

# The Crisis in the German Social Democracy

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### CONTENTS

<b>Politics</b>			
Z. Kalandra: The Austro-German Customs Union . . . . .	332	<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union</b>	
Th. Neubauer: The Crisis in the German Social Democracy . . . . .	332	J. A. Jakovlev: The Development of the Soviet Farms . . . . .	338
R. Bishop: The Political Crisis in Britain . . . . .	333	Otto Heller: The Solution of the Jewish Question in the Soviet Union . . . . .	339
<b>League of Nations</b>		<b>Struggle Against Unemployment</b>	
Gabriel Peri: The Failure of the Geneva Economic Conference . . . . .	334	Alfred Wagenknecht: The Struggle Against Unemployment in the U.S.A. . . . .	340
<b>Fascism</b>		<b>India</b>	
Ernst Torgler: From Hitler Lieutenant to Soldier of the Red Front . . . . .	335	Continue the Struggle for Complete Independence of India! . . . . .	341
Mass Defensive Struggle of the German Proletariat Against the Fascist Murder Terror . . . . .	335	<b>In the International</b>	
<b>Economics</b>		Kl. Gottwald: The VI. Party Congress of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia . . . . .	342
William Rust: British Economic Decline . . . . .	336	<b>Against Imperialist War</b>	
Harry Gannes: Deepening of the Crisis in the United States . . . . .	337	Nemo: Rumania's Five-Year Plan — A War Plan Against the Soviet Union . . . . .	344

## The Danger of Intervention and the Soviet Union's Fight for Peace.

By V. Molotov.

From the Concluding Speech on the Report on the Activity of the Soviet Government Delivered at the VI. All-Union Soviet Congress.

The contrast between the development of the Soviet Union and that of the capitalist countries is shown most clearly in the living conditions of the broad working masses here and abroad.

In the Soviet Union the position of the broad working masses is improving every year. The growing demands of the workers are not yet completely satisfied by a long way, but the improvement of the material situation of the workers in the Soviet Republics is the most important and indubitable feature of the situation of the working class. There is now taking place everywhere an uninterrupted improvement in the standard of living of the masses of the poor and middle peasants in the village, particularly in connection with the rapid growth of the collective farming movement. Instead of the ever increasing impoverishment and desolation of the village, as was the case under Tsarism, we have an obvious decline of village poverty and an improvement of the position of the masses of poor and middle peasants. The reduction of

poverty in the Soviet Union is the most important event resulting from the existence of the Soviet Power and socialist construction in our country.

The situation is quite different in the capitalist countries. The most important and decisive feature of the development of capitalism is increasing poverty among the workers and in the rural districts. The world economic crisis, with its accompanying unexampled unemployment and the ruin of the village, increases the poverty and misery of the workers and of the toiling peasants to an unbearable degree.

I have already shown in my report how far the path of development of the capitalist countries diverges from the path of development of the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet campaign regarding "compulsory labour" will enable us repeatedly to emphasise the absolute antithesis between the position of the masses in the Soviet Union and that of the masses in the capitalist countries. It suffices now to cite an illustration from the bourgeois press itself. I quote a passage

from an article which appeared recently by the well-known publicist **Stephen Graham** on the tendencies of the inner development of such a country as the United States:

"For many years the tendency has been for America to become the land of a hundred thousand very rich people and a hundred million poor. The Wall Street debacle and the economic crisis has accelerated this dangerous process. It is true that the very rich complain that they also have lost a great deal of money. The market value of their fortune has depreciated 50 per cent. But this loss is illusory. In effect they are much richer. They hold the stock and the property. They hold very much more than they did before. And their wealth must be held to consist in the actual tangible property rather than in the market value in dollars of their possessions." ("Manchester Guardian", 13th February, 1931.)

Graham admits therefore that in America there has existed for many years a tendency for the land to become "a land of a hundred thousand rich people and a hundred million poor". This tendency, however, exists not only in the United States but in all countries in which capital dominates. The fundamental tendency consists in the increasing poverty and misery of the broad masses and in the growing wealth and luxury of the ruling, privileged capitalist groups.

It is not necessary to cite any further example in order to emphasise how far the capitalist countries are developing along a path directly contrary to the development of the Soviet Union.

In connection with the quotation just given from an article by a bourgeois publicist it is necessary to call attention to a characteristic feature.

One must recognise the perfect correctness of his conclusion that the handful of rich people of the ruling groups of the capitalist class, far from suffering loss as a result of the crisis are becoming even richer. That is a law of capitalism. The masses suffer under the crisis. The crisis brings unemployment and misery to the toiling rural population, but at the same time the crisis results in a still greater accumulation of riches in the hands of a handful of capitalists, who assure for themselves in the crisis an increase in their profits.

The case was the same in the war. For the broad masses of the workers and peasants the war meant incredible poverty and misery. But not so for the capitalists, especially for those who made profits out of the enormous war contracts and participated in the very lucrative business of providing food and equipment for the army. It is particularly necessary to point this out at the present time when the capitalist States are making increasing preparations for a fresh imperialist war and an armed attack on the Soviet Union.

The comrades who spoke in the discussion laid emphasis on their agreement with the Foreign policy of the Soviet Union and with its fight for peace. To those comrades who considered our foreign policy to be even somewhat too peaceful I must reply that the Soviet government consider it necessary also in the future to conduct a consistent struggle for peace, to consolidate the peaceful conditions for the development of the Soviet Union.

Our main task is to realise the Five-Year Plan and to secure further successes of socialist construction. This determines the inner policy of the Soviet Union and at the same time its foreign policy. Our slogan remains, struggle for the consolidation of general peace, struggle for the consolidation of peaceful relations with the other States.

It is quite clear to us that if our enemies in the imperialist countries had a Five-Year Plan, the meaning of this Five-Year Plan would be quite contrary to ours. The main presumption for our Five-Year Plan and of the whole of socialist construction is peace, the consolidation of peaceful relations with the other States. The policy of the imperialist circles hostile to the Soviet Union pursue a directly contrary aim.

I have already mentioned in my report that even Rumania of the bourgeoisie and landowners has worked out a Five-Year Plan, a Five-Year Plan for selling its railways and mineral resources to foreign capital in the form of large and unlimited concessions. Even in France the question of a Five-Year Plan was discussed and proposals drawn up, and in England even **Winston Churchill** recently spoke of a "Five-Year

Plan" for industry. The Five-Year Plan has become the fashion. But this talk about the Five-Year Plan in the capitalist countries cannot be taken seriously. If in France and England a Five-Year Plan was really being worked out, the aggressive imperialist circles would include in their Five-Year Plan the kindling of new imperialist wars and an attack upon our Union. But nothing is openly written about all this...

It is easy to prove that such an estimate of the policy of the imperialist Powers is fully and entirely justified. It suffices to mention the revelations, now known to the whole world, in connection with the trial in Moscow of the "Industrial Party" (**Ramzin, Laritchev and consorts**) and of the Menshevik organisation (**Gromann, Suchanov etc.**). Nobody can now deny that these trials have proved that intervention against the Soviet Union was prepared for the year 1930, and in any case not later than the year 1931. For the anti-Soviet imperialist circles of France, armed attack on the Soviet Union forms not a part of their "Five-Year Plan" but of their "Two-Year Plan". We know also that this "Two-Year Plan" fell through. For the time being the plans of our enemies abroad have failed. But these facts cause us to call attention to the most important task of the moment, namely, that we must be on our guard. We must reply to the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union with an all-round consolidation of the basis of our economy and defence. (Applause.)

Our struggle for peace is inseparably connected with the consolidation of economic relations with the other States. Despite many attempts to disturb the development of our economic relations to other States, we have certain successes to record in this respect.

I am in a position to inform the Soviet Congress that between us and the German industrialists who have visited Russia, important agreements for both sides have been concluded regarding increasing the orders placed with Germany for the equipment of our factories. We have at the same time obtained a certain improvement in the credit conditions of our orders. We hope that the agreement will serve to consolidate our relations with Germany and lead to a further development of our economic connections.

I must come back to two speeches on our foreign policy delivered here during the discussion

Comrade **Borodavkin** from the Far East mentioned the danger threatening our friendly relations with Japan in the shape of the recent anti-Soviet actions of certain avaricious groups of Japanese undertakings. I must mention in this connection that the Soviet government is attentively following the attitude of these groups which are connected with the large Japanese fishery undertakings, and that the Soviet power still hopes to remove the obstacles to a settlement of the disputed questions and have already made proposals to Japan. I must, however, in the name of the Soviet government, assure the Congress that the attempts of certain circles to violate the Soviet-Japanese Fishery Convention is encountering, and will encounter, our determined resistance. We consider it our duty to compel those who work within the territory of our State, strictly to observe the Soviet laws. (Applause.)

A further remark I wish to make regarding numerous speeches in the discussion relating to the calumnious campaign being conducted abroad regarding "compulsory labour" in the Soviet Union. In particular Comrade **Bergavinov** from the Northern district spoke at length on this point.

I must say the anti-Soviet campaign regarding "compulsory labour" on the part of the Soviet government must call forth the most determined protest. We cannot, however, be satisfied with protest in words. We by no means consider our country to be helpless. We must adopt practical measures against such anti-Soviet campaigns. With regard to countries which, instead of contributing to the development of economic relations with the Soviet Union, hamper Soviet exports, using as a pretext some lying story regarding "forced labour", we shall have to adopt practical measures and cease our imports from these countries.

Finally, I must mention a document recently received by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

During the trial of the Mensheviks, the Council of the People's Commissars received a declaration from **Vander-**

velde, the representative of the so-called Labour and Socialist International. This document, dated 22nd February, states:

"The Executive of the International is in constant relation with the Russian social democratic party, whose activity it follows with vigilance. It knows that in the struggle which it is carrying on against the Bolshevik dictatorship the Russian social democratic party is resolutely hostile to any counter-revolutionary intervention in the U.S.S.R., that it is definitely opposed to any attempt at organising revolts with a view to a violent overthrow of the Soviet regime, and that there is no informed person who could in good faith deny that it has always acted in the most decided manner within the Labour and Socialist International in the sense of this opinion."

Proceeding from this standpoint, Vandervelde, in the name of the Executive of the II. International, raised a protest against the trial of the interventionist Mensheviks. Vandervelde's letter closes with the following words:

"I have been instructed by the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International to protest most energetically against such brutality and to state that Bolshevism, by acting in such a manner, only increases the great split within the international working class, whilst the vital interests of this class demand that in all countries it comes forward in a united front against the reactionary forces threatening it."

From this declaration it is to be seen that Vandervelde and his Executive were endeavouring with all their power to save the interventionist Mensheviks, who had confessed their crimes, from being tried by the open proletarian court. Of course, no honest worker, not a single real supporter of the interests of the working class could approve such a proposal. Now, when the trial of the Mensheviks has already taken place and the verdict and sentence of the Supreme Court has been published, it is no longer necessary to point out that the Council of the Peoples' Commissars cannot pass over this rather strange "protest" by Vandervelde.

Even now it is not at all superfluous to deal with this document.

It is impossible to pass over Vandervelde's declaration on the "united front" the more so as our view of the united front differs fundamentally from that of Vandervelde and of the Second International.

As a result of the trial of the "All-Union Bureau" of the Mensheviks it became clear that the Menshevik organisation carried on sabotage activity in our industry, was engaged in wrecking the supplies to the workers, in organising famine in the towns and directly preparing for an armed intervention by the imperialists against the Soviet Union. The accused themselves admitted this before the Court and fully and completely confirmed it in the course of the trial. The accused have themselves admitted that they committed the most shameful acts; that they took part in an organisation which received money not only from the German social democracy but also from the Trade and Industrial Committee (Torgprom) in Paris, and together with other counter-revolutionary organisations prepared for an armed intervention against the Soviet Union. The Court proved this all beyond a doubt. The accused unreservedly admitted it.

It is obvious that the declaration in Vandervelde's letter that the Executive of the Second International "is in constant relation with the Russian Social democratic party and follows its activity with vigilance" must be understood to mean that the Executive of the Second International was not unaware of the interventionist activity of the Mensheviks. We must further draw the conclusion that the authors, headed by Vandervelde, of the letter, addressed to the Council of People's Commissars not only followed the activity of the interventionist Mensheviks, but also supported it. **Emile Vandervelde has on his own initiative confirmed this in the name of the Executive of the Second International.**

After all this what is one to think of the declaration of Vandervelde regarding the "united front"? To what "united front" is the chairman of the Second International actually referring in his letter to the Council of People's Commissars? For what united front is he calling?

The facts I have cited show that the united front Vandervelde has in mind is the united front with the inter-

ventionist Mensheviks who are helping the foreign imperialists in the preparation for an armed attack on the Soviet Union. That is the "united front" of the aiders of the imperialist bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. That is the "united front" of the interventionist Mensheviks and of the socialists of the II. International against the first proletarian Republic, against the Soviet Union.

Is it, perchance, still necessary to say that we have nothing in common with such a "united front", that in fact this "united front" is directed against us, against the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union? We are for another, for the **real united front of the workers**. Our united front is built on another foundation, on the foundation of the alliance of the workers of the Soviet Republics with the workers of the whole world against intervention. That is our united front. (Applause.) Let Vandervelde and the other leaders of the Second International carry on their game, let them cloak their alliance with the interventionist Mensheviks with phrases regarding the united front of the working class. The facts expose the anti-proletarian, counter-revolutionary work of the Mensheviks in the Soviet Union and their "socialist" allies outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union. All this leads to the complete destruction of the confidence of the workers in the Mensheviks and in the Second International as a whole. As a result, the workers will finally turn away from the leaders of international Menshevism and their Second International.

On the other hand, our forces and the brotherly support of the workers outside of the frontiers of the Soviet Union are growing and becoming stronger. We are convinced that the greatest obstacle to each and every intervention, no matter from what side they seek to commence their attack on the Soviet Union, will be the united front of the workers of our country with the whole of the international proletariat. (Applause.)

We are conducting a consistent policy of peace. We shall not only not give up our struggle for peace, but shall continue it all round. Our fight for the Five-Year Plan is inseparably bound up with the struggle for peace.

The facts prove the correctness of the Leninist policy of the Soviet Power. The correctness of the Bolshevik line finds its confirmation in the great achievements of the Soviet Power, in the successful carrying through of the Five-Year Plan. The Bolshevik line is victorious.

We must, however, think not only of today but also of tomorrow. Therefore, we declare: If under peaceful conditions of socialist construction we are proving in practice the correctness of the Bolshevik line, also in the moment of our conflicts, when the imperialists attempt to break the peace and to prevent our socialist construction by an armed attack upon the Soviet Union, we shall know how to prove the correctness of the Bolshevik line and our **Bolshevik force**. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

## Naphtha Industry Progressing Rapidly.

Moscow, 21st March 1931.

The Grozny petroleum industry reports that the Grozneft Trust has carried out the Five-Year in 2 years and 6 months and that the production figures have even been exceeded by 14 per cent. The costs of production are 1.5 roubles per ton lower than the level set by the Five-Year Plan. Eleven years ago the workers found the industry in a hopeless condition. After the white guardist and entente armies had been driven out the industrial equipment was a heap of ruins. The modern oil shafts had been destroyed and the caging dynamited. The production of those few wells still at work was low and sunk even lower until production came to a standstill. The pipeline Grozny-Machatchkala was destroyed.

The workers set their teeth and rolled up their sleeves. In eleven years the petroleum industry in Grozny has been brought to a technical level undreamt of by the former oil industrialists. The discovery of new oil fields in Denoy has made Grozny the equal of the Baku district. In 1932 the Soviet petroleum industry is to produce 45 million tons annually.

In the Baku oil fields the Five-Year Plan has also been carried out in two years and 6 months. In the last year of the Five-Year Plan the Baku fields were to produce 14 million tons as compared with 8 million tons in 1928-29. In fact, last year 15.3 million tons were produced. The new oil field in Karatchukur has exceeded the plans by 50 per cent.

## POLITICS

### The Austro-German Customs Union.

By Z. Kalandra.

The recent visit of the German Foreign Minister to Vienna will undoubtedly mark an important stage in the development of capitalist post-war Europe. The actual object of his journey was, as has now transpired, to sign a protocol containing the main outlines of an Austro-German Union and in addition laying down in legally binding form the positive results of the concrete negotiations in connection therewith. This preliminary agreement provides that the conversations shall be ended by June or July this year, whereupon ratification shall take place; after six months, that is, at the beginning of 1932, the Customs Union agreement shall come into force.

The official communiqué of the Austrian Foreign Ministry gives the main outlines of the preliminary agreement in the following words:

"Both states wish to agree to a customs tariff which cannot be changed except on the basis of mutual agreement. The exchange of goods between the two States shall in principle be free, but both governments shall come to an agreement regarding the commodities on which duties are still necessary for the time being. The customs administrations of the two countries remain completely independent. The income from customs duties shall be divided according to a definite ratio. Each of the two governments shall maintain the right to conclude for itself a commercial treaty with a third State, but such treaty must not run counter to the present agreement. In negotiations with other States both parties shall co-operate as far as possible. Both governments wish to enter into agreement with any European State that is prepared to negotiate on similar agreements."

It is therefore a question of a Customs Union, with the continuation for the time being of a customs frontier — a Customs Union which, in view of the economic and political relation of forces of the countries, could lead to an actual economic union of Austria with Germany.

Now it is generally known that up to now the most determined opponent of such a union was precisely the German and Austrian economic circles, which were not inclined to abandon mutual customs protection. It would be a complete mistake to deny that these "objections" no longer exist today. The contrary is the case, as is to be seen from the declarations of the circles in question. But on the one hand, these objections were somewhat weakened on the occasion of the preliminary agreement by proposing the introduction of a number of special customs duties for the period of 3—5 years for those branches of industry of the two States which "need protection", and on the other hand, the opposition of the German and Austrian capitalists has been considerably weakened by the devastating consequences of the world economic crisis.

Great as is the economic importance of this Customs Union for the whole of Central Europe, it is of a great political importance: it is an attempt to create a breach in the walls which French imperialism and its vassals have erected in order to separate Germany and Austria, these German countries, for all time. This is the reason of the outcry in Paris, in Prague, and in fact even in Rome. In the meantime, the diplomatic "step" has been taken in Vienna, and Germany and Austria are threatened with an economic war in order to intimidate them. It is a striking indication of the way in which the German social democracy is completely bound to the Western Powers, that the threats against the Customs Union were hardly uttered when the German social democrats already commenced a retreat and called for "negotiations"!

German diplomacy has done everything in order to weaken the coming protest. At first it wished to take the Powers by surprise and face them with a fait-accompli. That is the reason why Chancellor Brüning did not keep his promise to accompany Curtius to Vienna: his visit would have called too much attention to the Vienna negotiations, and this would not have served the aim of German diplomacy.

Further, German diplomacy chose the most suitable moment imaginable in order to announce the Customs Union

— the moment of the final fiasco of the negotiations over the European "Tariff Truce".

The German imperialists have, of course, also not failed to make use for their own purposes in a hypocritical manner of the hypocrisy of their French colleagues. They are attempting to represent their imperialistic advance as a preliminary step on the path to the realisation of Briand's Pan-Europe, and thereby play the last trump of French imperialist policy against the French imperialists themselves.

These arguments, however, are a matter of indifference. Here it is entirely a question of the correlation of power. Not so very long ago Briand replied to an incomparably more modest attempt on the part of Germany, which appeared to be aiming at a union with Austria, with the words: "Union means war!" — which words were repeated with equal force by the Prague echo. That time has, however, irrevocably passed; the position of Germany has already become too strong.

The next few days will bring the decision. We shall see how far Austria, and also Germany, will be able to resist the pressure of France and its vassals.

### The Crisis in the German Social Democracy.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

A number of events which have taken place recently; the foul murder of the Communist deputy Henning in Hamburg, the declaration of the social democracy according to which not the fascists but their murdered victim is the guilty party, the imposition of a state of siege in Hamburg in the form of a prohibition of all meetings of the working class and of all Communist newspapers, the prohibition of demonstrations of the workers in Berlin, while at the same time the Stahlhelm (fascist organisation) is permitted to a parade, in short the fact that the social democracy has placed itself as a protecting wall in front of the fascists against the working class—all this has enormously increased the ferment among the working-class members of the social democratic party of Germany.

The last straw, however, was the vote on the armoured cruiser by the social democratic Reichstag fraction on 20th March. This vote openly and clearly expressed the profound crisis which has long existed in the German social democracy. The situation is characterised by the following statement of Max Seydewitz in the "Sächsische Volksblatt" of 21st March, 1931:

"A whole number of local branches and also comrades in my constituency and Party District have sent letters to me and to the District Party Committee, in which they declare they will turn their backs on the party if on this question I do not, in accordance with the will of the overwhelming majority of the party comrades of our district, vote against the armoured cruiser."

The hundreds and thousands of members of the social democratic party and the millions of social democratic electors who refused right up to the last to believe that their party would vote for the armoured cruisers, have been roused to open rebellion by the vote in the Reichstag.

The one-time "left" social democratic deputy Saupe, who has long since become a member of the Central Committee of the Party, raises a wail in the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" over the fatal 20th of March, which "will not be soon forgotten". He writes:

"This vote means for the social democracy a bad precedent, for the Reichstag fraction was divided into three groups."

Whilst, in accordance with the decision of the fraction majority, 108 social democratic deputies took part in the vote by displaying the blue card (indicating that they withheld their votes), 19 particularly "courageous" ones dodged the vote altogether, while 9 others (these are the insignificant group that still remains of Paul Levi's "left wing") voted with the Red, "No" card. The nine were: Oettinghaus (Hagen), Portune (Frankfurt), Rosenfeld (Berlin), Siemsen (Thuringia), Ziegler (Breslau) and the Saxon deputies Seydewitz, Graf, Kuhnt and Ströbel.

According to the "statutes" of the social democratic Reichstag fraction a deputy is permitted to absent himself from a vote if this is not done in a demonstrative manner

and if it does not affect or alter the desired result of the vote. The 19 members of the social democratic fraction who acted in this manner—despicable as their attitude may be—have not thereby violated the discipline of the fraction. But the nine others, who by voting against the building of the armoured cruiser openly opposed the fraction, are being fiercely attacked by the Party central committee and the party press as violators of discipline.

The committee of the social democratic Reichstag fraction has issued a statement in which it is said that the nine recalcitrant deputies, "in spite of serious warning" and after the fraction majority had expressly rejected a motion that the deputies be left free to vote as they choose, have broken the tradition and discipline hitherto obtaining. "The approaching Party Congress will have to deal with this action."

The fury of the social democratic Central Committee at the attitude of the nine members of the fraction is easily understood. For the vote given by these nine deputies shatters with one stroke the whole fabric of lying demagoguery which had been built up by Wels, Stampfer and Hilferding in order to deceive the masses of the workers regarding the meaning of their vote. The "argument" they used was:

"The social democracy which helped to create the Republic and the Constitution and wishes Germany to develop into a social people's State, must not hand over the State power to the fascist and terrorist enemies of democracy... A rejection (of the armoured cruiser) by the social democracy would mean the triumphant return of the fascists to the Reichstag and their unhindered sham legal march to power and to the fascist dictatorship."

This argument is bound to fail miserably when with the nine rebels big sections of the social democratic party organisations themselves give it the lie.

For the broad masses even of the social democratic working class electors the building of armoured cruisers has ever since the year 1928 been much more than an expression of the imperialist armaments of the German bourgeoisie. To them it has become the symbol of the whole anti-labour, reactionary policy of the capitalist class. Now, at a time of most severe crisis, when the Brüning government with the support of the social democratic Reichstag fraction has cast such enormous burdens of fresh taxation upon the working class, when the government, which is able to maintain a majority thanks only to the 143 votes of the social democratic party, has undertaken such a drastic reduction of social policy for the unemployed, for the disabled, for the invalids and war cripples and when a fresh and serious deterioration of social policy is threatened, must not a programme for the construction of armoured cruisers, costing in round figures 600 million marks, rouse every worker to fury?

The leaders of the social democratic party attempted to make the vote on the armoured cruiser more palatable to their electors by introducing a few motions for increasing property taxes; in addition they wished to be able to say to their electors: if the bourgeoisie wish to build armoured cruisers they should pay for them themselves. The resistance in the ranks of the big capitalist parties and also the government caused even this concession to be refused.

The nine "Lefts" who voted against the building of the armoured cruiser openly admit that they acted only under the pressure of the rebellious workers. This is what Seydewitz writes in the article which we have already quoted, while Kurt Rosenfeld, writing in the "Sächsische Volksblatt" of 21st March, states:

"If these comrades had acted otherwise, the masses of social democratic electors, who will not under any circumstances agree to new warships being built, would no longer consider the social democratic fraction as their representatives. The result would have been that hundreds of thousands would have swung over to the Left. The comrades who voted against the cruiser have prevented this."

It would be scarcely possible to expose more clearly the "heroism" of these noble men. They acted out of fear of the workers going over to Communism, to the revolutionary fighting front; with the "noble" intention of keeping these masses in the tow of the armoured cruiser socialists. But will not the hundreds of thousands of social democratic workers see through this manoeuvre of the "Lefts"? "Now the fight will be carried into the organisations" moans the "Leip-

ziger Volkszeitung". Here the spirit of revolt will again find vent and the result will be, hundreds of thousands of social democratic workers will come over to the Communist Party.

A part of the bourgeoisie raises the same plaint. In the "Berliner Tageblatt" of March 22nd the editor Herr Theodor Wolff deploras the fact that the social democracy has been brought into such a disastrous situation. He declares that the action of Lieutenant Scheringer, who has just recently abandoned the national socialists and has pronounced his allegiance to Communism, shows that the bourgeoisie cannot find a reliable support in national socialism, for it is probable that Scheringer's example will be followed by large numbers of national socialists. On the other hand, the social democracy has once again proved that, at the cost of great sacrifices, it is conducting a policy aiming at bolstering up the present regime.

"The suicidal policy of the Cabinet", declares the "Berliner Tageblatt", "which has driven the social democracy into such an awkward situation, can only serve to undermine the only safe bulwark which still exists between the bourgeoisie and the rising flood of Bolshevism."

The role which social democracy plays for the German exploiting class is here very well characterised. But have not Seydewitz and Rosenfeld also undertaken to play this role? The "only protective bulwark" of armoured-cruiser socialism will not save the bourgeoisie for long, for millions of workers who hitherto followed the slogans of social democracy will now come over to Communism. The stream of their growing indignation will swell the rising flood of Bolshevism. When will the last protecting dyke of the capitalist class dictatorship be swept away?

## The Political Crisis in Britain.

By R. Bishop (London).

All the political parties of British capitalism are in the throes of crisis. The Labour Party, faced with defections on every hand, with a rapidly sinking poll at every by-election, and constantly meeting defeat in the House of Commons, is very little worse off than the other parties. The openly fascist wing in the Tory Party is growing in strength and is daily becoming more audacious. The by-election in Westminster, has become a battle-ground between the contending forces and a number of Tory M. Ps have openly supported the Beaverbrook candidate who is opposing the official Tory. So strong is this development that Baldwin, the Tory leader, broke the unwritten rule of generations, and spoke at a meeting in the by-election. Meanwhile the Churchill caucus, with its proposal for an economic sub-Parliament, to take all real power away from Parliament, is only biding its time, waiting the opportunity to spring and seize power in the Tory ranks.

In the Liberal Party, votes have sunk almost to nothingness at by-elections and the Party is almost equally divided between those who would retain the Labour Government in office and those who would throw it out immediately.

The Government were defeated in the Commons on Monday March 16 on a clause of their Electoral Bill which proposed to abolish separate University representation. This was their sixth defeat and it was brought about by over twenty Labour members abstaining from voting, whilst two voted against the Government. In addition, 19 Liberals voted for the Government whilst more than 30 voted against or abstained from voting.

The first repercussion of this was the resignation from his office of the chief Liberal Whip. This was followed by the threat of resignation of Lloyd George. This threat is not likely to be carried through just yet, but as L. G. is at present engaged in negotiating an agreed programme of legislation with the Labour Party, it may not be long delayed should he be flouted by his followers again in the future.

The forces of the Liberal Party are definitely splitting asunder. Lord Grey, the Imperialist Foreign Minister who led Britain into the World War, is openly advocating a practical coalition of Liberal-Labour forces, whilst Sir John Simon has a group of about a dozen Liberal M. Ps behind him who are likely at any moment to secede from the Party and form a "Liberal Unionist" bloc with the Tories.

This is the position in the big capitalist parties. Meanwhile, Mosley and his group are spending thousands of pounds in propagating their brand of national-fascism. Behind them is the wealth of Sir Wm. Morris, the millionaire motor-car manufacturer and his friends of the National Council of Trade and Commerce.

In this situation, with unemployment growing week by week, with industrial struggle on every hand, faced with an enormous Budget deficit, the Labour Government is pressing forward with yet more activities of an anti-working class nature. Their latest move is the formation of an Economy Committee, on the lines of the notorious post-war Geddes "Axe" Committee.

This new committee, whose aim it will be to recommend ways and means of cutting the social services, thus supplementing the activities of the Royal Commission on Unemployment, consists of as choice a collection of trusted servants of capitalism as it would be possible to gather together.

Included on it is Lord Plender, a chartered accountant, who was appointed as "independent" arbitrator for the Durham coalfield in 1928, and carried through a heavy wage cut for all the workers concerned. For these, and similar services rendered to capitalism, he received his peerage at the hands of the Labour Government shortly after it took office. Another member of the Committee is Sir Mark Jenkinson, a director of Vickers-Armstrong, the huge armaments firm, another is Sir Thomas Royden, a director of the Midland Bank and of shipping, assurance and railway companies. All the other members of the committee are wealthy company directors with the exception of one, Arthur Pugh, the "workers representative". He is the secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Union, and a past chairman of the Trade Union Congress. This individual is as much of a wage-cutter as his openly capitalist colleagues, and as recently as February 5, he was pleading in the columns of the "Daily Herald" for the Government to "go forward with a bold, comprehensive policy, which will call for effort and if need be sacrifice from all sections of the community, so that economies may be achieved".

The situation is such that a General Election cannot long be deferred. The Government may last out till the Autumn, but it cannot last much longer. However much it may suit their book, and that of capitalism, to remain in office, the longer they stay the more discredited they become. The position of the British capitalist parties has become one of indescribable confusion and in these circumstances, coupled with the intensifying attacks upon the workers' standard of life, the moment is opportune for the building up of the Communist Party on a mass basis around the slogans of "Class against Class" and "A Revolutionary Workers Government".

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### The Failure of the Geneva Economic Conference.

By Gabriel Péri.

The third economic Conference which opened on 16th March in Geneva has ended in a complete fiasco. The declaration which was read out at the conclusion of the Conference by the Chairman of the meeting is as follows:

"The undersigned . . . state that they were not able to come to an agreement regarding the time within which the Trade agreement should come into force. The undersigned do not wish thereby to deny the possibility of this agreement coming into force at a period later than 1st April 1931."

The plain meaning of the statement is that the Trade agreement is buried and, as the "Journal de Genève" expresses it, the economic activity of the League of Nations is ended for the time being.

What was the content of this Trade Agreement? When, in the year 1927, amidst the outbursts of enthusiasm of Jouhaux and Loucheur the first economic conference met, all delegates spoke in favour of a reduction of tariffs. These well intentioned recommendations which were embodied in solemn resolutions remained, on paper. Two years later,

the unhappy champions of economic peace noticed that instead of a tariff truce an exceedingly strong protectionist wave has swept the whole world. They met again at the beginning of 1930 at the "Tariff Conference". This Conference worked out a trade agreement, which however in the course of the debate was so whittled down on all sides that in the end there was hardly anything left of it.

The Trade Agreement of 24th March 1930 pledges the contracting parties not to raise their tariffs before giving due notice thereof and negotiating over them.

What was the fate of this document? The time for the ratification was postponed from one quarter to another. Finally, it was signed by only 14 Powers, but the majority of these ratifications were accompanied by such reservations as to deprive them of any real value.

In November 1930 an attempt was once again made at least to save appearances. And now this same scheme was again taken up on the 16th March 1931. Meanwhile, the President of the Conference bewailed his failure. M. Briand had announced to the whole world that his programme for a European Union would lead the unfortunate Economic Conference out of the cul de sac. But hard facts gave the lie to M. Briand and his Pan-Europe. For three days long the physicians at Geneva bent over their patient. They sought to outdo each other in inventing means to conceal their bankruptcy. Finally, when they arrived at the end of their resources, they confessed their impotence. The Trade Agreement is dead and buried. The road is free for an open tariff war.

It would be obviously quite useless to seek to ascertain which countries are responsible for the failure to bring about a tariff truce. But it is perfectly obvious that the tariff policy conducted by France contributed in the first place to the Geneva fiasco. William Martin, a zealous supporter of the League of Nations, confesses quite openly:

"There is a country which will not understand. It is the same country which in the past years in Geneva opposed the tariff truce. It is one of those which this year have not ratified the agreement of 24th March 1930. It is that country in whose Parliament the Minister for Trade promised to weaken gradually all the consolidated tariff positions, that is, to do precisely the opposite of what the League of Nations demands. It is that country whose representatives openly advocated before the Conference a policy which is the antithesis of that in which Europe places its hopes. This country is France. It is well to know this . . . For finally it would be too easy for it to pose as the champion of European union, to receive the applause of the pacifists and, by a policy of mere phrases, to acquire a halo and at the same time to allow the signed agreements to become faded and yellow in the archives of its Parliament."

That is very well said, but it is very incomplete. William Martin recognises that Europe is not yet ripe for economic co-operation. To the disturbed European bourgeoisie he prophesies approaching economic catastrophe:

"We must act before and not after the establishment of Bolshevism, because it is as certain as twice two are four that the social system cannot last long which is incapable of solving its most important problem — and in this special case the problem of unemployment."

It is impossible better to characterise the ideas troubling the minds of the European bourgeoisie than does the contributor to the "Journal de Genève".

Capitalist Europe cannot be organised. The blame does not lie with this or that capitalist country, but it lies in the system itself. The bourgeoisie of France, Germany and England can unite their efforts against the revolutionary proletariat; they may unite in order to suppress colonial revolts and to oppose the first workers' State, but proof lies to hand that it is impossible for them to create an organisation for "economic peace".

The tariff war arises out of the capitalist system. That is a fact. The Geneva fiasco demonstrates once again the international tension and reminds the proletarians of their most urgent task, i. e., to fight against war. The Geneva fiasco shows them that there is no other way out except the revolutionary fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building up of Socialism.

## FASCISM

### From Hitler-Lieutenant to Soldier of the Red Front.

Scheringer's Example and its Effects—

By Ernst Torgler (Berlin).

The bourgeois public in Germany is still unable to get over the shock caused it by the going over of Lieutenant Scheringer from national socialism to Communism. This fact in itself shows the profound effects which this event is causing in the circles of the German bourgeoisie.

Lieutenant Scheringer, the best head among that group of officers who, at the end of September 1930, were condemned to 18 months' by the Leipzig Court for having carried on national socialist propaganda and formed national socialist nuclei in the Reichswehr, was regarded even a few weeks ago as one of the heroes and martyrs of the national socialist movement, and in addition was looked upon as a typical representative of the young generation of bourgeois Germany which regards as its supreme aim the national rejuvenation of Germany. His courageous attitude at the Reichswehr trial in Leipzig provided the national socialist party with magnificent material for their propaganda both among the bourgeoisie and the Reichswehr.

All the more serious, therefore, is the blow which Scheringer has now delivered the Hitler party by accusing it of treachery and bringing against it the charges, which are likewise raised by a great number of its members, even if not with the same clearness, namely, that Hitler has repudiated socialism, pronounced capitalist private property to be sacred, shown himself to be the servant of capitalist profit interest against the proletariat, and has recognised the Young Plan, the reparations policy and the League of Nations.

It is about a year ago that such a criticism made itself evident in the national socialist movement through the group gathered round Otto Strasser and Major Buchrucker and who finally separated themselves from Hitler. But in spite of all their radical phrases, these people did not have the courage to go the whole hog; they shrank from breaking down all bridges to the bourgeoisie and going over to the proletarian class front; in a thousand things they adopted a half-way attitude and made use of dishonest phrases in the same way as Hitler and Goebbels. But the case is otherwise with Scheringer.

In an interview which Scheringer gave to a representative of the Berlin "Rote Fahne" at his place of detention in Gollnow, he described the severe inner conflicts which he experienced before finding his way to Communism. He read Marx and sought arguments against him in the literature of national socialism; but found nothing except stupid chatter; he saw the cynicism of the national socialist leaders, became disgusted with their corruption and recognised their treachery; he studied the Bolshevik revolution and the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union, read the programme of the Communist Party of Germany regarding national and social emancipation and became an ardent follower of Lenin and Communism. He had the courage to back his convictions by deeds.

The national socialist party leaders were so flabbergasted by Scheringer's abandonment and indictment of the party that Hitler's paper "Der Völkische Beobachter" has not found anything to say, and the national socialist Berlin paper of Dr. Goebbels "Der Angriff" could only stutter with embarrassment:

"It the letter is actually genuine and seriously meant, perhaps it can best be regarded as a result of the psychological state produced by prison confinement."

Scheringer is not alone, behind him there stands a large section of the national socialist followers, whose eyes are also being opened by this declaration of the "little lieutenant". The bourgeoisie knows this and the "Vossische Zeitung", for example states openly:

"That which the former Lieutenant Scheringer has written to the Communist Party, is seen with perfect

clearness by some thousands, and is vaguely felt by millions of those electors who on 14th September last voted for the national socialist list."

The bourgeoisie sees not only the demoralising results which Scheringer's action will have in the camp of national socialism, but also the profound effects which his declaration is having and will have in the Reichswehr. In his last speech in the Reichstag General Gröner, the German Minister for Defence, once again specially emphasised that he would intensify the fight against Bolshevism. But what is the use of all his decrees and orders, what is the use of all praises and rewards, gold watches etc. in face of the victorious power of the Bolshevik idea? Communism is the only movement which is able to show a way out of the crisis of capitalist Germany, a way out of the misery and slavery, a way to social and national emancipation. Hence the power of the Communist idea, hence the certainty of its victory.

### Mass Defensive Struggle of the German Proletariat Against the Fascist Murder Terror.

The German revolutionary labour movement has right from the beginning defended itself energetically against the murder-terror of the National Socialists. A number of events which have occurred in the last few days in various parts of Germany furnish clear evidence that, roused by the series of fascist acts of murder, culminating in the shooting of the Communist deputy Ernst Henning in Hamburg, this defence-movement of the German proletariat has increased tremendously. In connection with the ideological and political fight of the Communist Party against fascism, the revolutionary working class is defending itself with ever increasing determination against the terrorist acts of the national socialist fighting detachments. Revolutionary Marxism decisively rejects individual terror. The spontaneous defensive movements, which have caused many bloody heads amongst the ranks of the fascists, are based upon the revolutionary training of the masses in the spirit of Marxism, and, in striking contradiction to the acts of individual murder by the fascists, are a part of the mass defensive struggle, of the revolutionary mass mobilisation and revolutionary mass actions. Of great importance in this connection is the close co-operation between Communist and social democratic workers in the fight against fascism.

We enumerate below the cases which have come to our knowledge of collisions between workers and national socialist fighting detachments in the last 14 days, which without exception were the result of provocations by the national socialists.

In Hagen on 6th of March it came to a collision between provocative national socialists and workers. A national socialist was severely wounded by a bullet.

On 6th of March it came to a severe collision in Demmin between students attending the vocational school, who belong to the national socialists Youth and who acted in the most provocative manner, and students who belong to the Young Communist League of Germany and the Young Socialist League. In this affray six national socialists were seriously wounded.

On March 7th in Landau, in Pfalz, it came to a severe encounter between workers belonging to the Reichsbanner (social democratic Republican organisation) and national socialists. Communist workers hastened to the aid of the Reichsbanner. The national socialists left behind them two wounded.

On March 8th in Wallerfangen on the Saar a member of the fascist fighting detachment—a flag bearer—received a serious bullet wound in a collision with workers provoked by the national socialists.

On March 10th a national socialist meeting was held in Reichenhall. As a result of the provocations of the fascists it came to a fierce fight in the meeting hall between national socialist storm troops and workers. Social democratic workers and Reichsbanner workers together with Communists drove the national socialists out of the hall. The losses of the Nazi were three seriously injured and ten slightly injured. The united front which is being formed in actual fight was

expressed in the founding of a local branch of the Fighting League against Fascism, which numerous social democratic and non-party workers joined.

On the **11th of March** the Hitler fascists organised a parade and march in **Boizenburg**. Many social democratic and Reichsbanner workers took part in the counter-demonstration held by the revolutionary workers. It came to severe collisions with the Nazis, in which **several Nazis were severely injured**.

On **13th March** national socialist detachments behaved in a provocative manner at the Labour Exchange in Spandau. It came to a fierce fight between the unemployed and the storm detachments, in which **7 fascists were severely wounded**. Here also non-Party, social-democratic and Communist workers made common cause against the fascists.

On **March 13th** it came to severe collisions on the occasion of a national socialist meeting in **Wilmersdorf** in Berlin, in which three Nazis sustained serious wounds.

On **14th March** the workers in **Cassel** demonstrated on the occasion of the trial of 97 revolutionary workers charged with a breach of the peace. A horde of national socialists who came forward as witnesses in this trial, together with several storm detachments, provoked the demonstrating workers. The latter replied with their fists to the provocation, with the result that a **great number of national socialists sustained serious injuries**.

On **14th March** in **Brand-Erbisdorf** in Saxony, at a meeting of the Nazis, it came to a fierce fight between national socialists and workers in the audience. **Two fascists were severely injured and five slightly injured**.

On **14th March** the national socialists in Leipzig attacked a workers' club. The workers put the Nazis to flight; **two fascists had to be taken to the hospital**.

On **15th March** the revolutionary workers in **Düsseldorf** held a demonstration. Detachments of the Stahlhelm provoked the workers who were going home after the demonstration, but suffered severe losses as a result. **Seven severely injured Stahlhelmers had to be taken to the hospital by the first aid society**.

In **Schönhausen**, near Berlin, there was held on **15th of March** a demonstration of the Hitler Youth. At a counter-demonstration it came to a severe collision in which **several Nazis were seriously injured**.

On **15th of March** a serious collision took place in **Kaiserslautern** between workers and Nazis, in which **a leader of a fascist fighting detachment was seriously wounded and had to be conveyed to the hospital**. In this case also Reichsbanner workers and Communists acted together.

During the night of the **15th of March** revolutionary workers in **Altona** gave the first reply to the cowardly assassination of Comrade Ernst Henning: at a collision with Nazis **two fascists received serious bullet wounds**.

On **15th of March** a collision occurred in **Essen** between provoking Nazis and workers, in which **a fascist named Felgenreher was shot**.

On **17th of March**, at a collision in **Danzig**, a Nazi sustained a **serious scalp wound**.

On **17th of March** in **Brunswick** national socialists forced their way into a workers club. The revolutionary workers present, together with Reichsbanner workers, drove the bandits out. Five Nazis had to be carried away by the first aid corps.

On **March 18th** national socialists in **Lichterfelde** provoked the unemployed at the Labour Exchange. The latter replied by putting the nazis to flight. **Several fascists were injured**.

On **March 18th** the Communist fraction on the town council in **Hamburg** settled accounts with the **national socialists** on the town council by administering them a **severe beating**.

In **Silesia** several bloody collisions have taken place in the last 14 days between provoking national socialists on the one side and Communist and social democratic workers on the other side. In these encounters **two fascists, named Seliger and Bishoff, were killed** and ten other fascists were severely injured. At a national socialist demonstration in **Friedrichgrätz** five fascists were severely injured. The police, who hastened to the aid of the fascists, were **disarmed**.

In **Murow**, near **Oppeln**, a national socialist was severely injured.

In **Karlsmarkt** national socialists behaved in a provocative manner at a social democratic meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting it came to collisions. A national socialist sustained such serious injuries that he died.

Summing up, one can say that there is an ever stronger development of the mass power of the German workers in the fight against fascism. The actions with which the proletarians are replying to the fascist attacks, raids and acts of murder show that the German proletariat will never capitulate to fascism but will defeat it on all fronts.

## ECONOMICS

### British Economic Decline.

By William Rust (London).

The depth of the economic crisis and the growth of parasitism in Britain are strikingly revealed in statistics recently published by Government.

Taking June 1923 as equal to 100 per cent, the Ministry of Labour reports that the estimated number of insured persons in employment on various dates was as follows:

	per cent
June 1927	108.6
June 1928	107.2
June 1929	110.5
June 1930	106.1
December 1930	100.2

The decline of 5.9 per cent. in six months is very considerable but on first reading it appears that the situation in the country cannot be very bad if employment is maintained at the 1923 level despite the world economic crisis. In fact, the „popular“ capitalist newspapers, especially the „Daily Herald“, made a desperate attempt to whoop up confidence on the basis of proving that the number of employed workers has not decreased.

But such an estimation not only ignores the natural increase in population, it completely glosses over the fundamental fact that employment has declined at a terrific rate in the **staple industries**. An examination of the figures for the various industries reveals the following situation in June 1930 (later figures not yet available will, of course, show a much bigger decline):

#### Index Number. (June 1923 = 100.)

	Number of unemployed	per cent
Coal Mining	813,711	69.2
Cotton	329,853	75.1
General Engineering	499,399	98.7
Shipbuilding and Repairing	141,947	97.5
Boot and Shoe	112,870	89.9
Docks and Harbour	111,215	83.7
Steel Melting, etc.	126,846	78.8
Woolen and Worsted	181,605	75.3

Where then have the increases taken place to set off this huge decline? In the so-called new industries artificial silk, motoring and electrical (even here the decline has begun during the later part of 1930 with the exception of electrical), in building (considerable luxury building), local Government (due to temporary work schemes) and in the **parasitic services**. The increase is most marked in the latter. The figures are as follows:

#### Index Number. (June 1923 = 100.)

	Number of unemployed	per cent
	June 1930	June 1930
Distributive Trades	1,622,112	140.0
Hotel and club services	311,257	136.0
Building	726,268	121.8
Professional services	122,070	119.3
Silk and artificial silk	60,855	179.4
Motor vehicles	214,696	125.2
Electrical engineering	83,208	148.8
Electrical Cables	94,304	146.6
Local government	279,107	132.2
Commerce and Banking	224,790	104.2

The „Economist“ makes the following comment on these changes:

„It is becoming increasingly evident from these annual analyses that this country's habit of regarding itself as

mainly a producer of coal, textiles, and iron and steel, with its industry concentrated around the coalfields of the North, the Midlands and S.Wales is gradually becoming an anachronism. The part played in our manufacture by the newer industries and the increasing proportion of labour in occupations other than manufacturing, are circumstances of which sight must not be lost in the framing of economic policy."

Now that unemployment has reached a total of over 2,600,000 and is steadily increasing the workers in the basic industries may well ask what their future will be. The cautious "Economist" admits that far from being the workshop of the world Britain is now becoming a country in which the "tendency is towards the continued decline of the basic industries and an increasing proportion of labour in occupations other than manufacturing".

This means that there is no hope of any permanent reduction in the number of unemployed, on the contrary, all facts point to an increase and the topping of the three million mark in the near future. Secondly, that the ruling class is becoming more and more parasitical, living a rotten useless life mainly on the basis of the huge tribute sucked out of the blood and sweat of the millions of colonial slaves and using a portion of this tribute in order to corrupt sections of the British workers.

This is the pass to which capitalism has brought mankind. Great industries going down to ruin, millions of able workers condemned to the semi-starvation of unemployment and millions of others made into flunkies or compelled to perform useless parasitical work, the colonial peoples plundered and held down under primitive and horrible conditions, while the class of capitalists and landlords flaunt their luxury and wealth and with an inhuman cynicism demand ever greater sacrifice from the robbed and exploited.

## Deeper Crisis in the United States.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

There is no indication of any slackening in the economic crisis in the United States. The year 1931, to which the capitalists looked with such great hope, has left them, thus far, stunned with the results. At the end of 1930, there was a speeding-up of all factors of the crisis. The year ended with 400 bank crashes in one month, involving over \$ 500,000,000. Unemployment increased tremendously. Commodity prices dropped steeply. All basic industries reached extremely low levels. This precipitous downward turn in the crisis, the capitalists thought, was the final flicker of the candle. The crisis, they said, had burned itself out. The entire capitalist press began to preach faith, work and intensified efforts to get out of the crisis. Now we have sufficient material to gauge the results.

The first month of 1931 opened with 197 bank failures, involving \$ 91,000,000 — the largest number and amount for any January in American history. Not exactly an auspicious beginning. But there are more fundamental factors which show how deep the crisis is going, how far from a termination it is.

Comparing the months of January and February, 1931, with the same months of 1930 shows that every effort of the capitalists, in whatever direction they work, have not been able to stem the bottomward drift. The following comparative figures of general business activity in the United States (according to the New York Times Business Index, March 1, 1931) show how futile was the optimistic campaign of the American capitalists:

	1930	1931
Week ended Jan. 3	93.9	77.0
Jan 10	95.0	78.0
Jan 17	94.5	78.2
Jan 24	96.6	78.1
Jan 31	97.4	78.4
Feb 7	97.5	78.6
Feb 14	97.0	77.8
Feb 21	95.3	76.9
Feb 28	94.4	

The third week in February, 1931, showed that the index had fallen to the lowest point yet reached in the present crisis. In 1930, the entire index, week by week, was from 20 to 22 points above the 1931 level, and the year 1930 was conceded by all the capitalists to be the worst crisis year in American

economic history. Even the seasonal trend in 1931 was below the usual for crisis years.

All other indexes published by the capitalists in the United States show this continuing downward trend. At the same time, unemployment is growing. The government figures for unemployment are now greater than in 1921-22. Payrolls are at still lower levels, indicating a great increase in part-time employment. The number of unemployed has reached well over 10,000,000. That this figure is not in the slightest an exaggeration is amply shown by the fact that on the basis of government figures, Professor Irving Fisher, chief economist of Yale University, stated there were in 1923 at least 8,000,000 workers who desired work but could not obtain it due to the lack of jobs and because of the large number of workers thrown out of work by machinery.

What is the situation in the various basic industries? We have a very clear answer to this. For the steel industry, the Wall Street Journal (March 3, 1931) reports:

"Two months of the first quarter of 1931 have passed and conditions in the steel industry have not come up to the anticipations and hopes expressed earlier in the year. (These hopes were modest indeed.) . . . a number of the large companies report that the new buying has not supported the higher rate of operations, and this has resulted in considerable uncertainty regarding the immediate outlook."

Thus we get the information that while running at 50 per cent of capacity, which is 30 per cent below the 1930 figures, the steel industry was actually overproducing as "buying has not supported the higher rate of operations." The steel industry reflects the situation in nearly every other basic industry.

The automobile industry is in a bad state. During the latter part of 1930, the auto bosses speeded up production on new models, hoping to open the year with a sensational drive. They were sadly disappointed and abruptly curtailed production.

As for building construction, the Annalist (Feb. 6, 1931) states:

"A careful and dependable estimate for the last week of January indicates that the total value of contracts for the month was smaller than the total value for December. There is a normal seasonal decrease from December to January of about 1.3 per cent; the actual decline, based on the estimate referred to, is nearly 12 per cent. This movement of construction is apparently rather significant; it seems to show that the construction industry is contributing still less to the general stimulation of business.

All these facts led some of the more realistic of the capitalist economists to deplore the rabid optimistic campaign and to admit that there is no sign of improvement. Typical of these expressions is the following by H. Parker Willis, editor of the Journal of Commerce (Feb. 9, 1931):

"Business has shown a tendency to continue in the doldrums which had not been anticipated, but had nevertheless been feared by not a few."

And on top of all this there is the uninterrupted, sharp decline of commodity prices months after the capitalist economists declared that prices were "scraping the bottom". While the Annalist index showed prices at 150, the high point of 1929, they had dropped to 110, the lowest point in February, 1931. The weekly reports show the decline in commodity prices still going on. Furthermore, the spread between wholesale and retail prices is becoming greater evoking consternation among the capitalists. A Senate investigation has been started to inquire into the reason for the stable price of bread, milk, meat, sugar, while the wholesale prices of these commodities have reached record depths. The purpose, of course, is to give more weight to the wage-cutting campaign, as well as the recognition by the capitalists that this huge spread between wholesale and retail prices is a big factor in prolonging the duration of the crisis. There are 400 price-fixing organisations in the United States, and the attempt to lower retail prices will have no practical effect.

The failure of even a seasonal turn in the spring of 1931, when the capitalists had used every means at their disposal to liquidate the crisis at this time shows that a sharper turn is ahead. The steel industry, as we show, is already producing beyond its orders. The great overproduction in automobiles has not been eliminated. There is overproduction in the spring and summer. The impoverishment of the masses, which has gone to greater lengths, in turn intensifies the crisis.

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

# **The Development of the Soviet Farms.**

By J. A. Jakovlev.

From the Report of the People's Commissar for Agriculture in the Soviet Union Delivered at the VI. All-Union Soviet Congress.

### **I. The Results of the Establishment of Soviet Farms.**

We started to set up new Soviet farms in the year 1928. In April 1928, Comrade Stalin submitted a motion which was adopted by the Politbureau of the C. C. This decision read as follows: "It is hereby resolved to establish in the course of the next three to four years in the RSFSR, and in the Ukraine new big Soviet farms for grain production in these districts where the land allotted to the peasantry is not infringed upon by the new Soviet farms, with the provision that at the termination of that period these collective farms yield a grain output amounting to 100 million poods."

You are aware that in the year 1930 the Grain Trust had already organised 143 Soviet farms, cultivating an area of 1.75 million hectares. You know, that in the year 1930 the Grain Trust supplied 72 million poods of grain. You also know that the Grain Trust has extended its activity in the year 1931 to such a degree that a supply of 190 to 195 million poods of grain for the market is ensured.

Making use of the experiences of the Grain Trust, the Soviet Government is now proceeding to the setting up of a new network of **State cattle-breeding farms**. In this sphere the terms are still shorter, the tempo more rapid, than is the case with the Soviet grain farms. The decision to establish State cattle breeding farms of the Cattle Breeding Trust for rearing **1.1 million head of cattle** was only adopted at the end of 1929; this Trust already after one year comprised 140 State cattle breeding farms covering an area of 20 million hectares with 1.2 million head of cattle.

On 20th March 1930 the C. C., on the suggestion of Comrade Stalin, adopted the decision to organise a special **Pig Breeding Trust** for the whole Union at the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the USSR. The result of its nine month's activity is that this pig breeding trust, already in January 1931, embraced 350 State pig breeding farms with an area of 1.2 million hectares and 218,000 pigs.

Finally, on 27th July 1930, the decision was adopted to organise a **Butter Trust**. By the end of the year this trust had already organised 52 State farms with an area of 1.3 million hectares and possessing 50,000 cows.

Mention must also be made of the **Sheep Breeding Trust**, which at the end of 1930 comprised 115 State farms covering an area of 13 million hectares and having 2.7 million sheep.

The State cattle-breeding farms have already in the first year of their existence embraced an area of 36 million hectares, i. e., an area almost as big as Czechoslovakia, including land which is being used for the first time for agricultural production. In addition, we have organised the **Sugar Trust**, which comprises a whole network of the oldest and best organised State farms. In comparison with the other State farms the sugar trust yields the best results. In the year 1930 it supplied 3.5 million double centals of grain and 30 million double centals of beet sugar. The network of State farms for economic plants such as cotton and flax is developing. In the year 1930 the State farms cultivated 8,000 hectares of flax and 45,000 hectares of cotton by means of artificial irrigation. But that is only the beginning.

All these State farms together supplied in the year 1930 goods amounting in value to 200 million roubles (including 72 million poods of grain, over a million poods of meat, 180 million poods of beet sugar, 670,000 poods of cotton).

### **II. The Main Shortcomings in the Activity of the State Grain Farms and the Measures for the Improvement of Grain Production.**

#### **1. Better Utilisation of the Machines!**

I know, that some comrades could say with regard to the bad or inadequate utilisation of the machines: why do you malign our Soviet economy when it is an established fact that with us the tractors work 2,000 to 2,500 hours whilst in America they work only 400 to 600 hours. It is true that in America there exists only one farm (American statistics state that there are seven such farms) on which the tractor, in the agricultural season, works more than 1,000 hours, whilst with us it works 2,500 hours. That is true. But it is also a fact that with us, both on the Soviet farms and in the agricultural machine and tractor stations, the tractors are as badly handled as if they were the property of the old Tsarist State. In the year 1931, 87 per cent of the existing tractors will have to be thoroughly overhauled and repaired. We must mobilise the masses of workers against this state of affairs, and in this struggle a whole number of measures will have to be adopted.

Firstly, there are still numerous "workers" who have not yet learned to regard the machines as the property of the working class, who treat them negligently as if they belonged to somebody else. The severest measures must be adopted against such people, if necessary they must even be brought before the court.

Secondly, we shall have to liquidate those cases even if rare, in which the tractors are used on the Soviet farms and the agricultural and tractor stations without personal responsibility.

Thirdly, the question of the training of a cadre of tractor-drivers must be raised. With us the tractor-driver is considered to be a sort of seasonal worker. That is utterly wrong. The tractor-driver is not a seasonal worker but a permanent worker. It is wrong, as frequently happens, to dismiss the attenders of the tractor drivers' courses in the autumn, when they disperse in all directions, and then new tractor drivers are trained and they start afresh to mishandle the machines.

The fourth task is the organisation of repair work. The work of our repairing shops is like the state of a patient suffering malaria, whose temperature is constantly rising and falling. At the time of the spring ploughing these shops are working three shifts and with the greatest energy. Then again they stop working. Up to now we have not succeeded in getting the repair shops to work continually and having the tractors repaired when they show only small defects, whilst now this is only done when the tractors are perfectly ruined.

#### **2. The Organisation of Harvest Work.**

Although the grain farms have as a whole correctly solved the harvest tasks, a number of serious shortcomings were revealed, against which we have to mobilise all the forces of the Soviet farms. The greatest shortcoming consists in the fact that where combines were used the period in which they were allowed to remain idle was exceedingly long and also that the loss of grain was abnormally big. On a number of Soviet farms which were investigated by the grain trust, while the harvest was being got in with combines the tractors

remained idle 45 per cent of the whole work time, whilst during the ploughing season they remained idle only 17 per cent of the work time. On numerous Soviet farms the combines were in use only seven hours a day.

It must be openly admitted that in the first year of the application of the combines one could observe on a number of Soviet farms a sort of combine panic. The people were afraid of the machine. I know cases where the workers, although combines were at their disposal, worked with the most primitive implements.

At the same time the example of other Soviet farms shows what favourable results can be achieved with modern agricultural machines. Contrary to the theory according to which the combines cannot work in the early morning hours and in the evening owing to the dew, the machines were in use almost uninterruptedly. The machine worked daily 34 hectares on an average, but sometimes the machine cut and threshed 44 hectares per day! This result was achieved not by a miracle but by a correct organisation of work. The combine drivers were trained for two and a half months and not for two weeks.

The Soviet Government intends to use this machine on a large scale. Combine factories are being erected in Ukraine, Rostov, Saratov and in Siberia. In the course of the next few years the combines will become the most important harvesting machines not only on the Soviet farms but also on the collective farms. The necessary cadres must be immediately trained. We must draw the appropriate lessons from the shortcomings of the former harvesting campaigns.

### 3. The Necessity of Mastering Agricultural Technique.

The third and last question in this connection is the question of agricultural technique. Our Soviet farms arose in the struggle against the leading agronomists and agricultural technicians, the experts of all kinds who in reality have exposed themselves as members of sabotage organisations who attempted to wreck the whole system of Soviet farms.

Many workers believe that agricultural technique is a sort of bourgeois prejudice. It is solely due to such an appraisal of agricultural technique that there are people in our country who wish to set up over the whole territory of the U.S.S.R. completely uniform farms in regard to agricultural technique, whilst the various climatic and geological conditions of the different districts, even within one district itself, require the most varied agricultural technical measures.

A great number of Soviet farms, 70 Soviet grain farms, are in districts with an annual rainfall of less than 350 millimetres. One of the most important agricultural-technical tasks of these Soviet farms is the solution of the irrigation question. Such questions as collecting and utilising the water from the thawing snow, afforestation and the various forms of irrigation are occupying a prominent place in the activity of the Soviet farms in these arid regions. Without a proper mastery of agricultural technique we shall also be unable to make a correct use of the machines, even if the tractor work 21 hours in the field.

These are the fundamental shortcomings of our big Soviet farms and the methods of the struggle to overcome them.

Our theses set new and enormous tasks to the Soviet grain farms. In the year 1931 our Soviet farms are to supply 190 to 195 millions poods of market grain, in the year 1932 however, 290 million poods, and in the year 1933 about 400 million poods of market grain. In order to be able to fulfil this task we must master the technique of the use of tractors and auxiliary implements, in particular during the harvesting campaign, and the agricultural technique. The slogan of mastering technique which Comrade Stalin recommended to the industrial leaders is even more appropriate for the big agricultural undertakings than for industry. In agriculture the struggle for mastering technique is still more difficult and still more necessary in the daily work, because the cadres of agriculture are quite fresh, the greater portion of our tractor drivers have not previously seen any machines. In the shortest possible time we have to train cadres of fresh directors and lower technical personnel.

(To be concluded.)

## The Solution of the Jewish Question in the Soviet Union.

By Otto Heller (Berlin).

### 1. The Jewish Question in the First Years of the Revolution.

Now that the Five-Year plan is proceeding to its completion and the last details of this powerful work are being made certain, the public opinion of the entire world is directed towards one of the problems of constructive work in the Soviet Union, which, indeed, in importance extends far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union: the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union.

The Jewish question is again the central point of interest, because of fascist anti-semitism, on the one hand, and because of the crisis in Zionism, on the other. It deserves indeed not only a superficial interest. It is much more a proof of the fact that the question of nationalism in its complicated and apparently concealed forms is solved only through socialism, and its historic root can be traced back by the methods of fighting materialism. To free the socially suppressed East Judaism, the last ideal reserve of the bourgeois world Judaism, from its narrowing bonds, the cause of its misery and the hatred of its enemies; to uplift the Jewish people to a socialistic nation, out of the ghetto of the medieval caste where it unquestionably exists, this is the aim of the powerful work that the Soviet Union is carrying through among the Jews.

Out of about 5½ million Jews living on the territory of the Russian state before the October revolution, only 2.6 million Jews remained on the territory of the Soviet Union. The Jews of the old Russian State were compelled by laws to live within the boundaries of definite provinces in the west of the country. Only a small minority of well-off Jews had the opportunity to establish themselves outside of these settlement districts, which in the main were the countries of the present Poland, Lithuania, White Russia, West and South Soviet Ukraine and Bessarabia, either as traders or as doctors or lawyers.

The social status of the Jew, conditioned by the backwardness of the social as well as the economic development of the Tsarist regime, which made them a religiously stigmatised caste of traders, money lenders and small handicraftsmen; the herding together of the Jews in the narrow spaces of the small towns as a consequence of the ban on acquisition of land — all of this created the eastern Jewish question, social as well as national. The compulsory ghetto, indeed, preserved religion and nationality.

In order to understand the special content of the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union, it is necessary to bear in mind a few figures. Before the 1917 revolution, out of every 100 Eastern Jews, there were 15 workers, 10 clerks, 2.2 farmers, 13 artisans, 35 traders and business men, 1 soldier and 14 "miscellaneous". These "miscellaneous" for the most part were just as little workers as the traders or shopkeepers. 49 out of every hundred were not workers, 35 out of every hundred of the Jewish population were shopkeepers, while this class among the non-Jews amounted to only 3.9. Of the workers, nearly all were engaged in home industry and handicraft, as the majority of industrial enterprises were closed to Jewish workers. In the year 1898, out of every hundred Jewish workers in Russia, not less than 53.9 were tailors and cobblers and only 10.5 out of the hundred were metal workers. Of the handicraftsmen not less than 55.5 out of every hundred were tailors, cobblers and sundry leather workers. In the settlement territories, according to the census, on the average 2.2 out of every hundred were tailors; and outside of the districts as in the city of Smolensk, there were only 1.1 tailors out of every hundred inhabitants. After 1920, in many little towns in the Ukraine not less than 22 out of every hundred Jews were owners of small stores and street stalls, and these in practically pure Jewish sections, for which in particular the above statistics apply. One can just about picture the low level of the standard of living of these small Jewish shopkeepers and small handicraftsmen.

The victory of the October Revolution, it is true, ended for the Jews the period of fearful oppression through civil war and pogroms; the stigma was taken away from them and defined territories, already become an illusion during the World war, were definitely ended; Jewish newspapers, schools, theatres, journals arose in great number, but the Jewish question arose once more.

Judaism was now free, visibly, in its entire extent, as determined by social conditions. Neither race nor religion,

neither the Ghetto nor the land ban obscured the problem. These people, subjugated throughout history by the caste, at the moment of its liberation from national suppression was unable to assimilate itself to the class stratification of the bourgeois world, for this world sank when its dungeon walls were destroyed. The Soviet Jew could no longer become a bourgeois, like his western brother, who was already a bourgeois, as around him there were no bourgeoisie; so he had to proceed along another path.

For the majority of the Jews the October revolution took away the basis of an already exceptionally frugal existence. The shopkeepers for the most part lost the right to vote as they could not be considered as workers. The loss of the right to vote meant the loss of the right to work, to higher education, to membership of trade unions and co-operatives. The shopkeepers with and without the rights of citizens had nothing to trade with. The consumers co-operatives, particularly in the Ukraine and in White Russia, assumed a rapid tempo of development. The shopowner lost his source of credit, (which to be sure, had pauperised him), the middleman or the wholesaler. Above all, the trader at times could not obtain merchandise, leaving aside the burden of taxes, which was placed on private undertakings in the Soviet Union. The traders applied themselves to smuggling, forbidden speculation or they became manual workers. Trade in the Soviet Union was the affair of the state or the co-operatives.

The Jewish small handicraftsman endured and suffered a similar fate. First the lack of raw materials hit him. Whatever raw materials there were at hand were first given to the state enterprises, to the productive co-operatives, to the collectives undertakings by the state. The beginning of the socialist construction of economy, by accelerating industrialisation, gave the death blow to the Jewish small handicraftsmen. The mode of production in the Jewish small towns corresponded throughout to the level of the surrounding entire economy, before all agrarian economy. This mode of production was as patriarchally primitive as that of the economy around it. Clothes and shoes are produced today in the Soviet union as well as elsewhere—by machines or co-operatively. The land is no more ploughed by the wooden plough. The tailor sits no longer in the cellar or the back room sewing caftans. 48 out of every hundred of the Jewish people, therefore had been hit directly by the revolution. The 14 "miscellaneous" among the hundred have likewise not been spared. Some were middlemen, some agents, some came under the classification of "black workers" (Note: an unskilled worker or common labourer was sometimes called a "black worker" in Russia, tr.). The smallest part of them belonged to the free professions. There remain still the clerks.

Their number grew extraordinarily. People, formerly independent, saved themselves in good time by entering the state apparatus, the industrial offices, the accounting departments, the offices, the co-operatives and factory bureaus and thus became clerks. But the number of such Jews who came from the former "Jewish" territories is comparatively small. They were recruited out of the remainder of the former Jewish bourgeoisie, out of the Jewish intelligentsia who had the opportunity to live in the big cities outside of the Jewish districts and who plunged themselves into the revolution, and also out of those families who were deported or fled to the East during the World war. These clerks are to a certain extent the ostensible cause of anti-semitism, which though being combated most sharply ideologically as well as by laws, still exists. This anti-semitism is as little dead as the forms of counter-revolutionary opinion, which finds its last refuge among the kulaks, the priests, and above all also among the intellectuals. Ideologies do not live today and die tomorrow. The Revolution is a process. In the Soviet Union also, this process is not finished.

The Jews in the great eastern situated cities are unquestionably lost for the Jewish nation. They are assimilating themselves, are being absorbed in the large mass of Russian peoples. The matter is otherwise in the White Russian and Ukrainian cities, where the industrialisation of the masses is drawing the declassed Jews into the factories and into the cities and changing them into industrial workers. The old Ghetto preserved the Jewish nationality for the Jewish masses. The east—as considered from Germany—was the big reservoir out of which the crumbling western Jewry was continually refreshed, out of which Zionism and other forms of Jewish nationalism drew their strength. This East—west of Moscow—preserved now in Minsk, in Kharkov, in Odessa and Balta, the continuation of its people. **The Jewish workers**, whose number

is already Legion (In the period from 1914 to 1926 it increased by about 30 per cent. and since that time has increased further); bring into the industrial city their language, their culture, which is freely developing as a result of the revolution. They have their press, schools, clubs and theatres. In Minsk the Jewish minority was formerly tailors and tradesmen; it is now a living, fresh, self-confident, culturally decisive factor. The Jewish workers are assimilating the Jewish clerks (between 1914 and 1926 their number in the labour unions increased on an average 180 per cent.) in their proletarian-Jewish culture.

(To be continued.)

## STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

### The Struggle Against Unemployment in the U. S. A.

By Alfred Wagenknecht.

The immense demonstrations which took place on International Day for Struggle Against Unemployment, March 6, 1930, were generally spontaneous and without much basis in organized unemployed councils. These demonstrations indicated the opposition of the unemployed masses to the prosperity buncomb of the ruling class, and its denial of extensive unemployment. These demonstrations were the first mass expression of the workers already hard hit and suffering because of the steadily deepening economic crisis.

In the following months, recognizing the possibilities of militant struggles by these demonstrating masses, the enemy trinity of imperialism, the employers, their government and the social-reformist-fascists, instituted a programme of demagoguery, fakery, charity and terrorism. The **Fish Commission** of the national government, travelled across the United States and down into Mexico, investigating and preparing its report which now demands the illegalisation of the Communist Party, the Trade Union Unity League, the revolutionary press, all militant workers' organisations; the deportation of foreign-born workers; war against the Soviet Union. Lynchings of Negro workers increased and arrests of workers active in the struggle multiplied. Hand in hand with this terrorism, the ruling class announced daily additional hundreds of millions of dollars that were to be spent by the government in construction work that would provide jobs for the unemployed. Glowing promises were spread over the pages of the capitalist press. City administrations and charity organisations busied themselves in looking for crumbs for the starving workers, and in distributing a measure of relief.

We failed to meet this new strategy of the ruling class quickly and decisively enough. We did not speedily enough expose the fake construction programmes and the vicious charity schemes, the stagger system of employment, the propaganda of the capitalist politicians and reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L. that the "dole" (unemployment insurance) was degrading; that "our workers would never accept money, they did not honestly earn". We suffered a period of passivity. The organisation of the unemployed workers into unemployed councils lagged. We held to our general slogans, and were slow in developing demands for immediate relief, slow in engaging in daily struggles for bread, against evictions, for free light and heat, against high rents, for lower food prices. These shortcomings were overcome when, in a number of cities, our **unemployed councils** began to fight evictions and moved the furniture of evicted workers back into their homes. With this correct method of struggle, our movement took on new life, unemployed councils began to increase rapidly in number, other immediate relief demands and struggles were developed and stressed alongside the demand for unemployment insurance from the national government. The unemployed workers entered a period of very militant activities.

Our fight against evictions prevented thousands of workers from being thrown out of their homes. Several successful struggles against high bread prices were carried on. Mobilisation is now taking place for strikes against high rents. A high point in activity was reached when hunger marches against 75 city administrations were successfully carried through in which 250,000 workers participated, brushed

aside the police, entered the city legislative halls, exposed capitalist charity and demagoguery, made clear and concrete demands for immediate aid to the unemployed **Hunger marches** against state legislative assemblies have occurred in six states. In St. Paul, the capitol of Minnesota, the unemployed occupied the state legislature for two hours, flying their banners of "For the Defence of the Soviet Union", "All War Funds to the Unemployed", "We Will Fight, Not Starve", "We Demand Unemployment Insurance". At Albany, the state capitol of New York, the government troopers attacked the hunger marchers after they had entered the assembly room. A pitched battle took place which lasted 45 minutes, during which the unemployed gave blow for blow.

On February 10, the Workers' Delegation for Unemployment Insurance appeared in Washington D. C. the seat of the national government. The capitalist press expressed fear that the delegation had come to capture the national capitol. The city was like a fortress in a state of siege. The workers' delegation entered the capitol building and demanded to speak upon the floor of the United States Congress. It was surrounded by a thousand armed police and secret service operatives. The floor of Congress was denied to the delegation. An unemployed worker began speaking from the visitors gallery, in the name of the delegation and the one million and a half of employed and unemployed workers who had voted for and signed our proposed Unemployment Insurance Law. There were arrests. The delegation notified the capitalist law makers they would return to the masses of workers, expose the capitalist government, strengthen their mass power through organisation and that the national capitol would hear from them again.

The hunger marches, struggles and demonstrations of the last five months have disillusioned tens of thousands of workers regarding the nature of the capitalist state and the treacherous role of the A.F. of L. fascists and the socialist party, the third party of capitalism. The bourgeois character of the American Federation of Labor and the socialist party is further exposed to the workers by the fact that they have not made a single move to organise the unemployed workers, for any form of struggle for relief. This in itself discloses their close collaboration with imperialism. The unemployed councils of the Trade Union Unity League are becoming real fighting instruments, their numbers are increasing. But they must increase still more. Every area of twenty residential blocks in the working class neighbourhoods in all cities must have its unemployed council which registers all unemployed workers; investigates starvation conditions, and through their own initiative, aids the most needy families; where the workers and their whole families can come to participate in the tasks; where they can hear lectures and spend an occasional social evening. Our unemployed councils must still become centres where unemployed and starving workers and their families, upon the basis of their own initiative, fight steadily and persistently for bread.

When we now report that upon International Day for Struggle against Unemployment on February 25th, 1931, militant demonstrations took place in 80 cities and smaller factory towns, participated in by 400,000 workers, we at the same time note that we have made decisive progress during the year, that this year's demonstrations were of a much higher political level, and led by unemployed workers who had learned that to struggle effectively they must organise. We won many new members for our unemployed councils and the T.U.U.L. We now have an organised base, a clearer understanding of the forms of struggle and application of immediate relief demands, a better knowledge as to how to fight for hegemony over the workers and dispel the illusions which the ruling class steeps them in. Everywhere unemployed workers are now saying that the little they get from the bosses and their government is being given them because the Reds fought for it. From this point, the unemployed movement in the United States will go forward to greater achievements. Under the leadership of the **Trade Union Unity League**, the revolutionary trade union centre of the United States, the unemployed workers will make gains, will fight for and win bread, will more determinedly carry on their struggle for unemployment insurance.

This richest country in the world, where granaries are bursting with wheat, where constant talk about wealth in the billions of dollars flows glibly from the tongues of corporation

executives, where it is now admitted that a thousand proletarians and poor farmers die every day from starvation, where wage cuts run as high as forty percent and the speed up goes forward at a killing pace—here a common struggle of the unemployed and employed workers is taking form which, as it gains in mass power, will register material advances for the working class.

## INDIA

### Continue the Struggle for the Complete Independence of India!

**Appeal of the League Against Imperialism to the Young Workers, Young Peasants, Soldiers, Revolutionary Students!**

The Indian masses have decided that India is to be free from the bloodthirsty rule of British imperialism and from the oppression of their native agents, the zemindars, the capitalists, moneylenders and princes. Despite the measures of terror and oppression on the part of the British "Labour" Government and despite the latest betrayal by **Gandhi** and the Congress leaders the masses and especially the revolutionary youth of India are continuing the heroic fight for freedom.

In the face of this tremendous mass movement British imperialism sees that it cannot rule anymore by itself and is therefore willing to share its rule with that of the Indian exploiters. The Indian exploiters see that their own position is endangered by the masses who are imbued with the revolutionary anti-imperialist spirit of struggle to free themselves from all exploiters. These exploiters are therefore compromising with the foreign imperialists to save their class interests, and the **National Congress** representing the interests of the Indian capitalists, moneylenders and zemindars have by the shameful agreement between **Gandhi** and the Viceroy begun their open manoeuvres to crush the Indian Revolution.

The youth of India must not be fooled by nice words and patriotic speeches. They must recognise that the Indian owning classes behind nice patriotic speeches are continuing to oppress and to exploit the workers and peasants and are refusing to help the unemployed and hunger-stricken. The National Congress has proved that it is the tool of the owning classes. The youth of India must understand this character of the Congress and must not be fooled by its radical-sounding resolutions.

The youthful masses of India must carry on the anti-imperialist struggle on a clear basis and must fight for the following general demands of the Indian revolution: —

- a) complete overthrow of the rule of British imperialism and ousting it from the key positions which it holds in the economic life of the country;
- b) abolition of the native States and landlordism;
- c) land to the peasants through the forcible expropriation of all exploiting interests and repudiation of all rural debts;
- d) establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

In addition we must put forward concrete demands for the toiling youth so as to make the anti-imperialist struggle part of their daily struggles.

- 1) shortening of the working day for the young workers;
- 2) equal pay for equal work for young and adult workers;
- 3) prohibition of child labour and State maintenance of children;
- 4) universal and free education up to 16 years in the national language of the pupils, free food, clothing and supply of text books and school material to the children at the expense of the State;
- 5) introduction of vocational training of the youth at the expense of the State and the employers;
- 6) paid annual vacations for young workers;
- 7) State maintenance of the unemployed youth at rates equivalent to the cost of living.

**Indian soldiers!** **Gandhi** in his agreement has betrayed all heroic Indian soldiers and policemen who have refused to become the murderers of their own people and have refused to shoot upon the people's demonstrations. **Gandhi** has agreed that they should remain in prison.

Indian soldiers! Do not be tools in the hands of the British imperialists. Your interests are the interests of the toiling masses. Your task is to win over the other soldiers to the side of the toiling masses and, when the time is ripe, to use your military knowledge on the side of the struggle for the freedom of India.

**Young workers, young peasants, revolutionary students** do not be misled by the non-violence propaganda of the National Congress; form defence groups to defend the people's demonstrations, strikes, etc.

The British Government in building forts, air bases, military highways, and railroads, are preparing not only to crush the Indian revolution, but also a war against the Soviet Union, for which the Indian youth will be mobilized to fight for British imperialism. The Indian youth must together with the revolutionary workers and peasants of the whole world combat these war preparations.

The cause of the freedom of the Indian people is the cause of the revolutionary workers and peasants of the whole world. The League Against Imperialism is mobilising solidarity demonstrations throughout the world to help the Indian revolution.

The British Section of the League Against Imperialism is especially active in exposing the bloodthirsty "Labour" Government and to rally the British workers in support of the Indian revolution and to bring about the withdrawal of the imperialist troops from India.

Revolutionary Youth of India! Fight for the complete independence of India!

Fight against all traitors of the Indian Revolution!

Fight for the freedom of all political prisoners!

Fight for the release of all imprisoned soldiers and policemen whom Gandhi has betrayed and who were imprisoned because they refused to carry out orders to murder their own people!

Long live the unity of the young workers, young peasants, soldiers and revolutionary students in the fight for freedom!

Long live India of the Workers and Peasants!

International Youth Secretariat

League against Imperialism and for National Independence.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The VI. Party Congress of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

By Kl. Gottwald (Prague).

The 6th Party Congress of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia was held from 7th to 11th March in Prague. During the two years since the V. Congress the Party has passed through a very difficult time. At the time of the V. Congress the Party was involved in a crisis; it was isolated from the masses; its activity had sunk to a minimum. Immediately after the V. Party Congress the crisis reached its climax. The opportunists and liquidators, almost the whole of the old cadre of Party leaders, who had been politically and organisationally defeated at the Party Congress, went over to the open attack on the Party. But the attack of the liquidators was defeated, the unity and the mass character of the Party and of the Red trade unions were preserved. The majority of the renegades openly went over to the social fascists; the rest are about to follow them, at any rate they possess no political importance. In the meantime the Party overcame the crisis and is again marching at the head of the Czechoslovakian proletariat. The revolutionary upsurge of the Party found expression in all the deliberations of the VI. Party Congress.

The Party Congress dealt very thoroughly with all the acute problems of the proletarian movement in Czechoslovakia. In addition to the political report of the Central Committee, the trade union, the agrarian, the national and the Jewish question, as well as the organisational questions were dealt with. 52 delegates spoke in the discussion on the political report, 38 delegates on the trade union question, 13 on the agrarian question, 12 on the problems

of the youth and many delegates on the national and organisational questions in the commissions. The debates and also the unanimous election of the new Central Committee showed the complete unity of the whole Party. The debates at the Party Congress were characterised by a healthy optimism and the consciousness of strength of the Party, whilst simultaneously severe Bolshevik self-criticism was exercised. The Party sees not only its achievements but also its shortcomings and is concentrating its forces on overcoming them.

The Party Congress was marked by the sympathy of the broad masses. 30 delegations and representatives of factory workers, unemployed and various proletarian organisations appeared at the Party Congress. In addition, the Party Congress received from all parts of Czechoslovakia in all 43 telegraphic and written messages of greeting. According to the reports delivered at the Congress, the result of the first so-called Party Congress recruitment was 5,044 new members from the 1st of January 1931 up to the Party Congress. As a whole we can say that VI. Party Congress fulfilled its task. It gave a clear-cut reply to all the burning questions of the Czechoslovakian proletariat; it showed the masses the way out of the present capitalist hell and it gave clear directives to the Party how to pursue this path.

Czechoslovakia is in the grip of a serious economic crisis which accentuates to the utmost all the contradictions of the capitalist system. The industrial crisis in Czechoslovakia is merging with the acute agrarian crisis into a general economic crisis, which is being used by the bourgeoisie for the purpose of launching a brutal attack upon the standard of living of the working masses in town and country. The misery of the masses is growing rapidly. In January 1931 out of 3.5 million workers in Czechoslovakia nearly 750,000 workers were unemployed and a still greater number were on half time. As there is no general unemployment insurance in Czechoslovakia, only about 12 per cent of all unemployed receive a certain benefit under the so-called Ghent system. A furious attack is being launched against the workers in the factories. Already in the course of 1930 wages were reduced up to 30 per cent. At the beginning of 1931 a new wage cutting offensive was initiated in almost all branches of industry. In addition, wholesale dismissals are taking place. The misery of the Czechoslovakian working class was never so great as at present. The position of the toiling peasantry is likewise very bad. Tens of thousands of small peasants and trades people are being expropriated in the literal sense of the word. The broad masses are becoming revolutionised, the class struggle is assuming ever sharper and more bitter forms. The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is more and more openly employing the most brutal terror in order to suppress the mass movements and is preparing for a fascist dictatorship. At the same time it is arming for an imperialist war, before all under the leadership of France, against the Soviet Union. In this situation the masses are seized by a profound ferment. The old bourgeoisie parties and the social fascists, who represent the main support of finance capital within the working class, are beginning to disintegrate. The masses are seeking a way out and in part are turning to Communism, but partly also especially the petty bourgeois sections, are inclining towards the national fascists who are supposed to form the mass basis for the pending fascist dictatorship.

The Party Congress analysed very thoroughly the situation and the perspectives of the further development in Czechoslovakia and laid down the line of the Party accordingly. The main tasks of the Party at present is the winning of the majority of the working class and to gain the hegemony of the proletariat in the movement. This can be achieved by defending the economic and political daily demands of the toiling masses in town and country, by organising a broad resistance to the capitalist offensive and by going over to the proletarian counter-offensive.

In this respect the Party has to record important achievements recently in particular in the unemployed movement, in which the Party has the absolute leadership. In spite of the furious terror on 25th February, 200,000 workers went into the streets. At present there exist more than 1,000 Committees of Action of the unemployed, the majority of whom are non-Communists. The Party has succeeded in establishing a broad united front from below in the unemployed movement. This is proved by the great Congress of the Unemployed which

took place on 15th March. Out of the 1000 delegates to this Congress 105 were members of reformist trade union and 481 were unorganised.

But the Party showed great shortcomings in the sphere of the economic struggles of the factory workers and in the trade union question. The Party Congress emphasised that all the forces of the Party must be concentrated in order to overcome this weakness of the Party. In view of the imminent fresh attacks upon wages, which will be connected with fresh mass dismissals, the Party and the red trade unions are confronted with the task of organising the economic struggles in all branches of industry under the slogan: "Not a man dismissed from the factory and not a penny off the pay!" The tactics of the united front from below and the firm organisational rooting of the Party in the factories must be applied better and more thoroughly than hitherto. The red trade unions, as the main weapons in the economic struggles, must become real mass organisations. The Party must concentrate the work of all its organisations on the requirements of its trade union and factory work. In the rural districts the main task of the Party consists in defending the interests of the agricultural workers and recruiting them into the red trade unions. At the same time the Party must continue the struggle of the toiling peasantry, in particular against the heavy taxes and distraints.

The Congress declared the struggle against the increasing bourgeois terror and the fascisation of the State apparatus, the struggle for the political rights of the toiling people, the propaganda and application of the slogan of the political mass strikes to be the problem of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. The Congress stated that in view of the increasing danger of imperialist war the Party must conduct a broad antiwar propaganda and in particular consolidate its positions in the war industry, in transport etc. The Party has succeeded in making a breach in the position of the social fascists, but the struggle against social fascism must be developed into a great and permanent campaign for winning the social workers.

The main essence of the Congress decisions is to initiate and conduct a great popular movement in Czechoslovakia, to mobilise all anti-capitalist elements and to unite them into a powerful stream, to lead the broad masses in town and country for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the only way out of the capitalist inferno.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Persecution of Militant Workers in Canada.

By Jack Rose.

Montreal, metropolis of Canada, where French and English are both official languages, turned loose its police and courts in an effort to outlaw militant workers' organisations.

In three meetings successively smashed by the police there were 29 arrests with "Le Roix" (The King) appearing as the plaintiff in the numerous charges of sedition, unlawful assembly, etc. But Canada being one of the rich dominions ruled over by His Majesty, King George V, is part of the British Empire, the government of which is now in the hands of the British Labour Party.

Attacks on the foreign-born, censorship of the press, promises of an anti-labour inquisition, "just like the Fish Committee", deportations (even of English-born workers back to England) are the order of the day in Canada as in the United States.

Five speakers and three jobless workers were arrested January 19th at the meeting of the Montreal Unemployed Association; 19 workers were arrested at the Lenin Memorial Meeting of the Communist Party, and on the night of January 30, at Prince Arthur Hall, the meeting of protest organised by the Canadian Labour Defence League against these attacks was broken up and J. Louis Engdahl, general secretary of the International Labour Defence, and Bella Gordon, local defence secretary acting as chairman, were arrested and the meeting itself savagely dispersed.

All of these meetings were held indoors. They were perfectly peaceful until the hundreds of uniformed and plain clothes police, stationed inside and outside the hall, went into action with clubs and blackjacks. The charges themselves reveal the

most clumsy police frame-up. Originally Engdahl, for instance, was also charged with importing "seditious and murderous literature" in violation of the Canadian customs laws. This was later dropped, but he is now charged with sedition and unlawful assembly.

All those arrested are being held for trial. Boss class justice is firmly bent on securing convictions that mean many years imprisonment in the infamous Montreal bastille, the Bordeaux Prison.

Every police attack is loudly applauded by the Montreal Trades and Labour Council, which is a sort of link between the Green-Woll regime in the American Federation of Labour and the MacDonald labour government of Great Britain, in that it is directly affiliated with the former, while it stands side by side with the latter, John T. Foster, president of the Montreal Trades and Labour Council, fought down every semblance of protest within the organisation, securing a vote of confidence in the police with the declaration that he was for "Free Speech" but against "license".

### The White Terror in the Philippines.

The white terror in the Philippine Islands has already begun. The police and constabulary soldiers are beginning to arrest the peasants and workers leaders. The American Governor General is giving instructions to watch carefully and suppress the workers and peasants militant movements. Hon. Honorio Ventura, Secretary of the Interior, and Hon. Jose Abad Santos, Secretary of Justice, the bourgeois politicians now occupying high positions in the Government, served as lackeys to the American imperialist agent in suppressing the communist movement in the Islands. Attorney General Delfin Jarani la on January 29, 1931, issued an order prohibiting the use of red flags.

On January 30th. Comrade Juan Feleo, Vice President of the Philippine National Confederation of Peasants, was assaulted by the constabulary soldiers, while delivering a speech on the occasion of a meeting in commemoration of the late communist leader, Com. Antonio D. Ora, who died in an automobile accident in Sta. Rosa, Nueva Ecija. He was badly hurt and was arrested for sedition and resistance to the authorities. Attorney Ignacio Nabong who delivered a speech on that occasion and criticised the acts of the constabulary was also arrested for sedition. Both of them are now out on bail for P 1,000 for each charge filed against them. The meeting was attended by more than 3000 peasants and workers. Comrade Jacinto G. Manahan arrived late in the scene in Sta. Rosa, Nueva Ecija as he came from Manila at that time. He continued the meeting after Feleo and Nabong were arrested and delivered a fiery speech criticising and attacking the brutalities and hostilities of the constabulary soldiers and their officers, including the department secretaries and high government officials in their order and the fight against the defenceless peasants and workers. The constabulary soldiers used bayonets and brought with them machine guns. The big crowd of workers and peasants voiced their protest against such hostile and brutal attacks. The red flags on the platform were also taken and will be used as evidences in the courts for the prosecution, for being communist.

On February 6th. three workers and peasant leaders, Jacinto G. Manahan, Crisanto Evangelista and Dominador Ambrosio were arrested for sedition and charged as communist leaders. The motives of arrest were based on the printed platform of actions and demands of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Comrades Evangelista and Manahan were arrested in the City of Manila, the first in his house and the later in the Office of the Philippine National Confederation of Peasants in Manila, while Comrade Ambrosio was arrested in the Sta. Cruz, Laguna. Comrades Evangelista and Manahan were immediately transferred to Bilibid Prison after their arrest. The three comrades are now out on bail for P 3,000 each.

On February 18th. the Provincial Fiscal of Rizal again filed complaints for sedition against four comrades: Manahan, Evangelista, Capadocia and Pangilinan. Evangelista and Manahan were arrested again in Manila, and Pangilinan was arrested in San Pablo Laguna, while Capadocia well be arrested in Negros.

The workers and peasants in the Philippines are becoming more revolutionary than ever under the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### Rumania's Five-Year Plan — A War Plan Against the Soviet Union.

By Nemo.

Whilst the capitalist Powers completely ignored the socialist Five-Year Plan in the first year of its existence and in the second year described it as utopian, now, in the third year, they not only recognise the great successes of the Five-Year Plan, but are proceeding to set up Five-Year Plans of their own. The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union, however, only serves the interests of the working masses, whilst the Five-Year Plan of France, for example, solely aims at bringing in increased profits to the French capitalist class. Whilst the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union represents a tremendous factor of economic and cultural advance, the Five-Year Plans of the capitalist countries are used for systematic war-preparations. Rumania's Five-Year Plan, which has just been published, is the best proof of this.

The Five-Year Plan of the Rumanian government will be dealt with shortly at a Privy Council meeting and finally adopted. Titulescu has already been summoned to Bucharest in order that he may give his opinion on the main lines, which have already been worked out, of the Rumanian Five-Year Plan. According to the reports in the Rumanian press, the plan of the government envisages, among other things, the following:

a. Promotion of agriculture by establishment of agricultural credits, amortisation of agricultural indebtedness and increase of agricultural production.

b. Improvement of the equipment of the army and of the pay of the officers and men, construction of a modern naval base in the Black Sea, extension of the navy, building of new ships and aircraft.

c. Extension of the railways, completion of the railway lines which were commenced during the war. Construction of a number of important economic and strategic railway lines, exchange and improvement of railway material.

d. Erection of granaries and elevators.

e. Construction of new roads.

f. Better utilisation of the country's mineral riches and leasing of the same to concessionaires for exploitation.

This plan shows plainly and clearly that it serves the purpose of preparation of a new war against the Soviet Union. Following the example of Germany, Rumanian big landowners are to be afforded generous financial support in order to have sufficient stores of grain in the event of war. The planned erection of a widely ramified network of grain elevators and magazines also serves the same purpose.

Whilst the further equipment of the army, for which a big plan has already been worked out by the war Ministry and the General Staff, is being carried out under control of France, England has taken over the construction of a new Rumanian fleet and a naval base. The representatives of the British Admiralty have already arrived in Bucharest in order finally to complete the plan for the construction of the Rumanian naval base. This base is also to be used by the British naval forces for war operations in the Black Sea against the Soviet Union. The forced development of Rumanian oil-fields recently by French and English groups of capitalists and the better utilisation of the mineral resources announced in the above plan must be viewed in this connection.

It was not by any means due to chance that Rumania's Five-Year Plan was published only a few days after the conclusion of a new loan in Paris. The expenditure of this loan, amounting to 52 million dollars, on orders for armaments against the Soviet Union may have been the condition which the Rumanian vassal had to accept from French imperialism before it could obtain possession of this enormous sum.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### Labor and Textiles.\*

By Z. Kalandra (Prague).

In the United States a series of books, "Labor and Industry", is beginning to appear whose importance extends far beyond the frontiers of America. For it not only fulfils its immediate task of helping to promote the class-consciousness of the working masses of the U. S. A., but in addition it shows the proletarians of all countries precisely that which the class enemy would most like to conceal from them, namely, the reserve side of the "American paradise", whose deceitful picture is intended to persuade them of the "wide possibilities of development of capitalism".

"Labor and Textiles" forms the first volume of this series. Robert W. Dunn and Jack Hardy, two prominent members of the Labour Research Association, have here attempted with complete success to give an analysis of the present state of the American textile industry and its market possibilities, always with a view to supplying the revolutionary labour movement with material for its propaganda.

The workers, numbering over 4½ million, who are dependent upon the American textile industry were affected earlier and more seriously than the workers in other branches of industry by the consequences of the world crisis of capitalism. For just as in other capitalist countries, in America also this oldest industry has most clearly developed all the symptoms of incurable senility. The chronic overproduction, which is accompanied by a progressive narrowing of the home and foreign market, has caused the employers in the period since 1923 to cease operating over eight million spindles and to discharge over 30 per cent of their workers.

The speeding-up system prevailing in all the textile mills, and accompanied by every means of terror and espionage, finds eloquent indicters in the authors of this book.

The chapter on the profits of the trust magnates and the salaries of their managers is immediately followed by the chapter on wages and working hours — a comparison which sweeps away the old fairy-tale about high wages being a special feature of American industry.

One single company was able (it is true in the blessed year 1919) to pay a 100 per cent. dividend, and even in the year 1927 70 per cent. of the textile mills were raking in very handsome profits, but in the same year the wages of the textile workers were 37 per cent. lower than those in other branches of industry, and (to quote only one example) a textile worker in South Carolina would have to earn 139 per cent. more before his wages would reach that level which even according to government statistics represents the minimum existence of a workers' family.

And then in the next four chapters the authors give a further comparison: the organisation of the employers and the workers organisations. On the one hand, the powerfully organised trusts of the textile barons who maintain their hired bands for crushing the workers' struggles and preachers for doping the masses, and on the other hand, . . . the picture which is so familiar to the workers of every other country: the social fascist trade union bureaucracy striving with all its power to cripple the militant spirit of the exploited workers and to render impossible the strengthening of the revolutionary front which is beginning to spring up everywhere under the leadership of the Communists. Thus the book gives some quotations from the speeches of Mr. William Green which adds some new features to the world-known portrait of this agent of capital.

The book concludes with a description of the most important fights of the American textile workers in the last few years and with an appeal to the workers to draw from their lessons the revolutionary conclusion. The authors do not fail to give an instructive comparison of the situation of the textile workers in the Soviet Union with the mass misery prevailing in the American "paradise".

\* "Labor and Textiles" by Robert W. Dunn and Jack Hardy. International Publishers, New York.