before. In no industry have illusions with the reformist leadership taken longer to die, but they are dying rapidly at the present moment.

## THE WAR

### War Alarm in Czechoslovakia.

By Kurt Konrad (Prague).

The Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister **Benes** delivered a speech some time ago at the French Academy of Moral Science in which he summoned the "French revolution of reason" to fight against the "Eastern revolution of instinct and barbarism". This speech was the outcome of diplomatic conversations which **Benes**, together with the then Polish Foreign Minister **Zaleski**, had with **Herriot** on October 17, in Paris. On his return, **Benes** reported in Parliament on the foreign-political situation in a speech, which culminated in the sentence: "the year 1933 will decide the question of war or peace". The whole speech was in every respect a war speech and portrayed the danger of war in the blackest colours. This speech of the Foreign Minister called forth a direct panic among the Czechoslovakian public, for it was the first time that **Benes**, instead of uttering general phrases about peace and disarmament, revealed the truth, or at least half the truth, regarding the war danger, in order to stir up war feeling and in addition prevent a reduction of the war budget.

**Benes'** war speech was prompted by the ever deepening crisis of the Versailles system. Following the renewal of the Franco-Polish military treaty on September 15, 1932, important conversations took place in Geneva the result of which the "Narodni Politika" sums up as follows:

"France considers it expedient to extend the Franco-Polish Treaty by further treaties which shall secure the frontiers of and joint diplomatic action by France and Czechoslovakia on the one side and Czechoslovakia and Poland on the other, insofar as the frontiers abutting on Germany are concerned. Here a certain Entente of three States would arise, a security Entente which would be similar to the Treaty of the Little Entente . . ."

This indicates that with the renewal of the Franco-Polish military Treaty, whilst maintaining all the provisions regarding common action against the Soviet Union, special provisions were added regarding action against Germany. That the ultimate aim of the further agreement between France, Poland and the Little Entente is an anti-Soviet alliance is shown by the inclusion of Yugoslavia and Rumania, which have no frontiers bordering Germany. In the Yugoslavian question, the aggravation of the Italo-French antagonism, which has taken place especially since **Herriot's** negotiation with Spain regarding the conversion of Port Mahon on the island of Minorca into a French naval base in the Mediterranean may play a role.

France is also attempting by other means to counter-act the centrifugal tendencies of its allies, as expressed in the crisis of the Little Entente. It is known that French control of the Rumanian and Yugoslavian economy and State administration is being continually tightened up. Also in Czechoslovakia there are signs of such a financial, economic and political tutelage. Thus the conditions of the recent French

loan to Czechoslovakia imposed upon the Czechoslovakian government the obligation to undertake those monstrous cuts in the salaries of the civil servants which are now calling forth such great indignation. The loan agreement further states: "Czechoslovakia must not use this loan for the purpose of extending its commercial relations with the Soviet Union." It is known, however, that considerably more than half of the heavy industry of Czechoslovakia is preserved from complete bankruptcy thanks only to orders from the Soviet Union.

During the last few months there has been a considerable increase in Franco-Czechoslovakian military co-operation, in which connection the French military mission in Prague, headed by General **Faucher**, plays an important role. A month ago there took place in Prague a Congress of the chemical industry, which discussed in secret the utilisation of chemistry in warfare. This Congress was also attended by the French air minister **Painlevé**. The chief object of his visit, however, was to have secret conversations with **Syrový**, the chief of the Czechoslovakian general staff. It has become known that at these conversations the question of organising a supreme war council in Czechoslovakia was discussed. The preparations for introducing preliminary military training of the youth by the State are making further progress.

In this situation there took place at Belgrade on November 15, a Conference of the general staffs of the Little Entente. A very well informed Prague paper, the "Bohemia", writes regarding this:

"The chiefs of the general staffs of the three States of the Little Entente have now discussed for some days in Belgrade the military questions of their countries. The list of those participating in the Conference contains the names of over two dozen generals, as well, as a large number of officers of higher rank. It was a **big council of war**, and the feeble assertion that one of the chief subjects discussed was the disarmament problem will not be taken seriously by anybody. There were much more actual things which probably engaged the attention of the responsible military personalities of the Little Entente."

As is to be seen from the various reports, this big council of war discussed in the first place the question of a closer and more uniform military co-operation of the Little Entente. Further, one of the items on the agenda was the conclusion of the secret treaty between Gömbös, the Hungarian Prime Minister, and Mussolini, which took place just before the Conference, and—last but not least—the question of intervention against the Soviet Union, which has become very actual through the breaking off of the non-aggression pact negotiations between Rumania and the Soviet Union.

Of the numerous facts we call attention to three, which show how the Czechish bourgeoisie are preparing for a war which is to commence in the immediate future. The division commanders are collecting particulars of all machines in the metal factories, their maximum and minimum capacity, the way they are produced, their serviceability in the event of war etc. Further, a record of all persons of scientific knowledge is being drawn up, who in the event, of mobilisation must not be called to the colours as they are indispensable for the war industry. Thirdly, the institution of the so-called mobilisation officers in the army has been created. If to this one adds the feverish activity of the armament industry, which recently set up a definite organisation and the systematic fostering of war feeling by the nationalist press, then one can gain an idea of the seriousness of the war-preparations in Czechoslovakia.

The revolutionary press of Czechoslovakia is conducting a systematic fight against these war-preparations, and is succeeding in ruthlessly exposing them, in spite of the censorship and other difficulties.

## More Wage Increases in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 16th November 1932.

On the 7th November a decree was issued providing for radical increases of pay for all ranks in the Red Army reaching in some cases 100 percent. The People's Commissariat for **Heavy Industry** has now drawn up a new wage agreement with its workers according to which they will receive wage increases ranging from 20 to 25 percent. Similar increases for the workers in the manufacturing and non-ferrous metal industries are in preparation.

## Decisions of the League of Nations Commissioner against Danzig.

By Nemo.

The League of Nations Council had appointed a Committee of experts to investigate and settle Danzig-Polish economic relations. The report of this Committee ran to 160 pages and was submitted to the disputing parties in September last. As no agreement could be come to at the negotiations in Warsaw on the proposals contained in this experts' report, the League of Nations Commissioner pronounced his decision on November 20, last. His award is based on the proposals for a settlement made by the experts and is very unfavourable for Danzig.

It does away with a number of sovereign rights hitherto possessed by Danzig and thus tightens the chains of Versailles. Mr. Rosting's award contains three main sections: Danzig's import quotas, free entry of Danzig goods into Poland, and various questions of customs administration.

According to the Warsaw Agreement of October 24, Danzig had the right to determine the import quotas for the requirements of its industry, agriculture and handicraft. Poland's import prohibitions had therefore no validity as regards these import quotas. The Polish capitalists demanded the abolition of part 7 of the Warsaw treaty, which contains this self-determination right of Danzig. This demand has now been practically complied with, as in future not Danzig but a committee consisting of three Danzigers and three Poles will decide the question of Danzig's quota requirements. If the committee should fail to agree, a neutral expert is to be called in.

This mixed Committee is also empowered to see to it that in future a sufficient quantity of raw material is worked up in Danzig. Poland has demanded that the semi-manufactured articles imported into Danzig shall be increased 50 per cent. in value by Danzig labour. Here, too, the wishes of the Polish capitalists have been to a very great extent complied with.

It is obvious that these decisions can give rise to fresh and numerous difficulties. They render Danzig still more dependent upon Poland and will result in the closing down of a number of enterprises as these are engaged in working up German raw materials and semi-manufactures. It was the superiority of the Danzig products over Polish that caused them to find a ready market in Poland. The free entry of Danzig goods into Poland, it is true, has been ordered by the League of Nations commissioner. But this will mean nothing in face of these fresh onerous conditions.

In the question of the customs administration, some decisions have been made against Danzig and some against Poland. A new and important alteration, which likewise abolishes the Warsaw agreement, is the obligation for the Danzig customs officials to accept instructions, cheques etc. in Polish language. This decision will serve to inflame nationalist hatred on both sides.

In view of this decision, which renders more difficult the economic life of Danzig, the reply of the Danzig capitalists is remarkable in many respects. The whole of the Danzig press represent the decision of the League of Nations' Commissioner as a success for Danzig. In addition, their articles contain fresh offers to Poland. The "Danziger Landeszeitung" (Centre) writes:

"We have been granted our rights, and everything we demanded . . . We are . . . of the opinion that a reasonable economic understanding would be the best for both parties . . ."

Of course the social democratic "Volksstimme" adopts exactly the same line as the bourgeois press. It insists even more strongly on the necessity of an understanding, and states that it has confidence in the League of Nations in regard to the Zloty dispute.

The object of the attempts to represent the defeat of Danzig as a victory is to strengthen confidence in the capitalist rulers of Danzig and in the League of Nations. It reveals the fear of the rebellious masses, who if they once came to recognise the truth would completely turn away from the nationalist phrase-mongers. These attempts to deceive the population of Danzig are a proof of the weakness of the Danzig bourgeoisie. The new offer of an understanding shows the desire to abandon still further the sovereign rights of Danzig, in return for being allowed to maintain profits, in

return for Polish support in the fight against the Danzig working class.

The years 1931 and 1932 have witnessed severe defeats for the Danzig bourgeoisie on the home and foreign front. The policy of surrender to Polish fascism will accelerate the decay of the capitalist and the growth of the revolutionary forces.

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### Reply to the Lytton Report with National Revolutionary War against Imperialism!

The C.C. of the C.P. of the China has published the following appeal to the workers, peasants and oppressed masses of China. We print this document which sets forth the attitude of the Chinese proletariat and working peasants to the Lytton report. Ed.

Workers and Oppressed Masses of China!

The report of the Lytton Commission is a new chain placed upon the toiling masses of China by that combination of imperialist bandits, the League of Nations. It is a new instrument for partitioning China and enslaving the Chinese toiling masses.

This report is the most outspokenly shameless document ever issued by the imperialist bandits for carving up and robbing the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It gives as the reason for the commencement of the Japanese robber-campaign on September 18, 1931 not the colonial policy of the imperialists, but the growth of the anti-imperialist and boycott movement of the broad masses of China, and before all the development and spread of Communism in China, and also the existence of the Soviet Union. It unreservedly supports the invasion of China, the annexation of Manchuria, and the enslavement of 30 million people in Manchuria and the masses of China by Japanese imperialism.

The Lytton Report is a call to the world counter-revolutionary forces to unite in order to carry on a bloody war against the revolutionary movement in China and the country of Socialism, the Soviet Union. It states that only by suppressing the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement, the boycott movement, the insurgents in Manchuria, the Chinese Red Army, the Soviets and the Communist Party of China will it be possible to restore "law and order" and to help China to overcome its difficulties by means of international collaboration. It proclaims loudly to the world that only through an annihilating war against the Soviet Union can the Far East be secured for world imperialism in general and Japanese imperialism in particular.

The Lytton Report is nothing else but the plan for an international imperialist control over China. This control is not only to assume the form of a system of foreign advisers, of international gendarmerie and of arbitration courts over Manchuria, but it is intended to extend such a control over the whole of the Chinese territory. Such a control has already existed in Shanghai since January 28, since the Japanese attack of Chapei.

The Lytton Report is of course a new stimulus to the bourgeois-landowning Kuomintang rule to increase the oppression of the Chinese people. It praises the heroic deeds of the Kuomintang which has so faithfully served the imperialists, which has put into practice the alleged doctrine of Sun-Yat-Sen regarding international co-operation in the internal construction of China. On the other hand, however, the report warns the Kuomintang and recommends it to eradicate completely the revolutionary movement, to stop the boycott of Japanese goods and the activities of the Manchurian volunteers, and in particular to destroy the Communist Party of China, the Soviet Government and the Red Army, to conduct with redoubled energy an unceasing offensive against the Soviet Union in order to earn more financial, military and political support from the imperialists.

Such is the content of the Lytton Report, the natural product of the organ of predatory imperialism. The Kuomintang is of course prepared to accept such reports without hesitation. In the eyes of the Kuomintang, the watchdog of the imperialists, this report is "exceedingly impartial" and may serve as a basis for negotiations. Nay more! Long before

the Lytton report had been drafted, the Kuomintang had declared itself in agreement with the conclusions contained therein.

Workers, peasants and oppressed masses of China! We have fought consistently against the imperialist League of Nations and its Commission of Enquiry. We oppose this report entirely. We must unite in order to tear the insulting report to pieces. To this report there is only one answer: powerful mass protest by factory meetings, mass meetings and demonstrations.

Workers, peasants, oppressed and exploited masses of China! The counter-revolutionary groups of all shades will make use of the deceitful phrases of the Lytton Report in order to praise the "impartiality" of the Commission, or adopt an oppositional attitude towards the Report, calling upon us to petition the Kuomintang government to reject it, or else suggesting that the League of Nations shall modify certain clauses in order to allay the anger and protest of the masses. These are nothing else but tricks in order to prepare the way for the Kuomintang to sell China to the imperialists. We must fight against these counter-revolutionary machinations. We must immediately intensify our fight against Japanese imperialism and all imperialists, as well as against the watchdog of imperialism, the Kuomintang.

Organise groups for carrying out the boycott of Japanese goods. Organise troops who are prepared to fight to the death in order to regain the lost territory of Manchuria. Join the anti-Japanese and Anti-Imperialist League, strengthen and extend the anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist front. Masses arm yourselves! Defeat Japanese and other imperialists in a national-revolutionary war! Defeat the lackeys of the imperialists, the treacherous Kuomintang! Defend the anti-imperialist government, the Chinese Soviet Government! Fight against the fourth campaign of the imperialist Kuomintang against the Soviet district and the Red Army! Defend the anti-imperialist Soviet Union! Chinese working masses, conclude a firm alliance with the Soviet Union! Fight against the imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union!

The C.C. of the Communist Party of China.

October 5, 1932.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Sidky Government and the Imperialist Robbery of Egypt.

By J. B.

For some months past a part of the British Conservative press has been conducting a campaign for the conclusion of an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty with the present Government of Sidky Pasha. During his visit to Europe Sidky Pasha had a meeting with Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, and discussed with him the possibilities of such a treaty. The British imperialists have no illusions that Sidky Pasha enjoys any support in Egypt apart from the imperialist bayonets, the parasitic court clique of King Fuad, and a part of the trading bourgeoisie: the broad masses of the people regard Sidky Pasha as an agent of British imperialism, a hateful oppressor, who carries on more ruthlessly than ever the exploitation of the working people for the benefit of the imperialists and their allies.

If the question of an agreement with Sidky Pasha is placed on the agenda, this is done in the first place by those circles which nevertheless desire the imperialist positions in the colonies to be settled without any compromise with the national reformists, which hope to be able the better to make use of the national reformists as soon as a fait accompli has been brought about with the aid of the direct imperialist agents.

Sidky Pasha himself wishes to obtain this Treaty as a reward for the lackey service he has rendered the imperialists for the last two years and more. He has not only completely surrendered the Sudan, he has not only agreed to the Jebel-Auli project, which gives the English the possibility of retaining Egypt in their hands even in the event of a military evacuation, he has not only taken care that the economic interests of the British capitalists in Egypt remain



preserved in the period of crises. He has crushed the anti-imperialist mass movement more brutally than any of his predecessors; he has bloodily throttled the workers' demonstrations (especially the great demonstrations of the Cairo proletariat in May 1931) and done away with the freedom of the press and organisation.

In addition, Sidky Pasha, taking advantage of the serious agrarian crisis, the disastrous drop in the price of cotton and the poverty of the Egyptian peasants, has thought out new cunning methods in order to secure the profits to the imperialists. He has done away with the law according to which a peasant must be left in possession of at least 5 feddans of land. With the founding of an "agrarian bank", he created an instrument for the mass expropriation of the small peasants for the benefit of the mortgage holders; and in addition to all this he has facilitated the direct transference of vast tracts of land in Egypt into the hands of speculators.

The national reformist organ "El Balagh" complains:

"We are about to lose the land of Egypt. We have long since lost many streets in Cairo and Alexandria, and our Arab language is only spoken by servants. It seems that we are now to be deprived of the rural land in the same manner as we formerly lost the towns... In a short time we shall see big foreign colonies in our villages. The Egyptian fellahs will have to work for meagre wages on these foreign plantations, just as the Egyptian servants who are now employed in the houses of foreigners in the towns. We are not exaggerating nor painting too black a picture. It suffices to take a brief glance at the compulsory sales now taking place in Cairo, Alexandria and Mansurah in order to find confirmation for our pessimism. The number of these compulsory sales amounts to not less than 500, and the result is that thousands of peasants are robbed of their land... The expropriation of the land is in full swing, especially as regards small holdings."

Apart from this expropriation of the soil of Egypt, the exploitation of Egypt and the robbery of Egyptian national economy goes on the ordinary way. Interest has to be paid punctually; the high salaries of the British officials are not reduced; the dividends of the banks and joint stock companies in Egypt show no appreciable decline.

In face of the growing resistance of the masses to the plundering of the country by the imperialists and Sidky, in face of the fresh revolt of the masses, expressed in peasant outbreaks, assassinations, a wave of strikes in the towns, unrest among the students, the national reformists (the Wafd) are attempting by oppositional phrases to preserve their influence over the masses who are becoming more and more revolutionary. In reality the Wafd confines itself to paper protests, engages in inner clique struggles, and does not cease to seek new compromises with the English imperialists. What the British imperialists themselves think of the oppositional attitude of the Wafd is shown by the proposals of that part of the imperialist press which advises against the adventure of concluding a treaty with Sidky. This section of the British imperialists believes that the Sidky Government has created the prerequisites for the formation of a new coalition Government in Egypt, in which the Wafd shall take part and sign the Treaty submitted by England.

It is very doubtful, however, whether the one manoeuvre (conclusion of a Treaty with Sidky) or the other (coalition government and treaty with the Wafd) will be able to provide guarantees for the further plundering of the country, as the growing ferment among the working masses of Egypt is seriously threatening to upset all the imperialist combinations.

## French Imperialism in the Far East.

By J. P.

The power of French imperialism is based largely on an extensive and savage exploitation of colonial peoples of Africa and Asia. While the area of France itself is only 212,895 square miles, that of its colonies is 5,657,804. The total area of the French colonies in the Far East is about 325,000 square miles. Of these the largest—Indo-China—has a population of 22 million, of whom only about 35,000 are Europeans. Most of these are French soldiers, marines and gendarmes.

France also claims the Chinese province of Yunnan and the south-western part of Kwangsi as its "spheres of influence". Outside of these colonies, France also has the so-

called "concessions" in Shanghai and other Chinese sea-port towns. The French imperialists are also active in Siam and the Eastern part of Further India. But it is Indo-China which they regard as a real jewel among their colonial possessions.

The value of exports from here, in 1929, was over 3,000 million francs. The French imports into Indo-China amounted to 2,600 million francs. But it is not only the profitable economic exploitation of Indo-China that is valuable to French imperialists. They consider Indo-China as a base for further conquests in China. With the aim of strengthening their hold on southern China, they built a railroad from Hanoi (Indo-China) to Yunnan City, China.

In order to insure their freedom of activity in southern China, the French imperialists maintain friendly relations with the Japanese imperialists. This fact was very clearly illustrated by the French attitude towards the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Mongolia. France not only did everything possible to prevent any interference by the League of Nations with the Japanese plans, but actually backed them up.

Unlike those of other imperialist powers, the interests of France and Japan more or less coincide. France is not competing to any great extent with Japanese exports, and French aims in southern China at the present do not threaten the expansion of Japanese imperialism, which is occupied with a hard task in Manchuria, Mongolia and Northern China in general.

During the last few years a definite understanding and co-operation between French and Japanese imperialists became absolutely essential. The revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement in China found an echo also in French Indo-China. The years 1930 and 1931 were marked by uprisings of the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants against the foreign and native exploiters. The French statistics themselves show that in 1930, in French Indo-China, 649 people were killed or executed for taking part in revolutionary movements and for participating in public demonstrations against French imperialist rule. In 1931—406 were shot or guillotined. Of these 175 were slaughtered for taking part in May Day demonstrations. Many thousands were wounded during these and other massacres. All the prisons are overcrowded with political prisoners. But in spite of all this the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement grows and the fight for national independence and against misery, starvation and oppression continues.

No wonder France needs allies who can help her in her Far Eastern difficulties. And such allies she has found among Japanese imperialists, who also are anxious to have an important imperialist power to back them up in their colonial adventures.

The development and advance of the Soviet movement in China also cause worry to France as well as to other imperialist powers. A strong Chinese Soviet district, around Lungchow, lies directly on the border line of French Indo-China. Contrary to all imperialist hopes and expectations, the Chinese Kuomintang government has not been able to defeat or stop the expansion of the Soviet area. The French imperialists recognise such a situation as very dangerous, and are aiding the Kuomintang butchers in their attack on the Chinese masses, and calling for open intervention against the Soviets of China.

The French imperialists have been the leaders of many campaigns for a war against Soviet Russia. Now they are the leaders of a joint campaign for a war against the liberated peoples of Soviet China and the Soviet Union. That their policy of intervention is gaining support, is clearly shown by the Lytton Report. The outstanding point in this Report is that which calls upon all imperialist powers to join hands in a life and death struggle against "a rival social system", meaning the building up of socialism in Soviet Union and Soviet China.

## Communist Party Daily again Appears.

Madrid, 1st December 1932.

Following on a powerful and mass campaign of protest during which no less than 50,000 Pesetas were collected for the workers press, the Spanish government has now withdrawn its suppression order against the "Mundo Obrero" ("The Workers Voice"), the daily organ of the Spanish Communist Party which appeared again yesterday.

## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# **The Technical Intelligentsia and Socialist Construction.**

By **W. Molotov.**

## **Speech Delivered at the 5<sup>th</sup> All-Union Conference of Engineers and Technicians of the Soviet Union on November 26, 1932.**

### I.

#### **Politics, the Masses and the Technical Intelligentsia.**

Comrades! I should like in the first place to convey to the Conference, and through it to the whole of the engineers and technicians, the fraternal greetings of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and of the Council of People's Commissars (Loud applause).

The present Conference has met at a moment when the working class of our country is summing up the results of the fifteen years existence of the Soviet Power. The question, what these results consist of, is of great political importance; the answer to this question concerns the interests not only of the Soviet Union, but also of all classes in the capitalist countries.

The fifteenth anniversary of October is an important date in the history of the international proletarian revolution, in the history of the decisive struggle of Communism against capitalism. For the proletarian, and for the working peasant—no matter in what country he may be living—broad possibilities are now offered of comparing the life of the toiler under present-day capitalism, which is in a state of absolute decay, with the life of the toiler under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is building up socialism in the Soviet Republic. There can be no doubt whatever that the worker, and every toiler who is able to consider the fundamental facts and events of the last fifteen years, will know what fundamental conclusion results therefrom for him. This conclusion will inevitably be, that the actual difficulties still confronting the toilers of the Soviet Union can in no way be compared with the situation of the workers and of all toilers under the conditions of the temporary stabilisation of capitalism which is now collapsing, under the conditions of the three years of world economic crisis, of enormous unemployment and of the crying need of millions in the countries under capitalist rule. On the other hand, the growing enthusiasm of the workers and of the masses of collective peasants of the Soviet Union who are building up socialism is the best reply to the question as to the attitude of the toilers of our country to the October Revolution. It is therefore understandable that the broad masses of the working class on the other side of the frontiers of the Soviet Union are becoming more and more convinced that for them a better future is inseparably bound up with the fate of the October revolution and its international prospects. The facts show that no manoeuvres on the part of the pseudo-socialist parties of Europe and America can hide the growing revolutionary indignation of the masses of the proletarians, who are finally going over to the side of the international socialist revolution.

All these fundamental questions of politics inevitably confront also the technical intelligentsia. In their circles there of course exists no completely uniform estimate of the results of the October Revolution. This uniformity can by no means be expected, because the social roots of the individual sections of the engineers and technicians greatly vary. A great part of the old specialists were connected in the past with sections of the bourgeoisie. Along with a strong stratum of new specialists from the proletarian youth, there exist among the technical intelligentsia very considerable numbers of technicians who are connected with non-proletarian, petty bourgeois strata. The social composition and the political physiognomy of the technical intelligentsia has changed considerably in the last 18 months. There is no doubt that the majority of their present cadres stand firmly on the basis of October. It must not be forgotten that a political turn in our favour has taken place in

the last few years among the old and most highly qualified cadres of engineers and technicians.

We must fight with all the greater energy for a conscious and active support of the Bolshevik policy of the Soviet Power by the masses of the technical intelligentsia. Without this support the successful building up of Socialism cannot be assured.

The capitalists in power do not draw the engineers and technicians into politics. Here too there is with them a peculiar division of labour. The capitalists want the working population, including the engineers and technicians, to concern themselves as little as possible with political matters. For this purpose the capitalists have in their service specially trained bourgeois politicians, "specialists" in quietening the revolutionary workers, "specialists" in lulling the class vigilance of the toilers, "specialists" in spreading and strengthening all kinds of political and religious prejudices which are useful for the bourgeoisie for the purpose of preserving their rule. The bourgeoisie assign to the engineers and technicians a limited sphere of activity in the enterprises or institutions, but endeavour with all the means at their disposal to enforce from them faithful service to private capital and definite submission to bourgeois influence. The bourgeoisie usually succeed in doing this for a time also in the case of the specialists who come from the working section of the population. The bourgeois parties of all shades, including the radical socialists, social democrats "independents" etc., do what remains to be done in order to shape the political character of the technical intelligentsia.

That is how matters are in the bourgeois countries. With us the specialists are in quite another situation.

The capitalists cannot get on either in home or in foreign politics without "secret diplomacy", without political secrets, which are hidden from the workers and toilers in general. Therefore they hypocritically tell the workers not to have anything to do with politics, or at the most to be neutral on political questions. The capitalists cannot but fear that the honest, scientifically educated engineer, technician or agronomist, who has grasped the essence of political questions, who understands matters which are conducted exclusively by the well-to-do politicians of the bourgeois parties, might come to the conclusion that he cannot support them, or at least cannot associate himself with the policy of the bourgeoisie, with the policy of oppression and predatory exploitation of the workers and peasants, which results in increasing the material wealth and pleasure of the ruling class of the bourgeoisie.

With us there is a different situation, a situation diametrically opposed to that in the capitalist countries.

The Bolsheviks desire the engineers and technicians to be drawn into politics. The Bolsheviks want the engineers, technicians and agronomists to take a conscious and active part in the political fight—of course on the side of the working class and of the toilers, of course in order finally to overcome the bourgeoisie and their last influence. We do not doubt that the more highly developed the political consciousness of the masses of engineers and technicians becomes and the more profoundly they grasp and ponder the results and facts of the proletarian fight against the bourgeoisie and for Socialism, for the future of the whole of humanity, the more actively and successfully they will fight on our side, on the side of the October revolution, on the front of socialist construction. Nay more, we directly assert, that without the necessary understanding, without the necessary recognition

in regard to politics, no one can really call himself an intelligent, thinking and cultured human being.

The mask of neutrality avails nothing. In the best case it is a sign of profound social backwardness on the part of a man, even if he holds a diploma or possesses a "great name". We remember also that, under the influence of this or that circumstance, there can even now be political vacillations in the ranks of the technical intelligentsia at the moment of intensification of the class struggles, and that they are even inevitable. From this the Bolsheviks draw the conclusion that they must again and again turn to the technical intelligentsia, explain to them their political line, submit to them the analysis of the facts of social development and of the class struggle, and must set themselves the task of not ceasing but extending and deepening the political work among the technicians and engineers.

This follows from the vital necessities of the Soviet power, from the fundamental interests of socialist construction. The Communists regard the question of socialist construction as a question of Bolshevik education and organisation of the masses under the flag of their emancipation from exploitation and intellectual slavery, by means of which the bourgeoisie subjugate the toilers. Therefore, the Bolsheviks again and again put to the vacillating elements of the technical intelligentsia the question of what path they intend to choose, the question of what **ruling** class they wish to go with, with the proletariat or with the bourgeoisie? "Neutrality" in this question means in reality support of the bourgeoisie—when the capitalists are in power, or in the best case a half-way position between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—when, as at the present time, the last decisive fight of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is proceeding. It is time that those people who have access to books and can study historical facts, understood that there are no more pitiable people than those who, even after the events of the last fifteen years, are not clear regarding the questions of the class struggle which determine the fate of countries and peoples. It is impossible, however, to obtain a true conception of the meaning of the social class struggle without grasping that only one of the two classes—capitalist bourgeoisie, or socialist proletariat—can be in power. The intermediary strata and classes cannot play an important **leading** role, and are either doomed historically to passivity on the side of the bourgeoisie and of the big landowners, or must become allies of the proletariat that has inscribed on its flag the emancipation fight of all toilers from the yoke of bourgeois exploitation.

We put these politically fundamental questions to the whole mass of engineers and technicians, and strive at the same time to create complete clarity, which the bourgeois system could get on without, but which the country of the Soviets, which is building Socialism, cannot get on without. We regard it as one of our most important tasks to achieve the most rapid and final going over of the whole mass of engineers and technicians to the side of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to active participation in the socialist re-education of the masses under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

We write and speak a good deal about our work of construction, about starting new works and factories going, about the work of the factories which are already functioning. The importance of our work of construction, however, lies not only and not so much in the number of the working, the equipped and the new factories, as in the inner life which is going on in these factories, and the new construction under the proletarian dictatorship. Of decisive importance is the **content** of that work which our Party, the Soviets, the trade unions, the Young Communist League and other organisations are performing in the undertakings and on the new constructions. It must be particularly clear to the old specialists what fundamental changes have taken place in the life of our industrial undertakings since the October Revolution. With all the shortcomings in the work of some of our Party, Soviet, economic, trade union and Young Communist organisations, one must nevertheless see that our factories and pits, that our workshops are living a new life, are breathing another air than the old. These undertakings of ours have become schools of socialist education of the working people. In them the old workers as well as the new employees, engineers, and finally also the managers, who have only recently come from various strata in the towns and villages, are being re-educated. This great work, the work on the collective farms and Soviet farms

included, is proceeding under the leadership of our Bolshevik Party, which gives the political direction and leadership to the whole practical work of the Soviets, trade unions, and also other organisations and institutions. Only the class-consciousness and activity of the masses—of the workers, collective peasants and others—furnishes us with a firm basis for the rapid advance of socialist construction. The growth of this class-consciousness and activity of the working people is the chief expression of the successes of our work for the socialist re-education of the masses.

How great our successes are in this respect is to be seen from the fact that the Party has been able to set itself the task, under the second Five-Year Plan, of completely liquidating the capitalist elements, abolishing classes and converting the whole mass of the working people into conscious and active builders of the classless socialist society. And this task is not a phantastic but a historical task set the proletariat, the leading power in our country, by the whole course of the fight and events.

The technical intelligentsia occupy advanced positions in the construction of the new society and much, very much, depends upon the growth of their political consciousness and their scientific-technical qualifications, which are so necessary for the management of industry, of agricultural and transport undertakings.

The Soviet Union has great tasks which can never be solved without struggle, without difficulties. We are not advancing along a smooth high road. We have to conduct a big fight, in which individual attempts at organised counter-revolutionary resistance must be overcome and in which elementary obstacles arise at every step, especially in the country. At every stage of the proletarian revolution the serious success of our cause depends upon our pertinacity in the fight, upon our capacity to overcome each and every difficulty. We can already say that we have overcome our main inner difficulties. The Leninist question, "Who will beat whom?" has been finally and irrevocably decided in our country.

Victory has been achieved thanks to the circumstance that our Party has kept firmly to its Bolshevik position and offered resistance, both in principle and in practice, to all enemies of Leninism in the opportunist camp. There were not a few attacks on these positions and not a few attacks on our work on the part of various bourgeois opposition elements. They were beaten, and the degenerates of all shades were beaten, whilst our Party is growing and increasing in strength. These lessons must not be forgotten now, when the bourgeois-oppositional degenerates have spoken in the language of the open white guardists, in the language of all these Rjutins and their instigators behind the scenes.

The Soviet Power has set itself the task of building up the classless society, and this, as is known, is the fundamental idea of the October Revolution. It would be very naive, however, to conclude from this that the realisation of the task of establishing the classless society is possible without fierce class struggles. Quite the contrary. In the period when we are undertaking on the whole front an organised advance of the whole of the workers and collective peasants for this cause against the class enemy, this enemy, beaten and subjugated, is making desperate attempts at resistance. As he is incapable of conducting an open fight, he is developing a devilish activity and dexterity in secret sabotage, is using poisoned political arrows, and is conducting every fight against the Soviet Power with methods against which there often does not exist the necessary vigilance in our ranks. But all these desperate and various attempts at anti-Soviet fight are only the miserable remnants of the former power of the bourgeois, anti-Soviet forces. We have enough means at our disposal in order to combat them. Only we must hold these means in constant readiness.

The Soviet Union, with its Bolshevik policy, is not afraid of any inner hostile forces. Our policy is tested by the experience of the many millions on a vast territory with numerous races and peoples, distinguished by a great variety of different technical-productional conditions of economic life, differences of languages and differences of ways of life and habits. The conception of the world-historical power and importance of Leninism will become the more complete, the more clearly we grasp its role in the reshaping and socialist education of the masses, with all the differences of their past fate, with all the diversity of their present national character.

(To be continued.)

## New Work—New Life.

By W. (Special Correspondent of the Inprekorr in Moscow.)

### 4. The New Discipline.

The worker **Vukoloff** has been working in the cable industry since 1904. He has been working for 10 years in this factory. He is now a foreman in the wire department and earns 225 roubles a month. He was promoted to foreman because he knows his job well and has the confidence of his fellow workers. He carries on his work with great enthusiasm, although his new job actually involves a material loss for him. As a skilled worker he earned at the machine 200 roubles a month according to the wage scale, but with the piece work system it came to 300 roubles or more. Thus he performed work over 50 per cent. above the quota. I asked him whether the quota of work was frequently changed here to the disadvantage of the workers, as practised in the capitalist enterprises. I was informed that the quota established in the collective agreement is usually for a year, and can not be changed during the entire duration of the contract, the only exception being if new modern machines should be introduced which fundamentally change the conditions of labour.

Vukoloff has six children. His 20 year old son is already working in the same factory as an office employee and earns 155 roubles a month. His 19 year old daughter works in the enamelling department of the factory and earns 100 roubles a month. A younger son is studying in the factory school with an allowance of 28 roubles. The three younger children are still in school. "So you see I cannot complain about our earnings."

Vukoloff also was present when I told about the reports in the social-democratic press that the workers in the Soviet Union have no right to strike.

"They only write such foolishness", he said—"in order to mislead the workers and keep them from seeing that it is they, the social-democrats, who betray and strangle every serious struggle of our foreign class brothers. Many years ago in the time of the Tsar, I took part in strikes and went hungry for weeks at a time, and was chased out of my home by the Tsar's police because I was determined that we should win—it was then a question of struggle against the 12 hour day. Do those fools in the social-democratic papers really think that with our revolutionary traditions of struggle we would hesitate for a single hour to take up a struggle in the interests of the working class?"

"At that time we had to use the strike as a weapon to obtain higher wages and shorter hours. Many workers fell victims in our struggle for the 10 hour day, when the 8 hour day was already being introduced in many other countries. To-day, with the help of the social democracy, the great achievement of the 8 hour day in the capitalist countries has already been to a great extent abolished, while here we are working a 7 hour day with every sixth day off. We do not have to strike for this, or for the increase in wages which we get each year or oftener. We get this because we have sent our capitalists to the devil and have set up a power under which every increase in our production is accompanied by an improvement in the living conditions of our class."

"And are you well off now?"

"You know, we are used to having things getting better, and so it cannot be that we do not want to have things better still."

"Does that mean that the workers can now improve their conditions continually without struggle?" I asked another worker, who came into the office of the factory committee to take up some question, and who described his own situation to me as Vukoloff had described his.

"Without struggle? No, that is not true! All that we get we win by hard struggle. But the form of struggle to-day is different. To-day we do not carry on the struggle against the 'owners' of the factory, and do not attempt to go against their interest, because we ourselves are the owners. We carry on our struggle by increasing and developing production and not by interfering with it, because it is a source of **our own** well-being and not a source of profit to the capitalists. It is, so to speak, a strike struggle tipped upside down. Don't you believe that we have the same scorn for our strikebreakers to-day as you have in Germany and other capitalist countries? It is only that 'strike breaking' here to-day goes under

another name and is of a different character. It is called by us to-day 'Progul' (loafing). Successful work for socialism calls for the same discipline as the struggle against the capitalist offensive in your country, perhaps even greater discipline. And anyone who violates this socialist discipline, who prevents us from carrying out our class tasks (and thus damages us materially), is our 'strike-breaker!'"

At every turn we hear that the question of proletarian class discipline is to-day one of the most vital questions in the struggle for socialist construction, one of the most vital questions for the proletariat as a whole.

Apart from members of the former bourgeois class or the petty bourgeoisie, who cling to their former ways of living—we have to give them employment owing to the great lack of labour power—it is above all the new working elements coming from the villages which in many cases find it hard to adapt themselves to socialist labour discipline. They have not gone through any school of proletarian class discipline; they have not learned the value of working together and of solid collaboration, through bitter struggles against capital and then against the difficulties of the revolution and of socialist construction. Many of them look upon socialist factories merely as a source of employment.

Now, however, the revolution has abolished capitalist slave driving methods. No country in the world has such protective legislation for workers as the Soviet Union. Consequently these people believe that they can abuse the protection granted them to wrest everything they can from the proletarian factories. They are not concerned with the interests of the enterprise, they are not concerned with the interests of the entire working class to whom the enterprise belongs. They stay away from work when they don't feel like coming to the factory, without considering the effects of their actions on the rest.

In actual fact they play the same role as the strikebreakers under capitalism. The latter attack their striking fellow workers from the rear, while the former strike from the rear their fellow workers who are fighting for socialist forms of work. Is it any wonder then that the word "Progulshchik" (loafer) is the worst term of abuse to be heard in the Soviet Union? He is a parasite on the body of the working class. He reduces the income of his fellow workers. When he is working at the conveyor and loafs even for a day, perhaps with a few other fellows—it holds up the conveyor; the work of the department and thereby the work of other departments becomes disorganised as a result. A few thousand working days idled away in the textile industry mean the loss of millions of metres of goods for the socialist state, and hence jeopardise the grain collections and jeopardise the alliance between the working class and the collective farm peasants, thus jeopardising the supply of the workers not only with textile goods, but also with food products.

According to the labour laws formerly in force, a loafer could only be discharged if he stayed away at least four days in a month without excuse. He retained, however, his membership in the consumers' cooperatives, and the home provided for him by the enterprise, and thus violated with ease the proletarian class principle: "He who will not work shall not eat." In two ways he was a burden to his fellow workers: He brought down their wages by cutting down the output and at the same time he was drawing from their bread supply. This law was suitable for the earlier period of the N.E.P. As long as unemployment existed the question of loafers was not such a burning question as it is today. On the one hand the influx into industry of **new** workers having little discipline was not so large. On the other hand the possibility of becoming unemployed resulted in more or less discipline on the part of elements that were not class conscious. Moreover it was always easy to replace them through the labour exchange.

Thus with regard to this question of labour discipline we find a classic example of **the difficulty of growth**. The final abolishment of unemployment—this greatest social and political achievement in the existence of the labour movement, eliminated the last vestiges of capitalist slave driving discipline by means of the existence of a "reserve army". Discipline has now become, exclusively a question of class consciousness and socialist organisation of labour. **It was precisely the tremendous success** of socialist industrialisation which produced the new difficulties, the overcoming of which on the basis of the "6 conditions of Stalin" must lead to a further and tremendous progress in socialist construction. This

is the fundamental distinction between the difficulties of declining capitalism and rising socialism, namely that there the difficulties lead downwards, while here every new difficulty leads upward.

The question of how discipline is to be maintained under the new conditions has been answered by the class conscious majority of the working class with a heroic increase of labour discipline and labour enthusiasm. Socialist competition and shock brigade work are being constantly extended to new millions of workers, and are creating a new miracle in labour. It suffices to point to the heroic work of the Dniepr Dam, which was built without capitalist slave driving methods at a much faster pace than any dam in the world. But we do not need to go so far. We have with us the worker Maslennikow from the rolling department of the cable factory. For a year and a half he looked on with annoyance and rage while a foreign engineer, hired with the precious money of the workers, bungled about unsuccessfully in an attempt to install a complicated machine in his department. In his free time Maslennikow studied the technique of this machine. It was difficult because he had no sufficient training in this field. At night he often fell asleep over his books at the table, but when he had advanced sufficiently, he mobilised his fellow workers, had the engineer sent home, and soon got the machine going very successfully. But he is not the only one who does not look upon his socialist factory as: "Out of sight, out of mind." There are many workers, in the cable factory as well as in all other factories, who also spend their free time thinking how they can help their factory advance, and with it the cause of socialism. These workers have already presented the cable factory with inventions and introduced rationalisation proposals involving an annual saving of a million roubles.

It is superfluous to describe the attitude of these and millions of other such workers in the Soviet Union, who look upon work for their socialist enterprise as a matter of honour and heroism, towards the loafers in their ranks. They emphatically demanded a change in the law which no longer held good for the present phase of socialist construction, namely the law which enabled a loafer to go off scott free if he loafed away one-sixth of his working time in a month. It is true that the method of social condemnation, branding and boycott of the loafer and public recognition of the heroes of labour—linked up with a system of provisions in accordance with labour performed—has had a marked effect. These methods, combined with trade union and political educational work, have made good fighters of the untrained labour elements in the great army of the class conscious proletariat, but the influx into industry has been so tremendous that these methods alone cannot be made effective with the necessary rapidity. Consequently, the workers have greeted with enthusiasm the new anti-loafing decree, whereby any worker who loafs without excuse is immediately discharged and deprived of the supply and dwelling privileges provided by the enterprise.

But what happens when the worker stays away from his job for reasons beyond his control, when he is sick; or when his wife or his child is sick at home and he stays by the bedside? This question will be answered for us in the next article by the 47 year old working woman, **Komova**, and by other working men and women in the cable factory.

## Protection on the Job in the U.S.S.R.

By Myra Page.

As any worker in the Good-year or Firestone Companies can tell you, health hazards in rubber plants are notorious. Benzene and other poisonous fumes tear at the lungs. Chronic fatigue, nervous diseases and tensions resulting from conditions particular to the industry produce high accident rates. Lead poisoning is frequent.

The workers know that the bulk of these hazards could be eliminated, if the companies were interested in more than profits. This has been demonstrated by the changes the Russian rubber workers have been able to bring about, in the years following the revolution, when they ousted the profit-seeking class, and began running the factories from the standpoint of the welfare of all employed.

"Krassny Bogatyr" (Red Fighter) Rubber plant stands on the outskirts of Moscow. Its Health and Safety measures

illustrate another, equally important aspect of the Soviet system of social insurance—the preventive side.

The administration of the factory, which is owned and operated by the workers' government, is held personally responsible both by the state and the local rubber workers' union for the health and safety conditions in the plant. The administration has its Department of Labour Safety, composed of two technical experts, a secretary and its chief, Engineer Ivanov.

The factory committee, elected annually by the plant's union membership, has its Division for Labour Protection, headed by a woman worker, **Shuronkova**. She works closely with the social insurance committee. Shuronka and her comrades are charged by the factory committee with seeing that all workers' suggestions for improving of working conditions are collected and acted upon; and that the administration's Department of Labour Safety carries through all necessary measures for safeguarding labour's health.

**Benzene** fumes formerly averaged 5 to 6 miligrams in every quart of air. In a few departments it ran up to 10. Yet, scientific research has demonstrated that five tenths of a miligram is the minimum which the human lungs can stand, without risk of serious injury. Today, the ratio of benzene has been reduced even below this minimum: to three-tenths and in some departments to one-tenth of a miligram, to a quart of air.

This change was brought about by the physical remaking of the work-rooms, including the introduction of a powerful ventilating system. During the last 5 years in this factory alone over 1,090,000 Roubles have been spent on ventilation. For measures of industrial sanitation, such as lighting, showers, lockers, another 260,000 Roubles was spent. This is what happens when a factory does not have to support a parasitic class of owners, but its resources can be used to better the conditions of those working there.

In the department where ingredients for rubber products are mixed, workers used to suffer from lead and other poisoning. Use of lead has been eliminated. Very soon, mechanical weighing and mixing of ingredients in closed vessels will be introduced, protecting human lungs against the fine dust that, in spite of all precautions, still seeps into the air. Here and in other departments where good health demands it, the workers work two weeks inside, then two weeks at out-door work. A pint of free milk is distributed daily to each worker in all these sections. Eyes were continually sore and weeping in the department where the shine is boiled, but the new ventilation system put a stop to that. Much is being done in the way of introducing metal guards and various safety devices about the machines.

Accident rates, which were once very high, have been steadily falling. During the last eight years, they have reduced by six times: from 6 accidents per 100 workers in 1926 to 1.1 per 100 workers in 1932. This is in spite of the fact that the plant has more than doubled its working force in 1931, bringing in 8000 farmers and village youth who never worked at a machine before.

Krassny Bogatyr and three other large Moscow rubber plants joined in a socialist competition to see who could achieve the lowest record for accidents. Ivanov shows us the charted results with pride: Krassny Bogatyr had won.

Health and medical work of the plant include a system of free clinics and consulting rooms in the various sections, a large maternity hospital, and a staff of 250 physicians plus 400 other medical employees and helpers. This large staff is necessary, in order to insure the necessary personal attention to each worker, with periodic health examinations of every worker of the factory and consultations. Any medical treatment, supplies or hospital treatment needed are given without cost. Especially in the dangerous departments, examinations come at close intervals, so as to detect the first signs of disease. In this case, the worker is transferred to another department, sent to eat in the special diet dining room. If necessary, he is sent to a sanatorium, with all expenses paid, and wages besides, the costs of this being covered by the social insurance fund.

Since 9,000 of the 13,000 workers are women, special attention is given to the study of the possible effects of various working conditions on their physique.

On the walls of the consulting room, we saw the charted results of all this attention given to healthy conditions of labour. Illnesses have been drastically reduced, especially those of the more serious kind, such as tuberculosis.

However, there was one chart where the blue lines charting the time lost due to a certain illness was shooting straight up! Five hundred women every month absent due to this one cause alone, being paid their full wages, for a period of four full months each. The peculiar thing about it was that both the doctors to whom we spoke, and the workers were quite proud of this increase. As you have perhaps guessed, the chart depicted the number of women workers with "time out" for the period preceding and following child birth. Four months, all told. When the mother is ready to return to her job, she can place her child in one of the plant's free nurseries during the day. This protection on the job and care of workers' health, as carried on by **Krassny Bogatyr** is generally typical of what is going on in Soviet factories and for which the workers expended through their social insurance funds this year, more than one half of their 2 billion dollar budget.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Paul and Gertrud Ruegg on Hunger-Strike.

Shanghai, 2nd December 1932.

The Ruegg Defence Committee announces that Paul Ruegg has gone on hunger-strike against the refusal of the authorities to remove him to the prison in Soochow and in order to secure facilities for the visit of his little son to him in prison. Gertrud Ruegg declares that she will also go on hunger-strike unless these facilities are granted. Paul Ruegg has now been without food for seven days. The situation at present is that the child must travel several days on the train in order to visit his parents and he is then permitted to see them for fifteen minutes only.

The Rueggs are being held in solitary confinement and they are permitted one visit a month only. They may not speak to other prisoners and they may not take part in the work. Gertrud Ruegg is in a very bad state of health and is unable to eat solid food. A statement issued by the Rueggs declares that they are not asking for any special privileges, but simply for the treatment accorded to normal Chinese prisoners. Paul Ruegg is now engaged in his sixth hunger-strike since his arrest.

### First Death in Mitrovitzka Hunger-strike.

Belgrade, 3rd December 1932.

As already reported, the political prisoners in the notorious prison **Mitrovitzka** are on hunger-strike under the leadership of the communist prisoners in order to secure an improvement of the inhuman prison regime, including a guarantee of safety for the prisoners, the strict prohibition of corporal punishment and arbitrary ill-treatment and better quality food, etc. The student **Tomshitch** has now died on the thirteenth day of the hunger-strike. When the news of Tomshitch's death became known there were angry demonstrations of students and workers in **Liubliana**. The students demanded the great hall of the university for a protest meeting and when this was refused they held a meeting on the Congress Square whereby fierce collisions with the police took place.

The situation is urgent. Only quick action on the part of the working class in other countries can save the hunger-strikers. The regime in Mitrovitzka is notorious for its brutality and the authorities obviously intend to let the hunger-strikers die. Only a few weeks ago the authorities in Mitrovitzka discovered a plan of escape on the part of a number of prisoners. Instead of preventing the execution of the plan they prepared a trap for the escaping prisoners who were shot down and bayoneted although they were unarmed and immediately surrendered when they recognised that escape was hopeless. Those prisoners who were not murdered were fearfully maltreated. Protests to the Yugoslavian authorities are urgently necessary.

## IN THE OTHER CAMP

### Trotsky — as Guest of the Second International.

Copenhagen, December 1, 1932.

After a huge advertising campaign lasting for weeks in the whole of the social democratic press, Leo Trotsky has come to Copenhagen, in order, in return for hard cash, to express his words of wisdom regarding the Russian revolution and conditions in the Soviet Union to a select society of social democratic petty-bourgeois.

The former People's Commissar Trotsky, who even now represents himself to be a revolutionist of the purest water, came from Constantinople to Copenhagen with the same ostentation as the "great" statesmen of the capitalist countries. Like them he was accompanied by huge advertisements on the part of the whole of the capitalist and social democratic press. His reception by the social democratic authorities in Denmark in every way resembled the official visits of the bloody Russian tsars to the capital towns of the "democratic" West European countries.

Hundreds of heavily armed police awaited him at the port, where the whole quay was cordoned off. But here there were numerous workers gathered, who by various cries expressed their indignation against Trotsky's coming forward in the service of the II. International and the anti-Soviet front.

Mr. Trotsky came with a train of followers. In the saloon car reserved for him he—the "permanent revolutionary"—travelled through the country with drawn curtains as if the glances of the masses were disagreeable to him. He did not receive any workers in order to discuss with them the growing misery of the 200,000 unemployed; only a few representatives of the bourgeois press were permitted to interview him. To these representatives of the press the revolutionary Trotsky spoke at great length about his personal well-being, and about the persecutions to which he had been subjected both by Tsarism and the Soviet Government.

Thousands of workers had gathered at the central railway station in Copenhagen in order to demonstrate their contempt for Trotsky, but the social democratic police president caused the train to halt at a small railway station, and Trotsky, along with his suite drove off unnoticed in three motor cars which were standing ready.

The meeting at which he delivered his speech took place in the Sports Palace, which was completely cordoned off from the neighbourhood, no "unauthorized" person being allowed to approach within 200 metres of the hall. The population of Copenhagen had never seen such a big force of police, mounted and on foot, who ruthlessly prevented every attempt of the workers to gain admission to the meeting.

The tickets of admission to the meeting were distributed beforehand to a carefully selected public. Nevertheless, at the entrance to the meeting hall the tickets were inspected three times. Inside the hall the American Fox-Film Corporation had set up their photographic apparatus. Thus through the friendly mediation of the II. International, Trotsky has been assured the role of an American film star; it is stated that the American film company had agreed to pay him the trifle of 6,000 dollars for this his first appearance.

Trotsky's lecture before this select society of bourgeois artists and social democratic bureaucrats was a "historical" survey of revolutions and their causes. Trotsky could not deny the development of the Soviet Union under the Five-Year Plan; on the contrary, he was obliged to admit the great progress achieved by the Soviet Union in the last few years (as is known, without his collaboration). He would not say anything regarding his attitude to agriculture, but he still denied that it is possible to build up Socialism in one country, that is, in the Soviet Union. His lecture did not contain anything particularly new and his audience, which had paid big sums for admission, looked somewhat disappointed at the end.

The government organ, "The Social Democrat", is exceedingly proud of having succeeded in keeping its dear guest safely isolated from the masses, and writes in conclusion:

"It must be admitted that before and after the meeting Trotsky was watched over and protected, that it was more difficult to gain access to him than for the devil to get into heaven."

# ***The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries***

## **The Situation of the Toiling Population of Sweden.**

### **1. The Situation of the Unemployed.**

By **Carl Johansson (Stockholm).**

In order to examine the situation of the toiling population of Sweden, the first necessity is to ascertain the extent of unemployment, this question being of special importance in Sweden, where there is no unemployment insurance. Since the unemployed receive no benefit, there are no reliable statistics on unemployment.

The statistics issued by the trade unions on unemployment among their members, too give a very insufficient idea of the actual situation. According to the latest data (middle of September 1932), there are about 77,468 unemployed out of 380,000 organised workers, or 20%. If we assume that the proportion of unemployed among the unorganised workers is the same, this means that in Sweden there are about 240,000 persons out of work. In reality, however, unemployment is much greater among the unorganised, and among the youth and the rural population, than among the organised workers, so that the total number of unemployed must be estimated at at least 300,000.

How do the unemployed live in Sweden? They receive no relief from the state. Some of the trade unions have so-called unemployment funds, to which the workers contribute when they are at work. When out of work they then receive a certain benefit; this is, however, very small, and is only paid for a short time. The metal workers' union, for instance, pays a benefit of 1 to 3 crowns daily, according to the length of time the member has belonged to the union, for a period of 70 days. But the number of unemployed in receipt of such benefit is very small. The great mass of the unemployed are forced to beg for relief from the public assistance bodies, or from the so-called unemployment committees of the municipalities. In a very few cases municipalities are paying small weekly benefits to unemployed. Hence starving unemployed have often no other resource than begging.

The number of persons receiving aid from the Stockholm public assistance office has increased as follows:

1st quarter 1930 . . . . .	372
1st quarter 1931 . . . . .	722
1st quarter 1932 . . . . .	3278
March 1932 . . . . .	4530

The number of unemployed in **Stockholm** is, however, approximately 40,000, so that only about 11% are receiving a wretched dole from the public assistance committee.

The state unemployment commission states that about 50,000 unemployed have been given aid in the form of relief work or benefit. This amounts to 16% of the unemployed.

What strata of the population suffer from unemployment? The liberal paper "**Dagens Nyheter**" stated in an article on 27th May of this year that besides workers, who naturally form the majority of the unemployed, there are office workers, engineers, technicians, and writers, registered as unemployed at the welfare service offices.

Relief work in Sweden is a chapter in itself. The relief workers receive at most two thirds of the lowest wage rates of the district in which they work—absolutely starvation wages. Therefore the families of relief workers are almost invariably forced to beg for poor relief.

In 1921 the number of recipients of poor relief amounted to 253,078, or 3.51% of the rural population and 6.02% of the city population. In 1929 this number had increased to 346,188 (5.08% of the rural population and 6.87% of the city population).

The **housing accomodation** is wretched. The health service physician for the province of Soedermanland reports:

"The shortage of small dwellings for workers in **Eskilstuna** forced very many workers to live in emergency houses and other unhealthy and unhygienic dwellings. It should really be entirely prohibited to live in these dwellings at all. In **Nykoepping** there are many old houses which do not meet hygienic requirements."

The same state of affairs is reported from the following places in the same district: Malmkoeping, Vingoker, Valla, Gnesta, Ludgo and Bjoerkvik.

Criminality is increasing. Even the authorities state that this is a consequence of the crisis.

The number of imprisoned is as follows:

	1931		1932	
	January	March	December	March
	2100	2300	2200	2450

In Stockholm 346 persons were arrested in the first six months of this year, 339 of whom were charged with theft and embezzlement. The "**Statistik Monadskrift**" states further that 60 persons committed suicide in Stockholm in the first six months of 1932, as compared with 32 in the same period in 1931.

Prostitution, too, increases. Young women are forced to sell their bodies unless they want to lose their situations in the offices and shops. They cannot obtain work at all without doing this. ("**Social-Demokraten**", 25th July 1932). Girl students who have no work are forced to pick berries in the woods and to sell them, or else starve. ("**Dagens Nyheter**", 28th July 1932.)

These facts prove that the toiling population of Sweden, like that of other capitalist countries, is sinking ever deeper into want and misery.

### **2. The Situation of the Factory Workers.**

The official statistics on **wages** in Sweden are extremely scanty, the more that they depend entirely on the statements of the employers, and these statements are never checked up in any way. According to these statistics, wages have been as follows in Sweden:

	Average yearly wages (in Swedish crowns)			
	1913	1920	1925	1930
Workers . . . . .	1091	3237	2365	2593
Technicians . . . . .	3025	6443	5528	5467
Office workers . . . . .	2064	4808	3941	3616
Commercial employees . . . . .	1163	2977	2507	2389

It should be observed that the wages of the agricultural and forestry workers are not included in this, and that these figures are based on statements referring to about one half of the employed persons.

Working wages in the various industries and trades have developed as follows:

	Average wage per year (in Swedish crowns)	
	1926	1929
Mining and metal industries . . . . .	2559	2728
Timber industry . . . . .	2031	2155
Paper and typographic trades . . . . .	2481	2642
Food industry . . . . .	2669	2769
Textile and garment industry . . . . .	1645	1691
Leather and rubber industries . . . . .	2013	1988
Chemical industry . . . . .	2209	2309
Municipal workers . . . . .	3440	3603
Commercial employees . . . . .	2650	2744
Traffic workers . . . . .	3008	3174

Average wage per year  
(in Swedish crowns)

Quarrying industry . . . . .	7.60	7.19
Building industry . . . . .	12.37	13.61

The last two trades, being seasonal work, are only listed under dailes wages.

Since 1929 there have been further wage reductions almost everywhere. The main branches of industry in which wage cuts have been imposed of late, are as follows: textile industry 4 per cent., metal industry 7 per cent., saw mills 6-15 per cent., paper industry 4-7 per cent., paper industry 4-7 per cent., glass industry 7 per cent. Reductions have also been imposed in a number of other trades.

The only statistics issued on **short time work** in Sweden have been compiled by the General Trade Union Federation, for 1928 and 1930. These statistics embrace 266,739 workers in 5,479 undertakings. In 1928, 7 per cent. of these workers were on short time; by 1930 this proportion had increased to 11.5 per cent. Since 1931 this figure has at least doubled.

The bourgeois statistics calculate the increase of real wages between 1913 and 1929 at 37 per cent. This calculation is, however, based on false data. The "normal household" assumed by the Central Statistics Office of Sweden does not correspond to the average household of a worker's family of 4 persons in Sweden. The prices and quantities of goods calculated as the consumption of such a family do not accord with the actual facts.

The greatest item of expenditure to be met by the Swedish worker is his house rent. In Stockholm especially, rents are extremely high. A two roomed flat costs 1200 to 2600 Swedish crowns per year, according to position and conveniences. The workers are only able to rent the worst dwellings. In 1931 the index figure for food prices averaged 131; in August 1932 it was 127. During this same time wages have been reduced by at least 8-10 per cent. Taxation has considerably increased. In more than 800 municipalities, the municipal taxes amount to over 10 per cent. of the income liable to taxation. To this must be added the provincial and state taxes. Rent and taxes absorb 25 to 40 per cent. of the total income of a worker. This gives an idea of what is left for food, clothing, fuel, and other expenses.

A reformist trade union member writes as follows in the newspaper "Ny Tid" on the position of the textile workers in Mölndal:

"Short time has been introduced in the whole undertaking. As a rule the workers work 4 days per week. The workers in the weaving shed earn 30 crowns weekly. With this sum the father of a family has to keep himself, his wife, and often four or five children. Only the barest necessities can be bought. There is no thought whatever of ever buying clothes or household articles. After the rent has been paid there is nothing left of the week's wages. The workers have to borrow money, if indeed they have any possibility of doing so."

Another reformist writes in this same paper (12th May 1932) on the situation of the match workers:

"The weekly earnings of the 5,000 match workers amount to 10-20 crowns. Not only have working hours been reduced by one half in all the match factories, that is, to 25½ hours weekly, but wages have been cut all along the line. In Tidaholm piecework rates have been reduced, and the workers are now earning only 10 crowns per week in consequence."

The dockers at Gothenburg are working 3 days a week at most. The transport workers are earning 56 crowns a month. The quarry workers receive a maximum wage of 130 crowns per month for married men and 100 for single. From this the obligatory tax dues are deducted: 10 crowns for married men and 20 for single.

The examples, which are by no means exceptional, but apply equally to the other categories of workers, show that the situation even of the employed workers is by no means enviable.

### 3. The Situation of the Rural Poor.

The position of the toiling population in the rural districts is even worse than that of the industrial workers. The agricultural crisis has assumed enormous dimensions, and has plunged the toiling masses of the village into indescribable want and poverty.

In 1929 the wages of the **agricultural workers** (cash payment and payment in kind added together) were as follows:

	Men	Women
	(per year, in Swedish crowns)	
Agricultural workers and day labourers . . . . .	1123	893
Tenant farmers . . . . .	1308	—

The daily wages of the agricultural workers were:

	(in Swedish crowns)			
	Summer		Winter	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Permanent workers . . . . .	4.27	2.97	3.37	2.32
Temporary workers . . . . .	4.73	3.27	3.71	2.56

The landowners are anxious to cut down these wretched wages even further, by 20 to 34 per cent. On 24th October the collective agreement expires, and then the agricultural workers will have to defeat their present starvation wages against the attacks of the landowners.

Another category of workers in the rural districts is formed by the **forestry workers**. These are generally recruited from among the small holders, the agricultural labourers, and their families. The daily wage of the forest workers is 3 to 4 crowns at most, or 5 to 6 crowns if they furnish their own horses for transporting the wood. In the course of the past year these starvation wages have been reduced by 10 to 20 per cent.

The situation of the **small holders** is catastrophic. The prices of agricultural products are 10 per cent lower at the present time than in 1913. The small farmers are in debt to 80 per cent of the value of their property. The burden of taxation is greatest in those districts in which the greater part of the population consists of small holders. The interest due on the debts of the small holders amounts to a total of 250 million crowns yearly. New taxes have been imposed. In 1932 parliament resolved upon a special tax on milk. In the rural districts the housing conditions are especially bad. The number of forced sales of small holdings increases steadily: in 1914: 14, 1921: 157, 1927: 349, and 1929: 399.

A letter sent to the king by 30 peasants from Oestervola, in July 1932, is typical of the position of the small farmers. They wrote:

"30 peasants in Oestervola are confronted with the immediate danger of being driven from their farms, which are to be seized for debt. . . We therefore beg that the state power intervenes to prevent these distraints on the property of the small and middle farmers."

The **small fishermen** on the West coast have been reduced to such a state of poverty that school meals have had to be introduced, as the children came to school without having eaten anything.

The hunger for land is very great. Last summer a "royal" commission instituted an inquiry in this question, and came to the conclusion that there are a large number of small holders and forestry workers who should have more land if they are not to starve. But they have no money and can buy none, for their yearly income amounts to 500 crowns at most.

One of the reports on housing conditions in the districts included in the inquiry states:

"We visited a forest workers' family with 5 children, living in a tumble down hut of two small rooms. The larder was perfectly empty, and there were only a few sticks of furniture in the place. In another village we found a family living in the cow shed with the cattle."

This is the situation of the toiling masses in Sweden. The increasing acuteness of the crisis will render this situation even more disastrous.