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CONTENTS

Politics.	
Th. Neubauer: The Government Crisis in Germany	422
G. Péri: The Little Entente and the Ferment in Yugoslavia	423
The Labour Movement.	
R. Bishop: Class Struggle in the Lancashire Cotton Industry	424
Estella: The Struggles of the Italian Proletariat against Fascism	425
The War.	
Wass Min: The Result of the Shanghai "Peace" Conference	426
J. B.: Zionism in the Camp of the White Guardists	427
War and Social Fascism.	
Marcel Cachin: The Disarmament Conference of the II. International in Zürich	428
International Fight against War and Intervention.	
S. U. Lin: The Soviet Power in China—Leader of the Anti-Imperialist Movement	429
How the First World War Was Prepared.	
The First Balkan War	430
Proletarian Mass Organisations.	
Willi Münzenberg: Proletarian Solidarity against Imperialist War Criminals	432
Harry Pollitt: Strengthen International Solidarity against War and Intervention	433
Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.	
The Agricultural Tax in the Soviet Union for 1932	434
First of May.	
A. G. Bosse: Million American Workers Demonstrate on May Day	435
In the International.	
Open Letter to the Indian Communists	436
On Murphy's Expulsion from the C.P. of Great Britain	442
A. G. Bosse: The Plenum of the American Central Committee	443
How to Regulate the Growth in the C. I. Sections	444
Questions of Growth and Recruiting in the C.P. of Great Britain	446
Fascism.	
Giovanni Germanetto: A Typical Fascist Forgery	448
Book Reviews.	
"Women and War"	448

Through Military Dictatorship to War of Intervention.

By Yobe.

Only a few days have passed since the assassination by the white guardist Gorguloff of M. Doumer, the President of the French Republic, and the world is startled by the news of a fresh act of murder, a fresh fascist coup de main: the murder of the Japanese Prime Minister Inukai, and the announcement of a military putsch in Japan.

The two assassinations have much in common with a whole number of previous organised acts of terror (the shots fired at Twardovski in Moscow was the signal of the new series of outrages). In all these cases there is a common centre from which directions are sent out to all parts of the world, one aim which is pursued and one spirit which directs the barrels of the revolvers. These outrages represent a frantic attempt on the part of the most reactionary forces of the world bourgeoisie, of the fascists and white guardists of all races and colours, to increase the war-mongering to the utmost, either by artificially increasing the material for an international explosion or by exerting terrorist pressure on the governments in power. One assassination sufficed in 1914 to plunge the world into war. In order to launch a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, which would mean the commencement of a world slaughter far surpassing that of the first world war, a whole series of bloody provo-

cations and outrages in various countries has to be carried out.

At the same time it must be recognised that the acts of terror are marked by a crescendo. The shot fired at Twardovski was a modest beginning; the murder of Doumer was indeed a bloodily dangerous, but nevertheless indirect provocation. The murder in Tokyo, however means much more than the act of an individual, or of a corrupt group of declassed terrorists. Behind the Japanese officers who murdered Inukai there looms up the shadow of a military putsch of the coming military dictatorship. Regarding the programme of this military dictatorship there can exist not the least doubt. It means wholesale massacre of the Japanese workers and peasants, bloody crushing of the movement for freedom in the Japanese colonies — before all in Korea in which unrest has again broken out —, war and campaign of plunder in Manchuria and, as the crowning of the work and the chief aim: war against the Soviet Union.

It is characteristic of the development of war events (not only as regards Japan!) that it was a "Left" democratic party, the Minseitō Government of Wakatsuki, which commenced the war in Manchuria. It was not long however, before it was found that the Minseitō, by embarking on the war adventure

in which it sought a way out of the complicated inner contradictions of Japanese imperialism, had dug its own grave.

The Minseito Ministers were swept away by the wave of war incitement. The openly reactionary Inukai Cabinet, which, came into office, carried out a kind of khaki election at which it obtained an absolute majority. This absolute majority was again placed in the service of **new war adventures**: there came the landing at Shanghai; there came a number of insolent provocations against the Soviet Union in Manchuria, the organising of white guardist shock troops against the Soviet Union.

Once they were let loose, however, the furies of war demanded ever fresh sacrifices, without however bringing in the gains which the Japanese bourgeoisie expected. The generals attempted to make up for the reverses which they suffered at the hands of the heroic 19th Chinese army in Shanghai by ever wilder war-incitement against the Soviet Union. "In May the rifles must go off against the Soviet Union" — this frank statement of a Japanese journalist became the refrain of the Japanese articles inciting to war. It was declared with cynical candour that the present Summer would be the last opportunity for Japan to attack the Soviet Union, as next year, after the completion of the Five-Year Plan, the military superiority of the Soviet Union would be too great.

The fascist imperialist circles again and again made a drive for an **open declaration of war**; but it became more and more difficult for the reactionary Inukai government to cause the war actually to break out at the time desired by the fascists and militarists.

In the first place there were the contradictions between Japan and the other imperialist Powers, which caused the question of immediate support of Japan to appear problematical. In addition, there are to be mentioned the ever increasing inner difficulties. The yen, the gold standard of which was abandoned when the Inukai Government came into power, depreciated rapidly and in a few months lost about 30 per cent. of its purchasing power. The poverty of the Japanese workers increased, and with it the number of strikes and the revolutionary feeling, which the most drastic repressive measures failed to check. Revolts broke out among the peasants in the rural districts. In the army it came from individual refusal to obey orders to mutinies of whole groups of soldiers. At the same time there appeared in Japan the inevitable accompanying feature of every imperialist war: profiteers and speculators flourished. The parasitism of the ruling class demanded unrestrained power. In addition, there came the recognition of the—for the Japanese reactionaries—surprising fact, that already in the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan the military strength of the Soviet Union was in no way to be belittled. The idea entertained by various Japanese politicians that it was merely a question of crossing the Soviet frontiers and proceeding unhindered to Vladivostok; that the Soviet Union's offer to conclude a pact of non-aggression was only an indication of its fear of the Japanese—these ideas were given a nasty jolt by the unanimous readiness of the working masses of the Soviet Union to defend their fatherland, by the **demonstrations on the first of May, which showed that behind the Red Army, which technically and militarily has made tremendous progress, there stands the invincible force of a people numbering 160 million who are accomplishing the greatest work in world history.**

All this imposed caution on the reactionary Inukai Government, induced it to hesitate; it wished to draw back; it attempted to delay matters. But it was too late. The military camarilla, grown presumptuous by reason of the reactionary policy of the government, the young fascist guards, who had already committed a whole number of political murders in order to pave the way to power, regarded any hesitation as treachery. For the Inukai government the only thing left was to declare war at once or to abdicate. When the month of May arrived and there was no declaration of war, it was clear to the fascists that the Inukai government must be overthrown. The Prime Minister has been "got out of the way" by the old and tried method of murder, and immediately after the murder the military clique have put forward their demands for **complete power.**

Nothing is more dangerous than the attempt of some German and other foreign papers artificially to construe an antagonism between Inukai's policy and the military clique which is now striving to come into power. As a matter of fact, the policy of the Inukai Government (just like that of the reactionary governments which are in power to-day in

the various European States) was a **policy of systematic war-preparations.** For this purpose fascism was not only tolerated but **encouraged.** It was only when the Inukai Government momentarily shrank from taking the decisive step and the fascists, who are working in close connection with the militarists, felt strong enough, that the Inukai Cabinet had to be cleared away as the last obstacle separating the extreme warmongers from dictatorial power.

That this could not be achieved otherwise than by an act of murder lies in the nature and methods of those elements which to-day in Japan, and also in other countries, are at the head of the incitement for intervention. These methods are the last resort of a **reactionary, decaying class which is driven into a cul de sac.**

The **threat to the Soviet Union** has become **immediately imminent** as a result of the act of murder in Tokyo and the announcement of the coup d'état following it. The Soviet Union, even in face of the coming fresh provocations, will not depart from the standpoint of **maintaining peace by every means.** Even Japanese journalists have had to recognise with admiration the calm and self-possession with which the Soviet Government has up to now reacted to all provocations. **This calm and self-possession will not be abandoned even if Tokyo loses its senses altogether.** But the Soviet Union, the proletariat of the Soviet Union, the Red Army, the whole of the working population, **will not tolerate the least encroachment by the Japanese imperialists, militarists and fascists on the territory of the workers' State.** And the world proletariat, for whom it is more necessary than ever to give expression to its determination to **defend the Soviet Union,** must now, by giving a **fresh impetus to the anti-war actions,** by mobilising all forces in the **red united front against war, hunger and fascism,** call a warning "halt!" to all provocators and bloody intervention preparers. The warmakers in the Japanese military clique, if they seek to go too far, will have to reckon with the **power of the international proletariat and of the oppressed peoples.**

POLITICS

The Government Crisis in Germany.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

In his recent speech in the Reichstag, Dr. Brüning, the Reichs Chancellor, described the situation in the capitalist world as follows:

"There is one hope, and for all countries of the world this hope consists in that **in the next few weeks or months the crisis will make such rapid progress throughout the whole world, that to wait only for weeks or months will bring the world into a situation from which perhaps no country will find a way out.**"

What was Brüning's object in writing this Mene Tekel on the wall for the capitalist world? So long as Germany stood isolated in the world crisis, he declared, and so long as other countries (France!) could still cherish the hope that they would escape the consequences of the capitalist world crisis, there was no hope for the German bourgeoisie of help from abroad, but as the United States insisted on the payment of inter-allied debts, so France insisted on the payment of the German tributes. Brüning hopes that the sharpening of the crisis in the United States and in France will pave the way to the solidarity of all the capitalist States, to common action and to concessions to bankrupt German capitalism.

It was upon this thesis that Brüning based the foreign political demands of the German bourgeoisie. He has in the last two years repeatedly submitted this thesis to the statesmen of the capitalist world.

We do not know what hopes were whispered to Herr Brüning during his recent stay in Geneva; we see no solid reasons which would justify him in cherishing such great hopes. „Great progress“ has been achieved in the disarmament question and the „will to real disarmament“ has now become more evident than ever. We have up to now always thought that this wonderful disarmament conference could not end otherwise than in a rotten compromise. Brüning declares that, in the exchange of opinion with the statesmen of other countries in Geneva he was pleased to note a growing understanding for the German demands (equality in armaments). We

very much doubt if this also refers to the conversations with M. Tardieu, for French imperialism still today decides European armament policy.

Herr Brüning has not omitted to address an appeal to the peoples of the whole world on behalf of Germany's "disarmament" demands. He declares, the peoples have confidence in one another but not in the statesmen. The peoples are demanding disarmament and must not be disappointed. If Brüning really wished to become the mouthpiece of the wishes of the peoples, why then, did he reject Comrade Litvinov's disarmament proposals, which only expressed what the peoples desire?

Herr Brüning apparently sets equally great hopes in the forthcoming reparations conference at **Lausanne**. He referred to the well-known German thesis, that it will be impossible to pay tribute in the future, and claimed that this view has "gained ground". Brüning emphatically opposed the "compromise" suggested by French imperialism, that Germany would be able to resume payments of tributes later on and declared "there are no conceivable conditions under which such a continuation of reparations would be possible."

It is probable that the main reason why Brüning spoke with such self-assurance regarding these questions of foreign policy was in order to achieve an effect in the camp of the Hitler party. The Chancellor further emphasised this tendency of his speech by advising the national socialists to be more cautious in their conversations with foreign politicians, so as not to create the impression among the foreign governments that a Hitler government would be more willing to conclude a compromise than the Brüning Cabinet.

Herr Brüning did not say a single word about relations with the Soviet Union, although there existed an occasion for doing so, namely the prolongation of the Rapallo treaty, which the Reichstag was to decide and to which the national socialists are fiercely opposed. But where Brüning is silent, the "Germania", the chief organ of the Centre Party, is more loquacious: its infamous incitement against the Soviet Union is hardly to be surpassed. The anti-Bolshevism of Brüning offers a common platform not only with the national socialists but also with the anti-Bolshevist war mongers of the whole world.

"A hundred yards before the goal", said Brüning, in the conclusion of his speech, one must have the necessary calmness and iron nerves. There is only one condition on which French imperialism would be prepared to meet Germany in regard to the disarmament question and the tribute question, namely, the inclusion of capitalist Germany in the **imperialist bloc of the enemies of the U.S.S.R.** Those who understand the language of imperialism will be able to interpret the words of Brüning. And those who observe the enormous increase in the war-incitement against the Soviet Union can have no illusions regarding the foreign policy of the Brüning Cabinet.

The Reichstag has again expressed its confidence in Brüning. This was to be expected. For this Reichstag majority, from Breitscheid to Count Westarp, is held together by the fear of dissolution of Parliament, is prepared to say yea and amen to everything that Brüning orders. The Reichs-Chancellor can now commence negotiations with **Hitler**. During the last meeting of the Reichstag the national socialists took the greatest pains to behave well and to prove that they are fit to govern. The attack by the national socialist leader Strasser against General Gröner, the Reichswehr minister only emphasised all the more strongly the desire for an understanding, and the brutal attack by some national socialist deputies on a social democratic editor, which took place a few days ago in the Reichstag itself, certainly constitutes no reason preventing negotiations between Brüning and Hitler.

If an aggravation of the crisis is to be expected in the next few months which can create an impasse for the capitalist countries, and of course in the first place for Germany, then the German bourgeoisie dare not wait any longer to bring up its last reserves and to call up all the forces it has at its disposal.

* * *

Berlin, 12th May 1932.

The President of the Reichstag, Löbe, after an encounter with the national socialist fraction, closed the session by declaring he interrupted the session and would inform the deputies when the next session would be convened. At the

same time, it became known in the lobbies of the Reichstag that **General Gröner** has resigned from his position as Reichswehr Minister. His position has been taken over for the time being by Admiral **Räder**.

The reasons which led to Gröner's resignation are to be sought in the circumstance that the generals in the Reichswehr, who had long been working for Gröner's overthrow and who sharply opposed the prohibition of the Nazi's storm detachments, made use of the compromising of Gröner by the national socialists in Tuesday session of the Reichstag in order to bring about his dismissal. The head of the Reichswehr, General von Hammerstein, is said to have informed President Hindenburg that General Gröner has become impossible for the Reichswehr. Thereupon Gröner was given to understand that it would be advisable for him to resign. The resignation of Gröner means a very severe crisis for the Cabinet. The Reichs Chancellor believes that he will be better able to overcome the crisis if he prorogues the Reichstag. Therefore, in agreement with Löbe, he made use of the incident with the national socialists in order to prorogue Parliament until the 6th of June.

The Little Entente and the Ferment in Yugoslavia.

By Gabriel Peri (Paris).

The conference of the Little Entente has been opened in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Mr. Marinkovits, the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia.

In the course of the last few months France has endeavoured to knit more closely together the bonds connecting the governments of Belgrade, Prague and Bucharest with one another. At Geneva, Tardieu, in agreement with them, submitted his programme of a counter-revolutionary international army. The Danube Plan, which was prepared in March by the French Foreign Ministry, was intended, among other things, to strengthen the power of the Little Entente by adding to this grouping a certain number of States which had hitherto escaped the influence of France.

Taking place on the eve of the Conference of Lausanne and in the midst of the crisis of the disarmament conference, the Conference of the Little Entente certainly acquires great political importance. It is also not forgotten that the members of this diplomatic constellation are the outposts of the armed fight against the Soviet Union. Nobody has forgotten the role of **Czechoslovakia** in the recent intrigues which were directed against the proletarian State. Vanek was a Czechoslovakian diplomat, and after the assassination of Doumer the authorities in Prague tried to make out that Gorguloff was a Bolshevik agent.

Rumania has also made a contribution to the campaign against the Soviet Union. It was the Ghika government which a few months ago brought about the breaking off of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and Rumania for a non-aggression pact. At the beginning of April the notorious Dniester campaign gave grounds for belief that the attack against the Soviet Union would be shortly launched.

It would be incorrect to believe that the **Yugoslavian** dictatorship has no hand in these machinations. A few days ago there was commenced in Belgrade a course of instruction, in Russian, on the modern technique of administration. The Belgrade press wrote regarding this:

"The purpose of this course is to train the young generation of Russian emigrants for administrative service in the future Russia after the overthrow of the Bolsheviks."

But there are still other reasons why the conference in Belgrade deserves great attention. The Ministers of the Little Entente are conferring in the capital of a town which is in the midst of a revolutionary ferment.

The crisis is developing into a regular catastrophe. In the first ten months of 1931 the foreign trade deficit amounted to 100 million Dinar. The income of the State monopolies amounted to 15 million. The peasants of Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Montenegro are doomed to death from starvation; they cannot sell their corn and it is rotting in the barns. The value of land is continually declining. An acre of land which three years ago was worth 36,000 Dinar is today worth only 12,000 Dinar.

Unemployment is increasing from week to week in the towns. Three months ago the Zagreb Chamber of Commerce admitted that there were 150,000 unemployed. The income of the working class has fallen by 20 per cent. Bankruptcies are becoming more and more frequent. Bank failures are increasing. The head of the post-office saving bank confesses: "Chaos threatens; danger is at our doors."

The government maintains its power only by means of white terror. Hundreds of revolutionaries are subjected to frightful tortures in the Glavnjatcha prison. The military camarilla organise regular bloodbaths in the villages among the peasants. The courts pronounce sentences of banishment and hard labour. The gendarmes cause prisoners to disappear while being conveyed to prison.

In spite of this terrorist regime, which France supports with money, the anger of the people against the hangmen of Belgrade is rising. Already last year, from 27th of October to 9th of December, the students of Belgrade continually held demonstrations in the streets. On November 8th, the day of the elections, the workers and students put the gendarmes to flight.

During King Alexander's visit to Paris the workers wrote on the facade of the royal palace the following words, in enormously large letters: "To let, apply to Alphonso XIII."

Meanwhile the ferment has not come to an end, but on the contrary has increased. A few days ago Republican officers mutinied in Croatia. In Belgrade the university was closed and—what is much more important—peasant revolts took place in all the provinces.

The Yugoslavian government will, of course, describe these reports as untrue but a few days before the overthrow of the Bourbons the monarchist government of Spain also announced that perfect law and order prevailed in Spain and that the monarchy was held in respect . . .

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Class Struggle in the Lancashire Cotton Industry.

By R. Bishop (London).

For over three years the Lancashire cotton textile employers have been strenuously endeavouring to impose worsened conditions upon the operatives. During the whole of that period the workers concerned have put up a heroic resistance against more-looms, longer hours, lower wages and a hundred and one attempts to impose new conditions of work.

Now the employers are trying to bring matters to a head and to achieve their aim by a mill by mill attack, having failed ingnominiuously when tackling the industry as a whole. In the **spinning section** of the industry all agreements have been terminated by the employers and at mill after mill demands, generally for a wage reduction of 12½ per cent., have been put forward. Now the employers on the **manufacturing side** have fallen in line and all agreements terminate in a few days. This means fresh onslaughts on the weavers, winders and other workers on this side of the industry. There are 200,000 workers affected on the manufacturing side of the industry and there is a general realisation among them that the only possible effective resistance is by means of general strike action. In order to secure delay the union officials are attempting to re-open negotiations with the employers, whilst using Left phraseology to keep the workers deluded that they mean to fight.

Meanwhile the employers will intensify their policy of attacking the workers mill by mill—there are at present at least a dozen mills where strikes are in progress—hoping that if they can score a victory here and a victory there they will succeed in spreading demoralisation in the ranks of the workers.

Since 1925 the **cotton textile industry** has gone from bad to worse. In 1931 the position was even worse than in 1930. Great hopes were placed by the employers on tariffs and the departure from the Gold Standard as the key to prosperity and up to the end of March a slight improvement in employment was recorded, although even then 23.4 per cent. of insured

workers in the industry were registered as unemployed. But the figures issued this month show once again an increase in the number of unemployed and a decrease in the number of employed. The much-heralded boom proved to be hardly even a boomlet.

In the Spring of 1931 the bourgeois economists were explaining that the price level of primary commodities had reached rock-bottom, but from March 1931 to September the price of raw cotton fell continuously. The departure from the gold standard temporarily stabilised prices, but not for long. The trend is definitely downward, once more due to the tremendous accumulation of stocks. In 1931 American production reached practically 26,000,000 bales while consumption barely reached 11,000,000. This surplus despite the resort to artificial means of restriction is accentuated by reason of the over-production in Egypt also. Not only is there a surplus of the raw material of the industry, but equally in the means of production. There are in Lancashire, although not all in operation, 55,000,000 spindles and 680,000 looms. Mills containing 11½ million spindles and 150,000 looms are closed while the remainder are none of them working to capacity. A Joint Committee of Inquiry set up recommended the placing out of action of 15,000,000 further spindles and 150,000 looms at a cost of £4,000,000 in compensation to the interests affected.

The decline of the industry is shown by the **employment figures**. In 1930 there were 242,000 less workers employed than were in 1912 and 150,000 less than in 1924. In 1912 the average number employed was 621,000, which means that between that year and 1930 the number had been reduced by more than one-third. And the position is still worse to-day than it was in 1930.

In addition to the decline registered by the figures it must not be forgotten that the Lancashire cotton industry has suffered more from the Means Test and the Anomalies Act than any other, both in the number who have been cut off benefit entirely and those who have suffered a reduction in the amount of their benefit. In pre-war days Lancashire cotton goods had practically a clear field for export, both because of their quality and their price. But not so to-day.

Whereas in 1913 the average price of raw cotton was 7.8d per lb., it is now 5.28d per lb. The export of yarn in 1913 was 210.1 million lbs. In 1931 it was only 133.5 Million lbs. The export of piece goods in 1913 was 7.075 million square yards. To-day it is only 1.716 million square yards. Its value in the same period has sunk from £97.8 millions to £37.3 millions.

Nevertheless the price per square yard of exported piece goods has risen from 3.32d pence per square yard to 5.22d. Raw cotton has dropped roughly 2d per lb. in price during the period that cotton piece goods have risen by the same amount per yard.

Hence despite the decline of the industry and the anarchy that prevails throughout, a number of companies have been able, even in recent years to amass large reserves for distribution among their shareholders. Amongst the firms that did quite well last year are:—

The Lion Spinning Co., Royton (£60,000 to shareholders); the Vine Spinning Co., (£24,000); the Sun Mill Co., Chadderton (10/ per share); the Eva Mill, Rochdale (£12,000). All these sums were distributed from reserve in addition to the payment of dividends.

Nevertheless the distribution to ordinary shareholders throughout the industry is small. The cream of the profits go to the bankers and the mortgage debenture holders, while the ordinary shareholder is left with only watered stock.

Since the boom in 1920 £16,000,000 has been paid to the ordinary shareholders on a total capital of £61,000,000. It is impossible to trace what has been paid in interest on bank loans, overdrafts, mortgage, and depreciation. That it is a very considerable sum is however evident. In 1914 interest and depreciation costs amounted to 18.6 of production costs—in 1931 to 33.8.

Those factories which were recapitalised during the post-war boom now expend all their profits in such charges. Original companies, like the Lion Spinning Co of Royton, not only distributed 20 per cent to their shareholders but provided £60,000 in bonuses on a paid up capital of £60,000. Nevertheless these companies like the others are insistent on the necessity of wage-reductions, longer hours and rationalisation.

The cotton industry has been hit badly by the **shrinkage of foreign trade**. In 1913 Britain held 73 per cent. of the world trade in cotton goods; to-day Britain's share is around

40 per cent. The home consumption of cotton goods has also sunk to about one-third.

But the internal organisation of the industry is extremely backward; thus the spinning section of the industry is still predominantly mule-spinning instead of ring-spinning; ordinary Lancashire looms have only to a small degree been superseded by automatics. The industry is almost entirely composed of small units, which leads to cut-throat competition. There are 240 spinning companies with a share capital of £64,000,000. Only four of these have capital of more than £1,000,000.

On the other hand there is the monopoly of the finishing section of the industry, which is in the hands of a combine and exacts tribute from the manufacturing side for bleaching, dying and printing.

The distributive side is anarchic in its conception, entirely without a central selling agency. The employers are striving hard to remedy the state of affairs that prevails, but the conflict of interests prevents them from doing so. Finance capital is busily at work to compel this reorganisation which meets with strong resistance from the independent owners. The banks, however, will refuse to continue the financing of the industry until a considerable amount of re-organisation has been attained.

The struggle of the colonial peoples has also had its effect upon the fortunes of the cotton industry, both as regards China and India. During the past three years there has not only been a sharp decline in production and export but also unceasing struggle between the owners and the workers.

The reformist leadership openly state that wage reductions are the only salvation and urge the workers to help the employers in a spirit of co-operation. They never tire of telling the workers that low wages in competing countries afford the reason for the decline of the industry. Similarly with regard to more-ooms per weaver. The trade union officials have been at pains to show that they are not opposed to more-ooms in principle. Rather they welcome the scientific development because they "are conscious of the fact that these inventions are essential in restoring the lost markets of Lancashire".

The treacherous defeatist propaganda of the reformist bureaucracy has been opposed by the operatives as determinedly as they have fought the open attack of the cotton employers. In ballot after ballot, in strike after strike the workers have expressed their determination not to submit. And the leadership, in order to avoid a complete loss of their influence, have been compelled to sanction the struggles. In 1929 there was a great lockout through the industry: against the advice of the officials the workers refused to accept a wage-cut of 12½ per cent. Eventually a cut of 6¼ per cent. was put across by a Commission appointed by the Labour Government.

Repeatedly through 1930 the Burnley weavers were on strike against more-ooms. During the great Burnley strike in January of that year, the officials balloted the quarter of a million strikers for the opening of negotiations. By 90,000 to 44,000 the workers rejected negotiations and fought on—and won. Repeatedly since individual employers have tried again impose more-ooms, but have always met with resistance. It is only in the last few months that the employers have been able to get more looms operating in a few places—and even here after a most intense struggle. The great bulk of the weavers are as determined as ever to fight bitterly against a system which they know will add still more of their numbers to the unemployed list and also to an eventual reduction of their already miserable pittance.

There is no future for the cotton textile industry of Britain under capitalism. But the employers, the union bureaucracy, the Labour Party and the Lefts of the I.L.P. are all offering as the way out co-operation by means of the workers submitting to the demands of the employers. To the workers this can only mean a steady worsening of their conditions.

The **Communist Party** alone points out that the only way out for the Lancashire cotton workers, in common with all other workers, is not intensifying competition with the colonial workers but co-operation with the colonial workers in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

The Lancashire cotton workers have shown in action that they are on the right path despite the treachery of their leadership.

The Struggles of the Italian Proletariat against Fascism.

By Estella (Rome).

The last winter was a terrible one for the working masses of the whole of Italy: millions of workers unemployed or on short time, starvation wages, small peasants ruined by taxes of all sorts.

In this winter the masses have already given fascism plain indications of their real mood towards it. We mention below some of the most important movements, so far as they have become known, which have taken place in the winter in the various districts of Italy.

In **Piedmont** there took place two demonstrations of recruits; twice within a few days the workers of the Fiat works downed tools in order to protest against the speed-up regulations; in the province of Novara the peasants in a whole village refused to pay the taxes.

In **Lombardy** the movements were deeper and more widespread. In Milan the workers in the iron works protested against dismissals; in the Pirelli factory they went on strike and beat up the manager, the chief engineer and the cashier; in the Alfa-Romeo works there was a protest movement against the non-payment of wages; 300 unemployed demonstrated outside of the Labour Exchanges; over 3000 unemployed building workers protested in the fascist trade unions against the public works not being commenced; the clerks of the Banca Commerciale demonstrated twice on the streets against the cuts in their salaries. In the province the workers of the Rogoredo steel works demonstrated against the dismissals and offered resistance to the gendarmes. The population of three villages rose in revolt against the increase of the poll tax; in numerous other villages the unemployed demonstrated, and when arrests took place the solidarity of the whole population compelled the authorities to release the arrested. In Brianza the workers demonstrated on the streets against the threatened closing down of the textile factories, and the unemployed of four villages demonstrated with them; the factories had to be reopened.

In **Venezia** there took place a demonstration of the recruits. The women cotton workers in Pordenone and the women silk workers in Prato went on strike.

In **Venezia Giulia** the seamen of Pola and the peasants of several villages held demonstrations, in the course of which the town halls were wrecked and the mayor thrown into the sea. A state of siege was proclaimed, but the local militia refused to obey when called up.

In **Emilia** demonstrations of unemployed and women took place in Reggio, Imola, Medicina, Bologna and other places. In addition, it came to a demonstration of students and a demonstration of recruits. In Conselice the employed and unemployed landworkers demonstrated to the singing of "Bandiera Rossa" (The Red Flag) and compelled the authorities to commence public works. The working women of the Passigli hosiery factory in Bologna went on strike and gained a victory. The street scavengers went on strike and compelled the mayor to cancel a wage cut.

In **Liguria** more than a thousand workers employed in the Odero Terni works in Spezia signed a declaration refusing to pay the contributions to the fascist trade unions.

In **Abruzzi** there took place two demonstrations of unemployed; in one village the peasants protested against the taxes and set fire to the town hall. The authorities were compelled to promise the abolition of some taxes.

In **Tuscany** thousands of demonstrating unemployed in Florence forced their way into the premises of the fascist trade unions and wrecked them. In Montecatini the peasants demonstrated and offered resistance to the village police and the carabinieri. In another village they demonstrated and compelled the burgomaster to promise a reduction of taxes. The dock-workers and the alabaster workers went on strike.

In **Rome** the unemployed in Garbatella raided the bakeries and helped themselves to bread. The bank clerks demonstrated against the reduction of their salaries.

In **Apulia** it came to a fierce demonstration of the whole population of Barletta against the mayor. The police made use of their weapons, the result being five killed and 20 wounded. In Cerignola demonstrations of landworkers, peasants and unemployed followed one after the other. In San Severo the landworkers and unemployed demonstrated to the

singing of "Bandiera Rossa", beat up the mayor and put the tax collectors to flight.

In **Campagna, Calabria and Basilicata** there took place fierce demonstrations of the working population. In Senise the town hall was set on fire. 180 demonstrators, nearly all of them mothers of families, were arrested. In the province of Benevento the demonstrations against the fascist administrations and authorities gave rise to bloody collisions. In Taurinova 500 demonstrating peasants and landworkers were masters of the streets for hours; and it was not until the gendarmerie was reinforced from Palmi that the streets could be cleared. 40 demonstrators were brought up for trial. In Cassino and San Donato it came to demonstrations against the mayors. In Lavello the peasants marched to the singing of "Bandiera Rossa" to the town hall and set it on fire.

In **Sicily** more than 3,000 peasants, with cries of "work and bread", forced their way into the town hall of Caltanissetta, wrecked it, beat up the officials and hanged the mayor. They resisted the police for more than 3 hours. In many other villages there took place fierce demonstrations of the unemployed and peasants, and numerous town halls and municipal buildings were set on fire.

In **Sardinia** the women in Montevecchia enforced an increase of 1.25 Lira in their daily wages. In Ierzu, Macomer, Biti, Bortigalli, Orgosolo, Tre Nuraghes and in many other

villages it came to peasant demonstrations. The peasants refuse to pay the taxes; furniture which has been seized does not find any purchasers, because the women threaten all those who wish to bid at the auctions. In Sassari, Plumini, Maggiore and other places unemployed demonstrations led to bloody collisions, to attacks on town halls and to proclamation of a state of siege.

In all, 25,000 to 30,000 peasants have taken part in demonstrations against taxes and against the fascist mayors. The number of unemployed who have taken part in demonstrations is probably no less. 10,000 to 15,000 workers have gone on strike or held demonstrations in the factories. 5,000 to 6,000 women, students and employees have demonstrated in the streets.

If we compare these figures with those of the previous Winter we see a great increase in the number of movements and also observe that the street demonstrations of unemployed and peasants were more numerous than those of the factory workers.

In spite of all difficulties, the **Communist Party** is taking an increasing part in the fight of the working masses. Whilst up to the end of 1930 the movements were all spontaneous, now nearly all strikes and movements are influenced by the agitation of the Communists, even if they are not immediately led by them.

The War

The Result of the Shanghai "Peace" Conference.

By Wass Min.

Nobody will be surprised that the Kuomintang Government, in spite of the furious protests of the whole of the Chinese people, has signed the Shanghai Treaty by which China is to be divided among the imperialists. Not only the Nanking Government regards the domination of China by the imperialists as the best way out of the disastrous crisis, but the so-called Opposition, the old militarists, politicians, landowners and the bourgeoisie, set all their hopes on the actual rulers of China, the imperialists themselves establishing "law and order" in the country, in order that they can perform their devoted lackey service. The working masses fully realise that the speeches and gestures of the ruling class are nothing else but demagoguery and cynical attempts at deception, and are therefore striving for the overthrow of the rule of the landowners and bourgeoisie and the setting up of their own power, the Workers and Peasants Soviets, in order to do away with all the unequal treaties.

The Shanghai "Peace" Treaty, which is a prologue to another Round-Table Conference for the purpose of dividing up China, is not a military victory of the Japanese military camorra, or even a diplomatic victory of **Yoshizawa, Shigemitsu and Sato**, but a successful piece of work by all the imperialists. There is no need to prove the collaboration of France in this "Peace" Treaty; and the British "friends" and the American "saviours" are obviously the chief creators of the treaty. **MacDonald, Simon, Hoover and Stimson** themselves, or their agents, along with the Kuomintang, practise the most monstrous chicanery and carry out the most repressive measures against the Chinese people. The retreat of the victorious Chinese fighters from the Shanghai front to **Kunshan** was the result of the intrigues and threats of **Simon and Lampson**, of the League of Nations resolution and the approval of Washington. The Shanghai "Peace" Treaty is the result of the endeavours of Lampson and of the "mass" movement organised by the British agents, Generals **Macnaughten and Bell** (the former and present vice-chairman of the municipal council of the Shanghai International Settlement respectively), as well as of the active co-operation of the American Ambassador in China. Stimson's visit to Geneva, as a result of which the well-known League of Nations resolution of April 30 on the Shanghai "Peace" was adopted, plays an important role. This resolution, in which it is openly stated that the Chinese troops must not advance one step east of Kunshan, that an area comprising a twenty-mile circle round Shanghai must be placed under international administration, that the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from Shanghai—formerly fixed for six months time—is now postponed indefinitely, which silently approves of the complete dissolution of all anti-Japanese organisations and the

carrying out of the secret treaty between China and Japan regarding Manchuria and Mongolia, is further confirmed and extended by the "peace" negotiations which for months have been going on behind the scenes in Shanghai. The Kuomintang regime and its so-called opposition now demagogically declare that at the Shanghai "peace" negotiations only the armistice and the withdrawal of the Japanese troops were discussed, and that not a single political question was touched upon. Thus they represent the "armistice" and the "withdrawal of Japanese troops" as a purely technical problem. By the solution of this technical problem, however, Shanghai has been **practically handed over to the imperialists** and the way cleared for the partitioning of China.

The first delegate of the Nanking government at the Shanghai negotiations, **Koo Tai Chi**, has been appointed Chinese Ambassador to England, and will travel to London with Lampson. Here he will play the same role as played by **Li Hung Chang** (who signed the Treaty between China and Tsarist Russia) at the time of the latter's visit to Moscow. Also the Japanese give tangible expression of their thanks to England. The "**China Times**" of April 3, reports from Tokyo that the Japanese Ministry of Finance has sent a representative to London in order to negotiate the taking up of a loan of 50 million Yen for the Southern Manchurian railway.

The "peace" treaty was signed on May 5, but it was actually completed already on March 21, at the conclusion of the preparatory conference, a fact which was divulged by the Shanghai paper, "**Shun Pao**" of April 7. The "peace" negotiations in Shanghai, which lasted for weeks, were nothing else but a comedy deliberately staged for the purpose of deceiving the people. The Japanese have openly exposed this secret. "**Manchu Pao**", which appears in Dairen, wrote in its issue of April 27:

"China suddenly turned with the details of the peace negotiations from Shanghai to the League of Nations. The Nanking Government knew quite well that Geneva would refer to Shanghai the final solution of the details of the peace negotiations. They only wanted to shift the responsibility on to Geneva in order to repel the attacks of their political opponents at home."

On April 1929, the same newspaper published the following telegram from Shanghai:

"The Nanking Foreign Ministry were quite aware that the population would sharply attack the Shanghai peace negotiations. On behalf of foreigners they wrote in the Shanghai newspapers: 'Foreigners regard Lamp-

son's draft treaty as exceedingly just. It contains no political conditions or any violation of Chinese sovereignty. To postpone the signing of this treaty would harm the interests of China."

In these lines there is revealed the true features of the treacherous Kuomintang.

After the retreat of the defenders of Shanghai, the Kuomintang proclaimed that it would prepare for a prolonged fight against Japan. What preparations had it made by the 5th May? It had completely forbidden the boycott of Japanese goods, and granted favourable conditions to Japanese imports; it had recognised de facto the "independent" Manchukuo; it had supported the Japanese provocations of the Soviet Union, it had organised the fourth campaign against the Chinese Soviet Republic, and had attempted to disarm and kill the revolutionary soldiers of the 19th army and the armed workers and peasants. The Japanese imperialists have also recognised these endeavours of the Kuomintang. On April 29, Manchu-Pao published the following telegram from Shanghai:

"The staff of the Anti-Japanese Association in Shanghai have each received from the Shanghai government a month's salary and have been expelled from Shanghai. By this severe measure a revival of this organisation is made impossible."

The Chinese landowners and the bourgeoisie, who cherish undying hatred towards the soldiers of the 19th army, describe the officers of the same army as national heroes. What have these "national heroes", with **Tsai Chin Kai** at their head, done in the meantime? They have carried out the retreat of the defenders of Shanghai. They have taken part in the Shanghai negotiations and signed the secret agreement regarding Manchuria and Mongolia and the peace treaty. (Two generals of the 19th army were delegates at the Shanghai negotiations.) **Tsai Chin Kai** has caused innumerable revolutionary soldiers who agitated against Japanese militarism to be executed. He has ruthlessly dissolved the volunteer troops of workers and peasants on the **Wuchitchangchow** front.

The fact of the shameful treachery of the Chinese militarists and politicians and of the insolent action of the imperialists only strengthens the fighting spirit of the Chinese working masses; they will fight with still greater determination for the development of the Soviet movement, for the advance of the Red Army against the imperialists. The new victories of the Red Army on the **Hankow-Peking line**, the victory in **South Fukien**, the founding of the 26th army in **Kiangsi**, are proofs of this.

Zionism in the Camp of the White Guardists.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

In the last few months there is to be observed a considerable increase of Zionist agitation in the various countries of Europe and America. At the same time there is an increase in the aggressiveness of Zionist policy towards the Arabs in Palestine. The official Zionist leaders are even opposing those concessions which the British imperialist government was compelled to promise to the Arabs under the pressure of the masses. Zionist propaganda is seeking by falsely representing the actual situation in Palestine to make out that Palestine is a sort of happy island which is untouched by the crisis. The object of this lying propaganda is to intensify the Zionist offensive by an increased emigration to Palestine and to force the conquest of the country by Zionism.

The leading sections of the Jewish bourgeoisie who are at the head of the Zionist movement, have arrived at the conviction that it is impossible to achieve this aim by peaceful means, in view of the difficult financial situation of Zionism on the one hand (the Zionist budget had to be reduced by 50 per cent.) and of the growing resistance of the Arabs on the other, which can at any moment lead to a new armed revolt against Zionism and imperialism. Ridiculous as it may appear, the Jewish bourgeoisie are also endeavouring to seek a way out of the crisis in a war adventure.

Tsarism was the deadly enemy of the Jewish population of Russia. All the so-called succession governments which followed Tsarism were outspoken murderous governments which set out to exterminate the masses of the Jewish population. Even to-day the countries which are in the foremost front of the fight against the Soviet Union are the strongholds of antisemitism in its most bloody form: the pogroms in

Rumania, the economic boycott and anti-Jewish pogroms in Poland, the anti-semitic outbreaks in Latvia show that these white-guardist States have taken over the heritage of Tsarism also in the question of oppressing the Jews. Only in the Soviet Union, in contrast to all other European countries, are there no anti-Jewish pogroms. When, in the year 1929, the white-guardist troops crossed the Soviet frontier into Siberia and took possession of the first frontier town, their very first act was to carry out an anti-Jewish pogrom. It was not until the Red Army arrived that order was restored and the white guardist bandits were punished.

The Jewish bourgeoisie are therefore quite aware that a war against the Soviet Union is bound to involve a frightful massacre of the working Jewish population, which would put into shade all former slaughters and massacres of the Jews. The Zionists in their propaganda have issued as their main slogan the "defence of the Jewish nation"; and with this phrase the Jewish bourgeoisie seek to catch the Jewish masses.

But precisely at the present moment, when the immediate danger of war is threatening, the Zionists show their true countenance. They are openly aiming at an alliance with the white guardists; they are ready to extend their hand to the worst and vilest sort of pogromists.

It is not the first time that the Jewish bourgeoisie considered an alliance with reaction more important for their maintenance than the use of nationalist phrases. Immediately after the Bolshevik revolution in the year 1917, **Mr. Pasmanik**, a leading Zionist, joined the Russian monarchists from the camp of the "Black Hundreds". In 1922, **Mr. Jabotinski**, another Zionist leader and member of the Zionist Executive, concluded a formal pact with the blood-stained pogrom-hero **Petljura** for fighting the Bolsheviks. In recent times it has become a tradition that every Zionist Congress passes resolutions against the Soviet Union. During the great campaign of the Pope against the Soviet Union, the Zionist and non-Zionist rabbis did not neglect to use their pulpits for the purpose of incitement against the Soviet Union. At the present time the Zionists in all countries—before all, however, in Palestine—are carrying on a regular incitement against the Soviet Union. The common action of Jewish capitalists with fascism in Italy, the approaching open bloc of the State Party in Germany, which is supported mainly by the Jewish bourgeoisie, with the anti-semitic national socialists in Württemberg, the actions of the ultra-Zionist groups of the Jewish bourgeoisie in Austria, who finance and support the Heimwehr, are a further proof of now the Jewish and especially the Zionist bourgeoisie do not shrink from going over into the camp of the most rabid anti-semitism, from betraying the Jewish masses and delivering them over to the pogromists if they can thereby maintain their class privileges.

That the Jewish bourgeoisie will not be content with supporting fascism financially and by means of propaganda, but in addition are endeavouring to find a place for themselves in the white-guardist troops which are being formed and which are to march against the Soviet Union, has been divulged by one of the well-known Zionist leaders. **Dr. von Weisel** recently made a tour of Poland on behalf of the fascist Zionists. He delivered a great speech in Warsaw at the end of March, in which he declared:

"At present there is taking place in the world an anti-Soviet concentration. The Haifa-Baghdad railway is being built for the purpose of war against Soviet Russia. We must take part in the anti-Soviet concentration with an army of 100,000 men. Our way, our solution lies to the Right."

It is very doubtful whether the 100,000 men whom the Zionist bourgeoisie wish to place at the disposal of the white-guardist generals will help them in any way. But as regards the Zionist threats and war preparations against the Soviet Union, one must not belittle them, as the Zionist social fascists in the various countries always seek to represent the Jewish bourgeoisie as being liberal, advanced and not reactionary. It will be the task of the Communist Parties who are working among the Jewish masses, especially the Communist Parties in America, Poland, Rumania, Latvia, Palestine, France etc., to expose the true countenance of Zionism, to point out that the talk about the liberalism and the harmlessness of the Jewish bourgeoisie belongs to the realm of myth, that in the fight against the Soviet Union and against Bolshevism, the Jewish bourgeoisie, Zionism and its social fascist agencies form a single whole.

WAR AND SOCIAL FASCISM

The Disarmament Conference of the II. International in Zürich

By Marcel Cachin (Paris).

On May 19th and 20th the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International will hold its spring meeting. Among the items on the agenda are: the question of reparations, the war in the Far East; and the problems of Central Europe. On May 22nd and 23rd there will be held a Joint International Conference of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. as well as of the trade union secretariats affiliated to the Amsterdam International, to deal with the problems arising out of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva.

Louis de Brouckère will deliver a report on behalf of the II. International and **Léon Jouhaux** on behalf of the I.F.T.U.

There is not the least doubt that the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. will make use of this conference in order to churn out pacifist phrases, to delude the working class with hopes in the League of Nations, and skilfully to divert the attention of the workers from the imperialist war in the Far East and the preparations for intervention which are being feverishly made at the present time.

In Manchuria the guns are thundering; in Shanghai the sound of exploding bombs is added to the roars of guns. The General Staffs are working at a feverish pace; the diplomats are concluding the final agreements, and we can be certain that the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. will not fail to issue a Manifesto.

The Basle Manifesto immediately before the first imperialist war, and the Zuerich Manifesto during the new imperialist war and immediately before the new war of intervention. Marx was quite right:

"All great world-historical events occur twice, so to speak; the first time as a tragedy, the second time as a farce."

The Basle Manifesto was a tragedy, a tragedy of the workers' International which was corroded by opportunism, and which from the threatening words of the Basle Manifesto adopted the path which led to the 4th of August 1914, to the granting of war credits, to the occupation of Ministerial seats in the war Cabinets, to the support of the imperialist bourgeoisie, to the defence of the capitalist fatherland, to the betrayal of the revolution.

Whilst the leaders of the II. International meet together again in Zürich in order to pose as fighters for freedom and disarmament, this meeting of the II. International should serve as a serious warning signal of the immediate approach of new imperialist war, and we must call to the workers of the whole world: a dangerous, deceitful manoeuvre to disorganise, to disarm the proletariat is to be prepared in Zurich; the vigilance of the revolutionary workers is to be lulled in order to be able better to prepare the new war of intervention.

The difference between Basle and Zurich consists of the fact that in Basle at that time the leaders of the II. International had not taken part in the preparation of the war; it was only after the outbreak of the war that they finally betrayed socialism and placed themselves at the side of their own imperialist bourgeoisie. Now, however, there is to be held in Zurich a meeting of "labour leaders" who are actively taking part in the preparations for imperialist war.

It is not due to chance that precisely **De Brouckère** and **Jouhaux**, the representatives of the allied Franco-Belgian imperialism in the II. International, will deliver the reports on the disarmament question at the Vienna Congress of the II. International in 1931. Already at that time **De Brouckère** declared:

"I shall not support the all-too simple thesis, which says to the peoples: disarm and then everything else will come right of itself."

No, **Brouckère** was not in favour of complete disarmament. It is quite plain and understandable why the whole of the II. International, just like the bourgeois representatives of imperialism, rejected with scorn and ridicule **Litvinov's** proposal for complete and general disarmament. At the Vienna

Congress also the II. International did not demand complete disarmament.

"We must make a first step towards disarmament . . . As regards the resolution which I submit to you today, it means that this promise shall at last be fulfilled and that the first step is being taken."

Thus we see that already at Vienna **De Brouckère** was very modest.

Since then the Disarmament Conference at Geneva has proved that **De Brouckère** acted wisely in being so modest. The first stage of disarmament is really very modest; instead of disarming, the imperialists arm and even the modest first step is not taken.

The League of Nations has shown its true countenance not only at the disarmament Conference but also in Manchuria and in Shanghai.

What did **De Brouckère** say at the Vienna Congress of the II. International?

"We have no exaggerated confidence in the League of Nations, we know its weaknesses, its fragility at the present time . . . But we wish to exert pressure on and make use of this international political institution, just as we make use of government institutions, with all their weaknesses and imperfections."

De Brouckère has indicated the way in which this pressure can be exerted:

"Appeal to public opinion, big meetings, mass petitions, congresses, action in Geneva itself."

He even proposed that the seat of the Secretariat of the II. International should be transferred to Geneva.

The Disarmament Conference, the robber-campaign in Manchuria and Shanghai show how successfully pressure has been brought to bear on the League of Nations.

Jouhaux declared at Vienna that the working class has an "interest" in the war production.

And these are the gentlemen who will deliver reports at the Disarmament Conference of the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. in Zürich. They are well suited for this job. We hope, at any rate, that also **Emile Vandervelde** will come forward in support of disarmament and peace. He was Minister of the King of Belgium and one of the signatories to the Versailles Treaty. After the Japanese attack on China he declared Manchuria to be a No-man's land. He supported the treacherous Kuomintang, described the Red Army of Chinese workers and soldiers as bandits, praised the policy of Belgian imperialism towards China as exemplary, slandered the Soviet Union, declared it to be an imperialist power and spread the contemptible lie that a secret agreement against China had been concluded between the emperor of Japan and the Soviet Union.

Or perhaps we shall have a speech by **Mr. Henderson**, who has provisionally exchanged the chairmanship of the II. International for that of the Disarmament Conference? Or **Mr. Reinhardt**, the chairman of the social democratic party of Switzerland, who had the brazenness to declare that only the Soviet Union is interested in a new imperialist war? Or the representatives of the socialist party of Czechoslovakia, who have six Ministers in the Czech government which, on the instructions of **Tardieu**, was to set up the Danube Federation against the Soviet Union? Or **Mr. Lansbury**, who, on behalf of the Labour Party, described the policy of British imperialism towards China in 1926 as exemplary, will speak for peace? Or perhaps **Mr. Fimmen**, the chairman of the Transport Worker's International, who openly admitted that his Federation has not done anything to prevent the transport of munitions? Or the Polish socialists who recruited for **Pilsudski** and supported the war against the Soviet Union in 1920? Or the Rumanian socialists, who together with the **Siguranza** conducted the Dniestre campaign? Or the Russian **Mensheviks**, headed by **Dan**, who opposes the defence of the socialist fatherland and who, on behalf of the II. International, demands as a condition for the defence of the Soviet Union that the dictatorship of the proletariat be liquidated. It is to be hoped that **Mr. Schevener**, the new secretary of the I.F.T.U., who wishes to restrict the problem of peace to Europe, will speak for peace.

One could continue this list indefinitely. One could cite the words and deeds of the leaders of the II. International and of the I.F.T.U. in order to show what sort of people will meet together in Zürich.

And the actions of these gentlemen are even more convincing than their words. In Zürich there will meet the International of war-inciters; and one can reckon with certainty that these gentlemen will again raise the question of the fight against "dictatorship", lumping the fascist dictatorship, for which they prepare the way, together with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Basle was as tragedy, Zürich will be a farce. But this farce is also dangerous, and we must not regard the matter lightly. We must make use of the meeting of the L.S.I. and of the I.F.T.U. at Zürich in order to open the eyes of the social democratic workers and show them the true role of these traitors.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

The Soviet Power in China—Leader of the Anti-imperialist Movement.

By S. U. Lin (Shanghai).

The history of the heroic struggles of the Soviet Power and the 4th Red Army Corp, led by the Communist Party of China, has created a deep impression among the broad masses of workers and peasants. The occupation of Manchuria last year by Japanese imperialism took place just after the Red Army had already defeated the 3rd "anti-communist campaign" of Chiang Kai Shek. This victory of the Red Army was a great factor in the upward development of the nation-wide anti-imperialist wave in China.

The First Soviet Congress was held in Juitsin, Kiangsi, on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the victorious October Revolution. It was reported by the Chinese Soviet Correspondence that there were several hundred delegates present, including many elected by the workers in big cities which are still under the White Regime, like Shanghai, Hongkong, Tientsin, etc. The Congress lasted for ten days. The Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic was adopted, and the **Provisional Central Soviet Government** was created. In its manifesto to the Chinese people on the Manchurian situation, the Soviet Congress declared:

"... Only if the people of the whole country rise and arm themselves and organise the war of national liberation will the victory of the independence and emancipation of the Chinese Nation be guaranteed... At the same time only by the overthrow of the Kuomintang Regime, which betrayed the national interests and the establishment of the Power of the people can the victory of the struggle against imperialism be fundamentally guaranteed. The Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army are the government and the armed forces that determinedly fight against imperialism and the Kuomintang. Their aim is to emancipate the Chinese people from the bloody regime of imperialism and the bourgeois-landlord Kuomintang. Only by their solidarity and by armed struggle can the Chinese people emancipate themselves. Also in the Soviet Constitution, it is clearly stated:

"The Chinese Soviet Power fights for the complete self-control and independence of the Chinese Nation, for the abolition of all the special economic privileges of imperialists in China, for the expulsion of all the land, air and sea armed forces of the imperialists from China, for the abolition of all unequal treaties, for the annulment of all foreign loans contracted by the reactionary governments, and for the unconditional return of the concessions and leased territories, etc."

After the Congress, the Central Soviet Government and local governments of the different Soviet Districts sent delegates to Shanghai and organised a special apparatus in order to establish closer connections with the anti-imperialist organisations throughout the country, (Chinese "Red Flag", January 18). In the period from December, January and February (after the outbreak of the war in Shanghai), the Soviet Delegates actively participated in their organisation and leadership of all the mass demonstrations. Through the Red Unions, Anti-imperialist League, etc, the Soviet Constitution and the Manifesto of the Soviet Government were made known to the

people in the South, Central, North and also Manchuria. From Shanghai Sun Pao, Tientsin Takunpao, etc. it was repeatedly reported that at big demonstrations the masses enthusiastically shouted the slogans: "down with the Koumintang", and "support the Soviet Government and Red Army of the Workers and Peasants", and on many occasions the Red Flag of the Soviets was carried at the head of processions. All this clearly demonstrates the influence of the Soviet Power as the spearhead of the anti-imperialist movement.

The slogan which the Kuomintang and the imperialists particularly fear is the slogan of "arming of the people", accepted by the broad masses of workers, peasants and students. In Shanghai, Manchuria, and many other cities and villages, there exist numerous organisations created by the masses themselves, like the "Workers' Voluntary National Defence Army", "Workers' and Peasant Voluntary National Defence Army", "Students' Voluntary National Defence Army", etc. They demanded arms from the Kuomintang and even seized arms themselves. Three days before the outbreak of the Shanghai war, the Kuomintang disarmed about 1,000 armed voluntary forces and had some of the leaders arrested and executed (Shanghai Shunpao). After the Shanghai War, the military department of the Nanking Government declared that all the illegal armed organisations would be dissolved. Thus the workers and peasants voluntary armed troops in Hsueh, etc. were either suppressed or driven underground. But the first victory in the fight against the Japanese attacks in Shanghai was gained by the armed volunteers of Chapei; several thousand worker and student volunteers participating in the fight.

In this period, although there had been a long and severe war in the Soviet Districts against the Kuomintang, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, on the one hand, cleared up the remnants of internal counter-revolution, consolidated the Soviet Power, and on the other hand carried on a general offensive along the whole front. Kiangsi, Kiangchow and Kwangchang, etc. were captured. About 20,000 soldiers of the white army under the command of General Sun Chung Lien mutinied and went over to the Red Army. In Fukien, the Soviet Districts in the West and North were expanded. In Hupeh, Com Ho Lung's Red Army captured Tienmen, Yingche etc, and formed a junction with the 4th Army of the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei Soviet District, which is moving towards Hupeh.

Now the Kuomintang, on the basis of complete capitulation to the imperialists, is organising the 4th "anti-communist" war against the Soviet Power and the Red Army. At the same time, the Kuomintang is more energetically suppressing the anti-imperialist movement and dissolving "illegal" armed organisations, it has closed down five anti-Japanese imperialist newspaper in Shanghai (Takunpao), it broke up the anti-Japan mass demonstration in Shanghai on March 18, (Takunpao, March 20), and has prohibited all political activities of students both inside and outside of the schools (Takunpao, March 17). However, in spite of the increasing suppression and terror of the Kuomintang and the imperialists, there has already developed a powerful anti-imperialist movement and national liberation war which is heading for the agrarian revolution under the flag of the Soviets. The further development of the Chinese Revolution, despite the capitulation of the Kuomintang to Japanese imperialism, is inevitably leading in this direction.

C.P. Statement on Kreuger Slander.

Stockholm, 5th May 1932.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sweden has issued the following statement: "Neither the Communist Party of Sweden, nor its official organ 'Ny Dag', nor any other party undertaking, or undertaking connected with the party, received any loan or any financial support in any form from Kreuger, or from his associates, or from any of the banks under his influence. All statements concerning such alleged transactions are pure inventions. Such statements are being circulated by the renegades, the so-called Kilbom Party whose own leaders received a sum of 135,000 Crowns as a contribution from Kreuger, who are seeking to draw attention from their own shady business transactions by spreading infamous lies about the Communist Party."

The statement is signed by Comrade Sven Linderot, the Secretary of the Communist Party of Sweden.

How the First World War was Prepared

Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

Documents from the Period Preceding the First Imperialist World War.

The First Balkan War.

"No Prospect of War Danger."

Belgrade, September 23, 1912. The Government organ "Samouprava" categorically denies the rumours regarding an approaching outbreak of war and declares that according to perfectly reliable information from official sources there exists no prospect of war danger and conflict. The general political conditions in Europe, as well as all wishes of the Great Powers tend rather to the maintenance of peace.

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", September 25, 1912.)

Turkey is Reassured.

Constantinople, September 23, 1912. As the Porte is informed, the Powers have given fresh assurances there regarding the future attitude of Bulgaria.

("Kölnische Zeitung").

25th September

"Peace is Secured—Diplomacy Keeps Watch".

The events of which the Balkans have been the scene for some time past, have demanded increased attention of us as the immediate neighbours of Turkey. Thus we have approached the Powers with the suggestion of an exchange of views regarding the situation in the Balkans. To our lively satisfaction, all the Cabinets have approved of our suggestion, whereby contact among the Powers has been established and a valuable guarantee provided for the aversion of a forcible solution of the crisis . . . Diplomacy is keeping watch in order to prevent threatening conflicts and to nip in the bud any danger of a Balkan conflagration.

(Count Berchthold to the Hungarian Delegation for Foreign Affairs, on September 25, 1912.)

28th September

World Peace Congress.

The Pacifists Note with Great Joy . . .

The nineteenth World Peace Congress notes with the greatest joy the efforts that are being made by the Governments of Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro in order to maintain peace during the present crisis through which the Ottoman Empire is passing.

(From the resolution passed by the 19th World Peace Congress held at Geneva from 22nd to 28th September 1912.)

30th September

The First "Bolt from the Blue".

The Country Attacked is Guilty.

Sofia, September 30. In consequence of the alarming news which has arrived in the last two days regarding the concentration of considerable bodies of Turkish troops in the neighbourhood of Adrianople and on the Bulgarian frontier, the Bulgarian Government has found itself compelled, in order to meet any eventualities, to issue an order for mobilisation

(Bulgarian Telegraph Agency.)

Trial Mobilisation in Russia.

Petersburg, September 30. According to an imperial Ukase dated September 8th and published to-day, the reservists from 22 military districts have been called to the colours for the purpose of a trial mobilisation.

(Russian Telegraph Agency.)

1th October

General Mobilisation in the Balkans.

Paris, October 1. The Bulgarian Ambassador declared to one of our editors that Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro have pledged themselves to mobilise jointly and not to separate. This is a historical event of very great importance.

("Temps", 1st October, 1912.)

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Cettinje, October 1. The King has ordered general mobilisation.

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Belgrade, October 1. The mobilisation measures are being carried out quite smoothly and in order.

*

Constantinople, October 1. The mobilisation of the entire army has been ordered.

(German press reports.)

8th October

War Declared.

Constantinople, October 8. The Montenegrin Charge d'Affairs, on the orders of his Government, has broken off relations with the Porte. In the Note which he handed over it is stated:

"As Turkey is not willing to comply with the wishes of Montenegro to submit the questions in dispute to arbitration, Montenegro finds herself compelled to obtain justice by means of arms. The Turkish ambassador in Cettinje will be handed his passport to-day."

("W. T. B.", October 9, 1912.)

"For Justice and Progress."

Belgrade, October 17. This afternoon the Government sent to the Serbian ambassador in Constantinople a declaration of war on Turkey and notified the Great Powers thereof . . . Menadovitch, the Serbian ambassador in Constantinople, has received instructions to convey the declaration of war to the Porte tomorrow morning and then to leave Constantinople at once. (Official Serbian Report.)

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Sofia, 18th October. I order the brave Bulgarian army to advance into Turkish territory . . . And in this fight of the Cross against the Crescent, of Liberty against Tyranny, we shall have the sympathy of all those who love Justice and Progress . . . Now forward, and God with us!

(Manifesto of the King of Bulgaria to the nation.)

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Athens, October 18. Serbia has first declared war on Turkey and has been followed by Bulgaria. Greece, which will not separate itself from its allies, has instructed its ambassador at Constantinople to convey to the Porte a declaration of war.

("Agence d'Athènes.")

After Chemnitz.

The Fight between the Marxist Lefts and the Centrists Goes On.

The Chemnitz Congress of the German social democratic party did not establish clearness in regard to the question of imperialism. It is true, it did not entirely adopt Kautsky's standpoint. In the opinion of the conference, imperialist competition in armaments was only a defect in the body of capitalism which could be removed, whereby capitalism would only be rendered a service.

Kautsky thereby showed that he was incapable of theoretically grasping new problems. The attitude of the party congress, with its "on the one hand" and "on the other hand", furnished no solution and so the fight went on.

The attitude of Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the Chemnitz resolution was clearly illustrated by an editorial comment contained in the Bolshevik organ the "Communist" (1915) on the publication of the Chemnitz resolution. The paper wrote:

"We by no means subscribe to all the assertions contained in the resolution (for instance, on disarmament); we publish the resolution only as a document."

It was Lenin who gave the clearest and most logical analysis of imperialism and characterised it as the last stage of capitalism: Imperialism cannot be removed as a "defect" from the body of capitalism. Not reform of capitalism, but overthrow of imperialism.

Lenin on the Outbreak of the Balkan War.

The "Novoye Vremya" completely exposes the plans of the Russian nationalists. When one reads this paper, which has great "influence" among certain circles including also the Octobrists, then their plan (which is being firmly carried out) of robbing Turkey, becomes obvious.

The policy of chauvinism and seizing foreign territory is chiefly carried out by inciting the public against Austria . . .

The Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria and Italy) is weakened at present, as Italy has squandered 800 million francs on the war against Turkey and the "interests" of Italy and Austria in the Balkans do not accord. Italy wants to grab another piece—Albania—Austria will not permit this. Calculating on this, our nationalists are playing a desperately hazardous game, reckoning on the strength and the wealth of the two Powers of the Entente (England and France) and also on "Europe" not being willing to conduct a general war on account of the Straits or on account of the "rounding off" of our territory at the cost of Asiatic Turkey . . .

The capitalist States are gambling with the blood of millions, who are driven now here and now there to the slaughter for the conquest of foreign territory and plundering weaker neighbours. (Lenin, Pravda, 17th October 1912.)

In November 1912, Lenin wrote an article on what the first speakers for the workers should say in the new Duma. In this article he stated, inter alia:

. . . The third thesis relates to the Balkan war, the international situation and Russian foreign policy. This highly actual theme must not be passed over. It divides into the following questions:

a) the Balkan war. The slogan of the Federal Balkan Republic must be proclaimed by a Russian worker's deputy. Against the Slav-Turkish hostility, for the freedom and equality of all peoples in the Balkans.

b) Against the interference of other powers in the Balkan war.

c) Against the foreign policy of the Russian government in general making special mention of the desire for annexation (and of the annexation already begun) of the Bosphorus, Turkish Armenia, Persia and Mongolia.

d) Against the nationalism of the government, and calling attention to the oppressed nations.

e) Against the Liberal nationalism, which is not so openly brutal but is particularly harmful owing to its hypocrisy and its cunning deception of the people.

The Balkan War Begins.

Podgoritza, 9th October 1912. The Montenegrin army this morning commenced war against Turkey by an attack on the strong Turkish position opposite Podgoritza. (Reuter.)

Sofia, October 18, 1912. The Bulgarian troops have occupied Kourtkale, a strategically important point on Turkish territory in the neighbourhood of Mustafa Pasha.

(Berlin "Lokal Anzeiger".)

"War—the Continuation of Pacifist Propaganda."

We pacifists are only humans, we cannot express our better recognition of things otherwise than by written and spoken words. Our propaganda, therefore, can only reach those who show sufficient understanding for theoretical arguments and discussions. Where these fail we are helpless.

This Balkan war will continue the work at the point where our forces failed. It will make it clear even to the most simple person that war is an absurdity derived from the pre-historic days of humanity and that only an order of society in which law prevails can assure the well-being of mankind. ("Friedenswarte", October 1912.)

The First War Horrors.

The Balkan Peninsula is filled with the horrors of war; bloody battles are being fought there. The number of wounded who are arriving at the rear of the lines is so great that there are already complaints of a shortage of doctors and nurses. And the armies of the belligerent countries have only just got into touch with one another; the decisive battles with their heavy casualties have still to come.

("Kölnische Zeitung, 1st November 1912.")

The Official "Conclusion" of the Tripoli War.

Rome, 18th October 1912. The Peace Treaty between Italy and Turkey was signed today. (Agency Stefani.)

Allies in Colonial Robbery.

Rome, 18th October. The prompt decision of Germany and Austria-Hungary to recognise the sovereignty of Italy over Libya, will make a great impression on public opinion in Italy. It proves the firm and sincere friendship which binds Italy to its allies. ("Tribuna.")

Russia "Protects" Persia.

Teheran, 20th October 1912. Three thousand Russian soldiers have been sent to Persia in order to protect the Persian frontier districts against Turkish attacks. (Reuter.)

How the Diplomats Talk:

"They Preserve Peace."

Rome, October 23. The Balkan question played an important role in the conversations between Count Berchtold and the Foreign Minister, Marquis di San Giuliano, and there was expressed the perfect agreement of the views of the two governments. It has been decided to remain in constant contact with one another and, in co-operation with other Powers, to contribute to the restoration of peace.

("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.")

"They Improve the Lot of the Peoples."

Vienna, October 24. The chief topic in the exchange of opinions between Count Berchtold and the French Foreign Minister was the Balkan and the Eastern questions. Agreement prevailed in judging the situation and thus the preservation of peace and the maintenance of the status quo in the Balkans, as well as the improvement of the lot of all peoples in Turkey, was the unanimous wish of both allied Powers.

("Fremdenblatt.")

And How They Act:

The Austro-Hungarian Military Law in 1912.

With the Tripoli war there commenced that constant „sheet lightning” in the Balkans which indicated the inevitable approach of a war of the Hapsburg Monarchy against Serbia and also against Italy. Against Italy mainly over the question of the domination of Vallona, of access to the Adriatic from the Balkan side.

For this purpose it was necessary, in the first place, to increase and strengthen the Austro-Hungarian army. Here, however, the Austrian Parliament and the Hungarian Parliament in particular had a word to say. In Austria, Parliament constituted no great obstacle. After the elections to the National Council in 1911, which resulted in a weakening of the social Democracy, there came into office a government of the so-called bureaucratic absolutism, under the leadership of Count Stürgh, which governed by means of paragraph 14, by which it exercised despotic powers.

On June 25, Count Tisza carried out a coup in the Hungarian Parliament and announced the acceptance of the military law.

Austria Mobilises for Intervention in the Balkan War.

Vienna, end of October, 1912. The Austrian government demanded from Parliament extraordinary credits for armament purposes, which credits were at once granted. All troops in Bosnia and Hercegovina were mobilised. More than 100,000 men were concentrated in Sarajevo, Gravosa etc.

(French press reports.)

Warships are Dispatched.

Vienna, November 4. The first squadron will proceed to the Levant to protect Austrian-Hungarian subjects. (W.T.B.)

Rome, November 2. Italy is represented in the Egean Sea by the first division of the second quadron. (W.T.B.)

Lenin:

Europe and the Balkan War.

The question of the Balkan war and of the relations of Europe to it is the most burning question in present-day politics. It is important for the whole democracy in general and the working class in particular to understand what are the class interests, motivating one or the other party.

The policy of the Octobrists, of the nationalists, of the non-party „patriots” from the „Novoye Vremja” to the „Russkoye Slovo”, is clear and simple. Incitement against Austria, incitement to war against Austria, outcry over the „Slav tasks” of Russia—all this a transparent endeavour to divert attention from Russian home affairs and to grab a piece of Turkey. Support of reaction at home and imperialist colonial robbery abroad—that is the essence of this crude „patriotic”, „Slav” policy.

The policy of the Cadets is more subtle and diplomatically embellished, but at bottom their policy is likewise the reactionary big Power policy of imperialism. It is specially important to realise this, as the Liberals cunningly conceal their views behind democratically-sounding phrases.

The democracy in general and the workers in particular are against any „protection” of the Slavs by foxes and wolves; they are for the complete right of the peoples to self-determination, for complete democracy, for the emancipation of the Slavs from all „protection” by the big Powers.

The Liberals and the nationalists are disputing about the methods of plundering and subjugating the Balkan peoples by the bourgeoisie of Europe. Only the workers are conducting a policy of real democracy—for freedom of democracy in general and without restriction against any „protectorate, against any robbery and any intervention. (Lenin: „The fox in the Hen-roost” „Pravda”, 31st October 1912.)

The Fight of the Bolsheviks against the August Bloc.

The revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement in Russia developed more and more. In the first five months of 1912, more than half a million Russian workers participated in strikes. Mutinies of soldiers and sailors in Turkestan, in the Baltic Fleet and in the Black Sea Fleet were on the order of the day. The Bolsheviks worked successfully in rebuilding the Party which had been shattered by Tsarism in the previous years.

Against the Party, which was consolidating itself, there united the various anti-party tendencies of the Russian social democracy, the Liquidators, Otsovists, etc., in a bloc which after the Conference of the liquidators in August 1912 was called the „August Bloc”. At the head of this bloc was Trotzky, who cloaked the opportunist policy of this bloc by sham revolutionary phrases.

Lenin Against the Liquidators and against Trotzky.

In an article which was printed in the „Sozialdemokrat” of November 18, 1912, Lenin dealt with the most important differences of principle:

The upsurge of the mass fight began. The revolutionary social democrats are endeavouring to extend and strengthen it by helping it to develop still further until it has reached the stage of revolution.

The election platform of the Party issued by the Central Committee was drawn up before the events in April and May. The events confirmed the correctness of the platform. The platform is permeated with one idea: criticism of the hopelessness, of the utopianism of constitutional reforms in present-day Russia; propaganda of the revolution ...

Consider the platform of the liquidators! Its liquidatory character is carefully concealed by Trotzky's revolutionary phrases. This concealment can for a time deceive naive and inexperienced people, and even appear as a reconciliation of the liquidators with the Party. But the slightest scrutiny will rapidly do away with this self-deception.

The platform of the liquidators was written after the May strikes and the attempt at revolt in the Summer. How does it estimate these strikes and the attempt at revolt?

„Economic boom”... „by the growth of its strike movement the proletariat showed the approach of a new social upsurge.” ... „The powerful April movement of the proletariat, with the demand for freedom of combination”,—that is all that the liquidators write in their platform regarding the strikes in April and May.

But this is not true! This is an outrageous distortion of the facts. There is lacking here the chief thing, namely the revolutionary character of the political strikes which aim not at winning a number of constitutional reforms, but at the overthrow of the government, i. e. the revolution.

PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

Proletarian Solidarity against Imperialist War Criminals.

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

In a few weeks, on June 12th, there will be celebrated the **Fourth International Solidarity Day**. The International Solidarity Day is not a matter of a special group or one single organisation, like the W.I.R., it is a day for all workers who have become conscious of the importance of international proletarian solidarity as a weapon in the proletarian class struggle.

Millions of workers, thousands of small peasants, toiling middle class people and artists have marched on the previous Solidarity Days, under the banners of the Workers International Relief and have demonstrated with the cadres of proletarian solidarity for the slogans of the proletarian class struggle.

This year's International Solidarity Day will have a special task and significance by reason of the conditions of world politics and especially of the Japanese robber war against China, the extreme danger of its being extended to the Soviet-Union, and in connection therewith, the looming danger of a new imperialist world war.

The most important and primordial lesson for each struggle and for each action is to concentrate all forces available at any moment on those sectors of the front which are the most decisive.

This most important and most decisive sector of the front of proletarian class struggle is actually the fight against the Japanese robber war in China and against the armaments, preparations and provocations for war which the imperialist robbery States are intensifying day by day against the Soviet-Union, which find their most striking expression in the bullets fired by the Polish assassin at v. Twardowski, the Counsellor to the German Embassy in Moscow, and in the shots fired by the white-guard bandit, Gorguloff at the President of the French Republic, Doumer.

The workers of all countries must help and fight to prevent the imperialist onslaught against the Soviet-Union. Not only because proletarian solidarity imposes this duty on them and because their enthusiastic love for the first workers and peasants republic drives them in this direction, but also because their fate, the fate of the international working-class, is closely bound up with the fate of the Soviet-Union.

The Soviet Union is the most powerful bulwark against the increasing chauvinist wave in the capitalist countries, which finds its expression in the growth of the national-socialist and fascist movement; and only in closest co-operation with the U.S.S.R. and in connection with the socialist construction of the Soviet Union will the international proletariat be able, to resist the chauvinist wave and to enhance the socialist movement in their own countries.

The decisive imperialist trusts and great bank-enterprises and their military general-staffs desire war against the Soviet-Union and for years have been systematically, tenaciously and extensively preparing for it on the diplomatic, political, economic, financial and military front.

The war danger for the Soviet Union is extremely serious, and was never before so immediate and menacing as at present. The elections in England and France and the development in Germany clearly reflect the increasing war enthusiasm also in petty bourgeois and peasant strata.

The II. International, with its former social-fascist ministers and those who are still to-day working in the governments of the capitalist countries, not only gives itself up to the war mood as in 1914, but moreover, constitutes itself a driving force to war, supporting by all means the imperialist war preparations. **The social-democrats of Japan have declared the robber war to be a "holy defensive war" and proclaimed its support to be a "socialist duty".**

In England and Germany, in France, Poland and Czechoslovakia the social-democratic party leaders are at the head of the warmongers and warmakers.

The only great and decisive force against war is the Soviet Union, armed for its defence, and the international working class allied with it. In no country is there a more important revolutionary duty than to reinforce and develop vigorously and passionately the fight against a new imperialist war. All other tasks of the proletarian movement should be subordinated to this duty.

It is of course important, and a duty of proletarian solidarity, to give to suffering working-class children, living in damp, unhealthy dwellings the possibility of passing some weeks of recreation in holiday and pioneer-camps in summer 1932. But what is more urgent and more important than this duty, is the organisation of the fight against the imperialist war. On this task the entire organisation of proletarian solidarity must concentrate all its forces. Also the organisation of children's camps will only be possible if new forces out of the great army of non-party workers and sympathizing intellectuals can be won over for this work.

There is no doubt that it is a highly important duty of proletarian solidarity to intensify efforts in the sphere of social welfare, but as the fight against war will need the forces of the existing functionary-cadres as well as the membership, the tasks of social welfare can only be fulfilled if we succeed in gaining new members and functionaries out of sympathizing circles or from the collective membership.

In all activities of the organisation of proletarian soli-

arity, for the W.I.R., as well as for all revolutionary mass-organisations, there is one primordial task: **to support the fight against the imperialist war.** It was a good proletarian action that some weeks ago the Czechoslovakian section of the W.I.R. carried through a broad campaign in order to draw the attention of the public to the dreadful conditions in Carpatho-Ukraine. This campaign was a success for the Czechoslovakian W.I.R.-section, and the government of the "democratic humanist" Masaryk took vengeance by dissolving and prohibiting the W.I.R. organisation, as well as all relief- und solidarity-committees set up afterwards. But just as important were the activities of the W.I.R. in Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the big miners struggle in Northern Bohemia, where our organisation immediately inaugurated a relief campaign for the striking miners, setting aside for the moment the aid for the starving in Carpatho-Ukraine.

The support of the politically extremely important miners strike in Bruex, in which more than 25,000 workers were involved, was the best and most direct help given by a W.I.R.-section for the fight against the imperialist war. The W.I.R. must aim to give its fullest support to the strikes which are being waged in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in France, England, the United States, and in all other countries where strikes break out, particularly those strikes which can hinder the imperialist war-preparations.

The most urgent task of proletarian solidarity and for the W.I.R. as one of the foremost organisations of proletarian solidarity, is at present the immediate and the most passionate support of any action and any movement directed against war preparations and imperialist warmongers.

Rightly recognising this central task of the W.I.R. and proletarian solidarity, the International Central Committee of the W.I.R. has decided to celebrate this year's International Solidarity Day as a day of **demonstration and fight against the imperialist war.**

The first appeal of the C.C. of the W.I.R. for this day correctly states:

"The Solidarity Day 1932 must become a powerful manifestation of the fighting will of all workers, intellectuals, of the working peasants, officials and middle strata. Millions must pledge themselves on that day to the firmest solidarity with the Soviet-Russian workers and peasants, and must form the revolutionary united front against capitalist exploitation, against the imperialist war-criminals."

The revolutionary organisations in all countries must give their efficient support to the W.I.R. in its preparations for this year's International Solidarity and Anti-War Day.

The International Solidarity Day of the W.I.R. on June 12th 1932 will be the first day on which at the same time millions of workers and peasants in all countries will demonstrate **against the division of China, for the Chinese workers and peasants, against the imperialist war-criminals and the Japanese robber-war, for the active defence of the Soviet Union!**

The International Solidarity Day will be at the same time an important prelude to the big **International Anti-War-Congress** to be convoked by a number of writers and intellectuals closely connected with the W.I.R., as **Maxim Gorki, Romain Rolland, Theodore Dreiser, Prof. Albert Einstein, John Dos Passos, Madame Sun Yat Sen, Henri Barbusse** etc.

This year's Solidarity Day will and must become a mighty demonstration of the toiling masses against war! Let us mobilise proletarian solidarity against the imperialist war-criminals and their agents and lackeys!

Strengthen International Solidarity against War und Intervention!

By Harry Pollitt (London).

"Workers of the World Unite" is the slogan on the banners of the proletariat of the whole world, but never was it so urgently necessary to put this slogan into practice as now.

In all the capitalist countries the fiercest offensive against the workers conditions, a steady driving down into the abyss of starvation. The workers fighting back through strikes,

demonstrations and mass actions, but the full force of the workers power disorganised through the policy of the reformist leadership of the labour movement.

In **China**, the Chinese workers and peasants fighting back against the bloody onslaughts of Japanese Imperialism in a manner that has aroused the admiration of the workers of the world, at the same time as they fight against wage cuts and attacks on their conditions, which are headed by the treacherous KuoMinTang Government. The events in Shanghai have opened out the war period of the economic crisis, as the Imperialist Powers feverishly gather their forces to effect the partition of China.

Against the Soviet Union the armed intervention has already begun by the occupation of Manchuria by Japan. This is followed by the gathering of the forces of the counter-revolution in all the border States, ready to strike against the Socialist Fatherland at the first favourable opportunity.

In this situation never was international solidarity so necessary and vital as now. The **Solidarity Day of June 12th**, organised by the Workers International Relief, must be the occasion for the massing of the whole forces of the workers in every capitalist country to raise high the banner of International Solidarity in the struggle against wage cuts, unemployment benefit cuts, reduced expenditure on essential social services, and above all against imperialist war and armed intervention.

A great day of world demonstrations on June 12th can be the answer to the imperialists who hope to use the workers in another bloody shambles such as took place in the last war. It can mark the beginning of a new-found solidarity and power that can assist the workers in their common strike struggles, that can assist our Chinese comrades in their titanic struggle to build up their fighting trade union organisations, and to relieve the acute distress caused by the Japanese in Shanghai.

It is the duty of all sincere workers in the working class movement, irrespective of the various organisations to which they belong, to get together now, to make in the factories, trade unions, and at the labour exchanges and in the streets, the call for the Solidarity Day of June 12th, the means through which the workers' scattered forces can be brought together in a common day of struggle and fight against every phase of the capitalist offensive but above all against war; that can build up more powerful sections of the W.I.R., so that this great international organisation of the workers can play a decisive part in the heavy struggles that lie ahead.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Agricultural Tax in the Soviet Union for 1932.

Moscow, May 7, 1932.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union and the Council of People's Commissars have adopted a decision on the agricultural tax for the year 1932 which aims at promoting the organisational-economic consolidation of the collective farms, the punctual carrying out of the production and provision plans, the improvement of cattle breeding, the development of the economic plants and of collective trade. In spite of the enormous increase in the income of the agricultural population from 13,200 million roubles in the year 1930 to 22,400 millions in the year 1932, the total amount of the agricultural tax for 1932 will not be higher than that for 1931.

The decision provides for a number of privileges for collective farm peasants and also for individual peasants which shall promote agriculture in the Soviet Union. Any increase in the acreage of farms as a result of new land being brought under cultivation is exempt from taxation. Privileges are also granted for the purpose of promoting cattle breeding. Every

kind of cattle on the collective farm is free of tax, including cattle which serve the personal requirements of the collective farms. Of the plants used in manufacturing processes, sugar beets are free of tax, as are also new sowings of hemp, flax, etc. which serve as the raw material basis for light industry. Poultry breeding and bee-keeping are exempted from taxes.

The new agricultural tax is to play a great role in developing collective economic trade. The decision states that, for the purpose of developing collective agricultural trade, the income of collective farms derived from the sale of agricultural products to shops and markets remains exempt from taxation.

Of great importance is the provision that all revenue from the agricultural taxes are to be paid over to the rural district and town Soviets, and that half of this revenue is to be employed in the budget of the village Soviet. Thus the whole revenue from agricultural taxes will be employed for the purpose of improving the standard of living and the cultural level of the working population of the village.

The decision provides an incentive to the collective farms to fulfil their production and delivery plans in good time by granting a 25 per cent tax rebate to those collective farms which fulfil their plans in the stipulated time and keep proper accounts.

The "Pravda" devotes a leading article to the decisions regarding the new agricultural tax, in which it emphasises the great political importance of this tax as "an important instrument for the organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms and as a powerful means for accelerating the pace of socialist transformation of agriculture".

"The nature of the financial policy of the proletarian State", the article continues, "differs fundamentally from the financial policy of the capitalist States, for with us it is before all a question of mobilising the means of the population for the satisfaction of the requirements of the toilers. The agricultural tax has nothing in common with the taxes levied in pre-revolutionary Russia or the taxes in the capitalist States. The victorious proletariat has shattered the State apparatus of power of Tsarist Russia; it has also done away with its taxation policy, as it was a policy of ruthless exploitation of millions of toilers, an instrument for strengthening the power of the capitalists and the big landowners.

In the capitalist countries the revolutionary agrarian movement, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, which is directed in particular against the steadily growing pressure of taxation imposed by the bourgeoisie, is becoming stronger as the bourgeoisie, in their endeavours to find a way out of the crisis, are throttling the toiling masses with taxes. In the capitalist countries the misery of the peasantry is increasing. The peasant revolts directed against the big landowners and capitalists, against the State apparatus of power, throw a vivid light on the class nature of capitalist taxation policy. With the capitalists the taxation system is one of the most powerful means for enslaving and exploiting the broadest masses of the toilers. With us, in the Soviet Union, taxation policy is an instrument for solving the immediate tasks of the Party and of the Soviet Power in the sphere of industrialisation and socialist transformation of agriculture. With us taxation policy is based on an enormous increase of the incomes of the population. It suffices to point out that in the year 1930 the cash income of the rural population amounted to 13,200 million roubles, in the year 1931 to 19,100 million roubles and in this year it amounts to 22,400 million roubles. In spite of this tremendous increase of income the agricultural tax is not increased this year compared with the previous year.

The "Pravda" then proceeds to deal with the most important point of the decision by pointing to the necessity of explaining to the masses the political essence of the new law. "By explaining the class content of the new law, by carrying out the consistent, unswerving policy of taxing the kulaks, and making clear to the working population the enormous importance of the new agricultural tax as an effective means of realising Party policy in the village, we must combat the Right opportunist attempts to hide the political content, the political essence of the new law, the attempts to represent this law as an ordinary financial measure. The new agricultural tax law is one of the most important measures for the socialist transformation of agriculture."

FIRST OF MAY

Million American Workers Demonstrate on May Day.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The May First demonstrations this year were probably the largest ever held in the United States. Over 400,000 workers paraded and demonstrated, while another 600,000 came out on the sidewalks and cheered the demonstrators. The parades and meetings revolved around the slogans of opposition to the imperialist war preparations, defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets, against capitalist starvation and terror, the lynching of the Scottsboro boys and the sentence of living death for Mooney, deportations, etc. In many cities the demonstrations were the largest ever held on May Day, in others the first since the war, and in some towns were the first ever held.

In **New York** there was the largest parade and demonstration on any May Day, despite heavy rains and a continuous drizzle. Some 60-70,000 workers and their families demonstrated, marching from Union Square to Rutgers Square, while another 75-100,000 lined the sidewalks in solidarity. The demonstrators carried banners, with such slogans as "Hands off the Soviet Union and China", "Free the Scottsboro Boys", "No Work, No Rent", "We Demand Unemployment Insurance", etc. Painted caricatures, floats and effigies were a feature of the parade, reminding one of this aspect of Soviet May Day celebrations.

The militancy and enthusiasm of the demonstration was attested even by the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, one of the most conservative papers in the city, which called it the biggest Communist turnout this city has seen... Gigantic assemblies were held... and a parade that took almost two hours to pass a given point...

The Socialists had their "celebration" on Saturday, April 30—with less than 6,000 meeting in Union Square, despite their leading speakers and frantic attempts to mobilise the members of their organisations.

In **Chicago** 50,000 demonstrated at the Court House, the largest number in the history of May Day in that city. Thirty-five thousand Negro and white workers paraded, carrying over 1,000 banners and signs, while 20,000 watched. At the head of the parade marched 1,000 ex-servicemen. Some of the floats carried represented an electric chair for the Scottsboro boys, a new model Ford car in the form of a coffin, a huge fist with the slogan: "Don't Starve, Fight for Unemployment Insurance."

Over 100,000 employed and unemployed workers demonstrated in **Detroit**, pouring into Grand Circus Park in protest against the Ford murders, hunger and terror, and the imperialist war preparations. All the police of the city were out, with machine guns and armoured motor cycles, and though unable to damp the enthusiasm of the marchers, prevented them from marching after the meeting to the graves of the victims of the Ford massacre. The route to the cemetery was lined with police cars equipped with radio and tear gas bombs.

In **Philadelphia** although the police threatened for days past to prevent the demonstrations and refused a permit, 25,000 marched. They were attacked by 200 police, and seventy were hurt, including 10 police, and taken to the hospital when the march to City Hall was broken up. 26 workers were arrested. The attack was the result of the struggle of the C.P. for some time past against the frame-ups and persecution of Negro workers. In **Pittsburgh** the police forbade the demonstration and attacked two bodies of marchers, breaking up the parade. Thousands demonstrated, however. At **McKeesport**, a steel and railroad town in the same district, a May Day demonstration was held for the first time. In **New Kensington** the demonstration was held despite a raid on the Party headquarters and the confiscation of Daily Workers and leaflets. In a number of other Pennsylvania steel and coal towns celebrations were held.

In **Boston** 10,000 workers on the Commons cheered the 300 state hunger march delegates. The meeting passed a resolution replying to Tom Mooney's telegram demanding the release of Edith Berkman (textile union organizer sick with

consumption and held for deportation to bloody Poland), by demanding his freedom also. **Cleveland** workers numbering 25,000 met in Public Square, the largest demonstration since 1919, and eight thousand marched through the Negro section. In **Buffalo** 3,500 marched, and 8,000 met at the central square, while 20,000 workers watched. In **Rochester** 5-6,000 paraded, and 10,000 demonstrated at Washington Square, the largest in the history of the city. In **St. Louis** the biggest May First demonstration was also held, over 5,000 participating, while red flags were carried for the first time. Fifty workers applied for membership in the Party; over two-thirds of the demonstrators were Negroes. The S.P. picnic and meeting was the first since 1917, and though their national secretary, Senior, was the speaker the meeting was a flop, only 200 appearing.

In **Youngstown**, the steel centre where some time ago a Y.C.L. demonstration was attacked in bloody fashion, 10,000 marched to the square while 25,000 lined the streets. A red flag was raised on the city pole and floated there for nearly an hour before the firemen could haul it down. Fifteen hundred Gary steel workers demonstrated and were attacked by 200 police. Twelve were arrested and 20 severely beaten. In **Indian Harbour** 10 were beaten and 7 arrested, and in **South Bend** the police and American Legion attacked 1,200 marchers, arresting 15 and beating them viciously in jail. A hundred **Houston** (Texas) police smashed the demonstration in that city, arresting a number of Y.C.L. members, Negro and white.

The Socialist administration in **Milwaukee** could mobilise only 1,000, while the C.P. had two demonstrations of 6,000 and an indoor meeting in the evening of 16,000, despite the threats of the Socialist mayor and police to stop the demonstrations. 100 applications for the Party were made out. Of some of the other meetings and parades we shall only mention the figures: **Minneapolis**—15,000 met (the largest number at any May Day meeting) and 5,000 paraded. In the entire **Minnesota** district 70 meetings were held. **Toledo**—5,000, **Canton**—7,500, **Ironwood**—4,000, etc.

The May Day Collisions in Bulgaria.

Sofia, 4th May 1932.

Despite martial law and terrorist police measures, May-Day demonstrations took place throughout Bulgaria. In many places fierce collisions took place between the demonstrating workers and peasants on the one hand and police and military on the other. In **Preslav** the police were unable to disperse the demonstration and the soldiers were called out. They fired into the ranks of the workers killing one and wounding many others. In **Toros** the police opened rifle fire onto a demonstration killing one worker and wounding others. The killed worker in **Toros** was comrade Yotoff who had recently served a term of imprisonment on a political charge. Military was then sent to **Toros** from **Pleven**. In **Batishniza** demonstrating peasants stormed the police station and released all the prisoners. The police fired and two peasants were seriously wounded. In **Sofia** a series of demonstrations and meetings were held and according to the police report over three hundred persons were arrested including the Workers Party Parliamentary deputies **Stoyeff** and **Boyadchieff**. The former deputy **Stoyanoff** was also arrested. The report issued by the official government agency to the effect that the attempts to demonstrate were everywhere a failure is a deliberate lie.

The First of May in Denmark.

Copenhagen, 5th May 1932.

On the 1st May the workers of **Copenhagen** collected at various points and marched to a mass meeting which was attended by ten thousand workers and addressed by representatives of the Communist Parties of Denmark and Sweden. The social democrats organised no May Day procession but a mass meeting was attended by about twenty thousand persons.

Revolutionary May Day demonstrations took place in many provincial towns and were well attended. The largest was in **Nakskov** where over two thousand workers were present.

In the International

Open Letter to the Indian Communists.

Dear Comrades,

The revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses for their national and social liberation has reached a turning point. The national bourgeoisie which has betrayed the revolutionary people are trying their best to preserve their influence over the toiling masses, in order to ward off the approaching Indian revolution.

From the efforts, the energetic and self-sacrificing struggle and the correct policy of the Indian Communists it depends to a great extent: Whether the treacherous bourgeoisie will maintain its influence for a long time and will successfully carry out its counter-revolutionary job, or whether the working class, headed by the Communist Party of India, having isolated the national reformists, will lead the toiling masses of town and village to a victorious struggle for independence, land and the workers' and peasants' power.

The objective conditions and the growth of the class consciousness of the Indian proletariat testifies to the fact that the latter course has every chance of fulfilment provided the Indian Communists overcome their lagging behind in the formation of a mass All-Indian Communist Party; provided they, on the basis of the platform of action published by them and the experience of the past years will energetically and jointly undertake the formation of the Communist Party and organise, not in words but in deeds, the struggle of workers and peasants.

1. The Correlation of Class Forces.

The Indian bourgeoisie which is trying to preserve its influence over the masses and which with the end of the Second Round Table Conference did not break off its negotiations with British Imperialism—is continuing its policy of counter-revolutionary compromise with British imperialism and betrayal of the revolutionary people. British imperialism, making us of counter-revolutionary national reformism, widely developed the policy of repression and provocation, the organising of the reactionary elements of the country, trying to drown in blood the rising masses of workers and peasants and simultaneously continuing to carry on negotiations with the Indian bourgeoisie. Full agreement between the Indian bourgeoisie and the British imperialists is being hindered at the present time by the rapidly developing revolutionary movement under the conditions of the deepening economic crisis.

Because of the sharpening of the economic crisis, the insignificant and temporary reduction of taxes in a few provinces has not in the last helped the position of the peasants. The burden of ruin, oppression and poverty which is preconditioned by the whole system of imperialist feudal-money-lending exploitation and is aggravated by the present decline of agricultural prices together with the actual increase in taxation and reaction is reaching an unprecedented height. In spite of the fact that the process of drawing the peasant masses into the struggle is proceeding **unevenly**, it has already assumed such a powerful character (guerilla warfare in Burma and Kashmir, struggles in U.P., etc.), that on the one hand it has compelled the National Congress (which was negotiating an agreement with the imperialists) to continue playing longer than it wished its sham opposition towards imperialism, in order to deceive the masses and disorganise the peasant struggle. And on the other hand it has forced the British imperialists to hasten in the use of barbarous forms of mass terror in order to break up the people's movement.

On January 7th, 1932, the "Bombay Chronicle" was compelled to admit that

"a noteworthy feature of the peasant movement in the United Provinces is the fact that the peasants are becoming their own leaders... that the peasant movement to an ever increasing extent takes place at the initiative of the peasants themselves, and that they have identified themselves with the Congress because they could not get assistance from other organisations".

The leaders of the National Congress, Gandhi, Nehru, and Co., are compelled to admit in a number of speeches the fact that the anti-imperialist movement and the agrarian struggle are beginning more and more to come together. The terrified bourgeoisie are now trying to disorganise the peasants' struggle and to hold back the peasant movement, so that it should be limited to a peaceful, submissive economic campaign for small reduction of taxes, postponement to pay the debts, etc. However, in spite of the efforts of the National Congress, the peasant movement is beginning to go beyond the limits marked out by the Congress and dissatisfaction of the peasantry with the policy of the Congress is beginning to spread more and more.

Dissatisfaction with the policy of the National Congress is likewise increasing among the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns (the increase of the wave of terrorist actions, increased interest of various elements in the terrorist movement towards working class movement and Marxism, speeches at student meetings in Calcutta, etc.) and is expressed to a still greater extent among the working masses.

The working class by its activities beginning from 1928 has roused the town petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry to the struggle against British imperialists and thus had a tremendous influence on the development of the people's movement in 1930-31.

The events of the last few months (the Bombay demonstration against Gandhi, the Sholapur strike, etc.) show that the process of drawing the Indian proletariat into the economic and political struggle, accompanied by its (proletariat) liberation from the influence of the National Congress, is growing, and in spite of the yet existing uneven character, is beginning more and more to assume an **all-Indian character**. All the facts show that in most cases, the workers themselves begin the strikes and that among the workers, not only in Bombay but also in other places, there is growing a strata of active workers, who are capable not only of becoming the cement and the leaders of a mass revolutionary trade union movement, but with energetic work carried on by the Communists, can become the mass basis of a strong, working class, illegal Indian Communist Party.

Some comrades are inclined to think that the working class movement entered a period of decline and depression as the result of the defeat of the Bombay strike in 1929. Such a point of view is entirely wrong. It is true that the defeat of the strike, (which took place as the result of the absence of a C.P. and neglect of the task of spreading the strike to Ahmedabad and Sholapur), the growth of unemployment in the first half of 1930, the terror of the employers and the police and particularly the insufficient work of the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement had undoubtedly a bad effect on the position of the G.K.U. But this does not at all justify the theory of decline, because it was exactly in the very years of 1930-31 that 1) there was a final split of the Communist groups from "Left" national reformism and for the first time there really commenced the formation of an illegal Communist Party; 2) the working masses took a most active part in all political activities, to the point to open fights against the police and the troops (Sholapur, etc.); 3) the backward sections of the proletariat of the country Bangalore, Cawnpore, Baroda, etc., who had been lagging behind, began to be drawn in the struggle; 4) there took place a number of independent political activities of the working masses and the working class by its methods of struggle put a specific imprint on the whole mass movement. The advanced sections of the proletariat commenced an open struggle against the National Congress. The historical demonstration of Bombay workers on the day of Gandhi's departure to London and the Sholapur demonstration of textile strikers are very remarkable instances of such a struggle against the influence of the National Congress.

The development of a spontaneous working class movement, the growth of the class-consciousness of the proletariat most definitely refutes the theory of reaction among the working masses, of a decline of their fighting spirit, of the low level

of class-consciousness of the Indian proletariat outside Bombay. Such theories merely show that some comrades have not got over their feelings of disbelief in the power of the working class, are not in contact with the workers outside Bombay, and confuse the question of the literacy of the workers with the level of their class-consciousness. These comrades have brought with them into the workers' movement the anti-proletarian bureaucratic organisational principles of the National Congress, division into leaders and masses, practical disbelief in the strength of the revolutionary rank and file, and therefore they cannot even explain the outbreak of spontaneous economic strikes and the tremendous participation of the working masses in the anti-imperialist movement. This shows that many Communists have not yet thought over the experience of the end of 1927 and 1928, when the Bombay textile workers very quickly kicked out the reformist group of Joshi, to the astonishment of the revolutionary leaders, and solidly came over to the platform of the "Red Flag".

It may be stated accurately that in India "The strength of the present movement lies in the awakening of the masses (chiefly the industrial proletariat), and its weakness lies in the insufficient consciousness and initiative of the revolutionary leaders." (Lenin.)

The general picture of the Communist movement is not satisfactory. On the one hand there is a tremendous development of the working class movement which is unprecedented in the past. On the other hand, the Communist Party as yet consists of a small number (though the number is increasing) of weak groups, often isolated from the masses, disconnected with each other, politically not united and in some places not clearly differentiated from national reformism, adopting a conciliatory policy towards it. Instead of a struggle for a united all-Indian Communist Party, we find socialism, provincialism, self-isolation from the masses, etc., which, though it could be understood to some extent in 1930, now represents the **main** danger to the revolutionary, proletarian movement.

The lagging behind of the Communist vanguard must be rapidly and most decisively overcome. This is the first and **the most important** task for all those honest Communist revolutionaries who stand by the platform of action of the C.P.I., and are faithful to the cause of the Indian and world proletariat.

2. Communists and the Struggle for Independence.

The biggest mistake made by Indian Communists consists of the fact that in reality they stood aside from the mass movement of the people against British imperialism. In spite of the fact that the documents of the Communist movement have spoken about this mistaken policy, no change has yet taken place and self-isolation from the struggle for independence still exists.

In June 1930 in one of the documents of the Bombay organisation it said:

"We came in Bombay to a position when we actually withdrew from the struggle and left its field entirely to the National Congress. We limited our role of a small group who set aside and issue once in a while... leaflets. The result was one which could have been expected, that in the minds of the workers there grew an opinion that we are doing nothing and that the Congress is the only organisation which is carrying on the fight against imperialism and therefore workers began to follow the lead of the Congress..."

"The result of the policy of actual withdrawal from the political struggle, lack of attempts to lead the masses, to organise them, to isolate the reformist elements proved to be harmful in regard to the growth of the C.P. itself."

The self-isolation of Communists from the anti-imperialist mass struggle as a movement alleged to be purely a Congress movement, has created confusion in the Communist movement. It helped to increase among Communists-intellectuals the disbelief in the strength of the proletariat and the growth of its class-consciousness. It has hindered the development of the process of differentiation in the revolutionary movement, has hindered the isolation of "Left" national-reformists from the working masses and objectively strengthened the positions of the bourgeois National Congress.

However, the whole history of the Indian working class movement proves that this is a most dangerous error. At the dawn of the Indian working class movement, Lenin, estimating the participation of the Bombay workers in the protest demonstration against the arrest of Tilok in 1908 wrote:

"In India also the proletariat has already reached the point of a conscious political struggle, and as this is the case, the days of the Anglo-Czarist order in India are numbered."

The movement of 1921-22 developing under the influence of the October revolution showed a further maturing of the proletariat. Even the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat such as Gandhi were compelled to admit (see "Young India") that the workers of Bombay, Ahmedabad and other towns came forward during this period as a most active force, thereby terribly frightening the bourgeois-national Congress. But the present period which is developing under the influence of the Chinese revolution and the successful construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. (the Bombay strikes, the boycott of the Simon and Whitley Commissions, the Meerut trial, the movement of 1930-31, the formation of the C.P., etc.), shows the gigantic extent of the working class movement, its further progress and its particular activity in the struggle for independence. The whole of the history of the working class movement decisively refutes those who do not believe in the strength of the proletariat and its ability to fight for the leadership of the people's movement.

The bourgeois **National Congress**, deeply hostile to the proletariat, distracting the workers and peasants from the struggle against the capitalists and landlords, has succeeded so far in maintaining influence over considerably broad masses of the workers. This can be explained mainly by the fact that bourgeois national reformism has cleverly made use of the hate of the working masses towards British imperialism, and using this has been forcing on them a policy of internal class peace covered by "radical" phrases on the "joint national struggle".

Thus the liberation of the proletariat from the influence of the treacherous bourgeoisie and conversion of the proletariat from an active political force into the **leading** force with the hegemony of the people's movement can be brought about at the present time by the exposure of the bourgeois National Congress and its "left" wing, Bose, Kandalkar, Roy, etc., as the betrayers of the struggle for independence and can be realised only if the Communist Party takes a most energetic part in the struggle for independence on the basis of an irreconcilable struggle against the national reformists.

This participation in the anti-imperialist movement is **closely** connected and interwoven with the energetic participation of Communists in the everyday struggle for the economic interests of the working masses, with the most energetic support, organisation and development of the peasant struggle, the agrarian revolution and the attraction to its own side of all revolutionary-democratic elements who are prepared to struggle against British imperialism.

The pre-requisite for a correct policy for Communists in the anti-imperialist movement is a definite sharp, clear and **uncompromising** struggle and exposure of the National Congress and especially the "Left" national-reformists, first of all its special variety—the group of Roy-Kandalkar.

However, while struggling against "left" national reformism, it is incorrect to separate ourselves from the mass movement of the people who appear to be under the leadership of the National Congress. A distinction must be made between the bourgeois Congress leadership and those sections of the workers, peasants and revolutionary elements of the town petty-bourgeoisie who not understanding the treacherous character of the National Congress followed it, correctly seeing in the domination of British imperialism the **basis** of their slavery.

The National Congress was able to preserve its leadership over the masses of town poor, workers, student youth, artisans, etc. (who on their own initiative participated in a number of armed struggles with the police force of British imperialism), not by its positive political programme which under vague "radical" promises conceals its bourgeois-feudal contents, but only on the basis of assurances of its loyalty to the independence movement, utilising the hatred of the people toward bloodthirsty robber imperialism and the still existing illusions of a "united national front".

In order to isolate the National Congress and all the "left" national reformists from the toiling masses, in order to help the separation of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution and to establish the hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle of the people, the Indian Communists must take the most energetic part in the anti-imperialist movement and must be in the forefront in **all** activities, demonstrations and clashes of the toiling masses with the imperialists, coming

forward as the organisers of the mass struggle, everywhere and at all times, exposing openly and by concrete examples the treachery of the bourgeois National Congress and its "left" wing. It is necessary to participate in all mass demonstrations organised by the Congress, coming forward with our own Communist slogans and agitation; support all the revolutionary student demonstrations, be at the forefront in the clashes with the police, protesting against all political arrests, etc., constantly criticising the Congress leaders, especially "left", and calling on the masses for higher forms of struggle, setting before the toiling masses ever more concrete and ever more revolutionary tasks.

The experience of the Girm Kamgar Union confirms the correctness of this analysis. The Kandalkar-Roy group was able to split the G.K.U., because paying lip service of their loyalty to the revolutionary struggle for independence they appealed to the workers to support the united national front and urged the workers to join the bourgeois National Congress, describing it as a people's organisation, helping it thus to disorganise the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses. It was only by use of "anti-imperialist" phraseology, utilising the hatred of the working masses towards the imperialists, that the national reformists were able to attract considerable sections of the workers to their side.

But if the existence of "united national front" illusions played its part in maintaining the influence of the National Congress the self-isolation of the Communists objectively assisted the reformists and retarded the process of the breaking away of the workers from the bourgeois National Congress. The treacherous Roy-V.N. Joshi-Kandalkar group tries to hide its counter-revolutionary essence and its affiliation to the National reformist camp by the old and well-known bourgeois method, charging the Communists with ultra-radicalism and sectarianism.

This charge of sectarianism is nothing else but accusation of the Communists for their Bolshevik irreconcilability to national reformism, for their revolutionary hatred of the imperialist and feudal system of exploitation, for their persistent and continuous preparation and mobilisation of the toiling masses for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialist rule.

The treacherous Roy-Kandalkar group in their appeal to the Trade Union Congress in Calcutta, in the leaflet issued in Bombay against Bradley and the Meerut prisoners, by their condemnation of the position of the revolutionary wing at the Nagpur Congress of trade unions, by the organisation of a reactionary bloc with the Joshi-Giri-Bokhale group, by their disruptive work on the railroads, by their struggle against the general strike, the platform of action of the C.P.I., etc., only proved once more that they are agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, that they are carrying on a policy of subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie, that they are hindering the differentiation and break of the toiling masses with national reformism and are disorganising the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants for independence, land and bread.

In phrases pledging their support to the Comintern, the Roy-Kandalkar-Joshi group in deeds are the worst enemies of the international revolutionary proletariat and the Indian anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is: the formation of an All-Indian Communist Party, the isolation of the national reformists and the development of the people's revolution under the leadership of the proletariat can only be achieved when the Communists determinedly liquidate their self-isolation from the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses. When as the vanguard of the masses, showing the way of revolutionary struggle, sharply and mercilessly exposing and struggling against the National Congress and its "Left" wing—the Communists will show in practice by their Communist activity that the C.P. is the leader of the toiling masses and is the only leader of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution.

From this point of view, the Communists must also sharply combat all ideas of those comrades who unconsciously come to self-isolation from the mass anti-imperialist struggle through their desire to preserve the cadres in order to gain the time for building the Party.

Such a line is harmful and shortsighted. The preservation of cadres, the guarantee of continuity and the formation of an illegal Party is an extremely necessary task. However, the fulfilment of it must be achieved not through self-isolation

from the anti-imperialist struggle, but only by the correct combination of illegal and legal methods of work and organisation and the most energetic drawing into our ranks and developing of new cadres from workers and trustworthy revolutionary youth.

3. The Struggle Against the National Congress and the Petty-Bourgeoisie.

The increase of the dissatisfaction of the broad masses with the policy of the National Congress (negotiations in London, etc.), directly connected with the deepening of the crisis, the offensive of imperialism and the further revolutionising of the toiling masses has compelled the leaders of the National Congress to follow the path of new "Left" manoeuvres in order to strengthen their influence. Very characteristic in this connection is the fact that the "Left" national reformists Bose, etc. have again raised the question of their readiness to create a separate organisation of "Lefts" and have begun to "criticise" the participation of the National Congress in the Round Table Conference, etc. (see his speech at the Conference of the Youth in Maharashtra). All this is done in order to fool the masses once more and organise if necessary a "safety valve" like the former League of Independence to give the outlet for the dissatisfaction of the masses. These manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie show the process of ferment and disappointment which is spreading among the toiling masses and confirms the correctness of the platform of action of the C.P.I. where it speaks of the necessity of the sharpest differentiation, criticism and exposure of "Left" national reformism, including its foremost detachment, the group of Roy, as the necessary pre-requisite for the mobilisation of the toiling masses for a revolutionary struggle and the creation of a mass C.P.

Struggling against the bourgeois National Congress, some comrades mistakenly identify the bourgeoisie with the petty-bourgeoisie, mechanically contrasting the "class" interests of the proletariat with the independence movement as a whole, while other Communists, fighting against this mistaken conception, forget about the bourgeoisie, forget about the instability, the waverings and hesitations of the petty-bourgeoisie, sometimes in practice join with or follow the latter, thus objectively subordinating the proletariat to the leadership of the national bourgeoisie.

For example, it was a mistake when the leaders of the trade union movement stated (see Bombay Chronicle) that the split in Calcutta is a matter for the workers, affects only the trade union movement, is connected only with the economic struggle and has no connection whatsoever with the "patriotic" feelings of the nationalists. The struggle inside the working class against the bourgeoisie for the majority of the working class is of decisive importance for the whole of the anti-imperialist movement. The split and issues raised in Calcutta are also an important stage in the anti-imperialist struggle and the differentiation of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. The organisation of an All-India centre of the trade union movement, based on the principles of the class struggle must serve, in spite of the mistakes made, not only for the class consolidation of the proletariat, but must also help in the mobilisation of the peasantry and the revolutionary strata of the petty-bourgeoisie around the proletariat and its Communist vanguard. To do this it is also necessary to distinguish between the revolutionary patriotism of the toiling masses suffering from national oppression and the treacherous counter-revolutionary pseudo "patriotism" of the bourgeoisie. We must learn to prove that that portion of the trade union Congress which followed Bose, Kandalkar, Roy and Co. had carried on and is carrying on a struggle against the "patriotism", against the anti-imperialist fight of the revolutionary people. Those who separate the class interests of the proletariat from the struggle for independence in practice drive the toiling masses and the revolutionary sections of the petty-bourgeoisie into the arms of the National Congress and the "Left" wing, strengthen the position of the bourgeoisie, instead of rallying the toiling masses around the Communist Party and fighting for the hegemony of the proletariat.

A mistake of an opposite character is the statement of some comrades that the anti-imperialist movement of 1930-31 can be described as a movement of the town petty-bourgeoisie. From the viewpoint of these comrades, the proletariat and peasantry as the basic forces of the Indian revolution disappear, and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie with its

still great influence over the masses is forgotten. The tactics of the Communists as a result are adapted to the town petty-bourgeoisie and hence criticism of the National Congress and the "Left" national reformists is toned down. Among the supporters of this view there arose at the end of 1930, under the influence of the waverings of the town petty-bourgeoisie, a theory of "reaction" in the working class movement (see "Railwayman" November 1930). This theory incorrectly explained the situation of 1930 and would be wrong for the present period. Is it correct as "Railwayman" states that the working class in 1930 came into motion under the influence of the dissatisfied petty-bourgeoisie and fell under its leadership?

It is not correct. In 1928-29 the proletariat by its strikes, by its struggle against the Simon and Whitley Commissions, by its revolutionary position at the Nagpur T.U. Congress, etc. aroused the petty-bourgeoisie to the anti-imperialist struggle. In 1930 the most active element in all mass actions in the towns (Bombay, Sholapur, Calcutta, Madras, etc.) was the working class. In many cases the advanced sections of the workers spontaneously took the initiative into their hands, drawing over the students and the city poor to their side (Calcutta, etc.). Therefore, to underestimate the growth of the revolutionary consciousness and activity of the working class, to claim that it was an appendage to the petty-bourgeoisie, means in reality to fail to see the process of development of the proletariat, to lag at the tail end of events, give up the idea of forming a mass Communist Party and blame the workers for their (some of the revolutionary leaders) own pessimism, shortsightedness and inability to organise the struggle of the working class. Depicting the petty-bourgeoisie as the leading force in 1930 and construing a theory of "reaction", the authors of the article made a mistake in the sense that they gloss over the question of the treachery of the national bourgeoisie which succeeded in 1930 in leading the petty-bourgeoisie and a considerable portion of those sections of workers and peasants who for the first time were drawn into the independence movement. By stating that the working class was following the petty-bourgeoisie, the authors of the article unconsciously help to conceal the bourgeois character of the National Congress, identify the petty-bourgeoisie with the bourgeoisie and in reality hinder the exposure of the national reformists—objectively helping to spread the harmful theory of the necessity of toning down criticism of the National Congress so as not to frighten away the masses who follow it.

That which the author of the article called "reaction" in reality meant that among the workers there was a growing discontent with the treacherous policy of the National Congress, that the illusions of the "united national front" had begun to disappear and a drift of the masses away from the National Congress had commenced. The absence of the C.P. hinders this process and makes it possible for the enemies of the working class to bring demoralisation into the ranks of the proletariat. It is from this point of view, without throwing the mistakes of the revolutionary leaders on to the workers, that we should attentively consider the counter-revolutionary speech of Ruikar and the resolution adopted by the Nagpur textile trade union in January 1932. Speaking of the growing disbelief of the workers in the leaders of the National Congress, Ruikar called on the workers not to support any political party whatever but to carry on **only** an economic struggle, and persuaded the Nagpur textile union to pass a resolution not to take any further part in the national movement and to restrict themselves merely to the trade union struggle. ("B.C." Jan. 14.)

These facts testify to the drifting away of the masses from the National Congress and of the treacherous work of the national reformists Kandalkar-Ruikar-Roy, once more confirm the harmfulness and the danger of the theory of "reaction" which is linked up with self-isolation from the anti-imperialist struggle and lack of faith in the working class. Self-isolation from the anti-imperialist struggle aids the work of all the agents of imperialism who are trying to take the workers away from the political struggle, to disorganise their ranks especially at this moment when millions of peasants are being drawn in, when dissatisfaction and disappointment with the National Congress is growing, when the class character and treachery of the National Congress in the struggle for independence and the interests of the peasantry becomes clearer.

In close connection with the mistakes exposed above we find the question of under-estimating the danger of "Left" national reformism and an insufficient struggle against it. In all the statements of the Communists (leaflet for the Karachi National Congress, etc.), the question of the "Lefts" and their special function and role **was not raised**. A struggle is carried on against persons but the "programme", manoeuvres and nature of "Left" national reformism is not exposed. Such a mistake was made also at the Trade Union Congress in Calcutta. But it is not accidental that the "Left" national reformists are hastening to put on the "socialist" armour and the renegade Roy swears devotion to the Comintern. The "Lefts" will come more and more to the forefront, especially the Roy group, whose particular task is to carry on disintegrating work among the proletarian **vanguard**. The position of the comrades who tried to secure unity with Kandalkar was entirely wrong because instead of raising questions of principle, the struggle against national reformism, they raised the question of persons, forgetting that the positions of groups and persons always reflect the interests of definite classes, and thus these comrades objectively have been helping the National Congress. The point of view of those comrades who think that criticism of the "Left" national reformists in the trade unions will lead to the isolation of the C.P. is wrong. On the contrary, if criticism is taken to the masses, the Communists will only strengthen their influence and win over the masses to their programme. We must catch the "Left" national reformists at their words we must expose before the masses their phrases appealing to the people **comparing them with their deeds**, showing that the first and smallest test was the fact that instead of fighting against the imperialists they went to the Round Table Conference, instead of helping the peasants they helped the imperialists to collect taxes and now they are disorganising the no-rent movement, instead of supporting the workers they sabotage the general strike, instead of a revolutionary struggle they preach counter-revolutionary non-violence and submission, instead of supporting the revolutionary workers they split the Trade Union Congress in Calcutta and made an agreement with the Joshi and Giri group, the open agents of the imperialists, etc. Therefore, we must consider as incorrect the fact that the proletarian revolutionaries, while struggling against the national reformists at the Calcutta T.U. Congress, did not come out simultaneously with a special declaration against the San-Gupta group, thereby hindering the differentiation and the struggle against national reformism. The struggle against national reformism and still more against its dangerous variety the Roy-Kandalkar-V.N. Josni group serves as a base and is connected with the overcoming of two incorrect points of view which have appeared in the process of the formation of the Communist movement. One of these consists of passive resistance to the extensive recruiting of revolutionary workers into the ranks of the Party. And the other consists of glossing over the **class character of the Communist Party**. It is wrong to propose to the revolutionary petty-bourgeois organisations to **fuse** with the Communist Party. An alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry is the **basis** of the strategy of the Indian C.P., but while fighting for the leadership of the anti-imperialist and the general peasant struggle, we must not forget for a minute about the separate organisation of the town and village proletariat and the formation of a completely **independent** class Party—the Communist Party. While fighting in alliance with the peasantry, the Indian proletariat must preserve its class independence; and this is the only guarantee, not only that it will be able to ensure its hegemony (if a Communist Party exists) in the general national movement, but that after the overthrow of the power of the imperialists it will be able to **draw with it** the majority of the oppressed peasantry in the struggle for socialism.

4. The Peasants and the Movement for Non-Payment of Taxes.

The tremendous growth of the peasant movement, taking on in some districts the character of guerilla warfare, the struggle in the United Provinces, etc. was the main cause which compelled the National Congress, concealing its actions by "Left" manoeuvres, to move more and more to the right, against the revolutionary people. The National Congress has in every way retarded the "no-rent and no taxes" movement for one and a half years, helped the British imperialists to collect taxes and debts from the peasants. And now, stating in words that it sympathises with the non-payment movement,

continues in reality to carry on disorganising counter-revolutionary work against it.

The present "no rent and no-tax" movement has a spontaneous character. The task of the Communists at the present time is: following the policy as outlined in the platform of action of the C.P.I. to start actually the organisation of a mass movement for the non-payment of taxes, rent and debts, drawing into this campaign all revolutionary democratic elements and giving it the anti-imperialist character of the struggle for independence. Only in this way, proving by concrete examples how the "radical" words of the National Congress differ from their disorganising actions, will it be possible to **isolate** the national reformists and develop a powerful peasant movement. Besides direct agitational and organisational work by the Party and the utilisation of the industrial workers connected with the villages, it is necessary to call on the revolutionary elements of the **rank and file** followers of the national Congress, the youth leagues, the peasant organisations, etc., to undertake the organisation of a country-wide movement for the non-payment of taxes and rent, in spite of the National Congress and over its head, organising **peasant committees**, self-defence groups and establishing contacts with the town workers.

It is not correct to counterpose the slogan of the general strike to the mass movement for non-payment of taxes and debts, civil disobedience and the boycott. While supporting this mass movement, the Communists must win the leadership of it, and exposing the treachery of the national Congress by concrete example develop and guide it into genuinely revolutionary channels.

5. The Slogan of the General Strike and the Struggle for the Majority of the Proletariat.

At the end of 1930 some revolutionists (see article of "Railwayman") took a negative attitude to the slogan of the general strike. These comrades explained their negative attitude claiming that the workers were not yet sufficiently class-conscious and that most of the trade unions opposed this slogan.

The basis for this position was an incorrect estimation of the general situation, lack of faith in the strength of the working class and confusion on the question of the tactical tasks of Communists.

The objective situation of 1930 and at the present time shows that the slogan of a general strike was and is timely, corresponds to the relationship of class forces and is one of the basic uniting slogans for the next stage of the struggle of the working class for hegemony in the people's movement.

The author of the article confused the question of the slogan of the general strike as a tactical line for Communists with the question of the **date** for calling the strike, which depends on a number of concrete factors. We must not, under the excuse of disagreement with the selection of a date for the strike, carry on a struggle against the tactical line of the revolutionary proletariat. "To consider the mood of the workers is important when to choose the moment of action but not for deciding the tactical line of action of the working class". (Lenin.)

It is also incorrect to consider the slogan of a general strike according to the attitude of the trade union leaders. The majority of the Indian trade unions are bureaucratic not mass organisations, acting against the interests of the working masses, **without contact with them**. At the present time the strength of these reformist trade unions is the result of the weak activity of the proletarian revolutionaries, of disorganisation of the workers' ranks and the fact that the national reformists utilise the anti-imperialist sentiment of the working class. It is useful to recollect the experience of Bombay in 1928 and the rapid breaking up of the textile "Union" of Joshi and Co.

When considering the slogan of the general strike we must not mistake the attitude of the reformist leaders for the real sentiments of the working class. This is a gross mistake.

In order to break down the disorganising influence and work of the reformists, it was necessary not to withdraw the slogan of the general strike, but on the contrary transfer the struggle for it to the **rank and file**, to the masses, exposing the reformists and **organising** the workers.

The events of the last few months (the increase of strikes, the growing demand of the railwaymen to call a railway strike, the growth of unemployment and poverty, resistance to

the terror of the imperialists, etc.) show that support for the slogan of the general strike is **increasing**. The task of Communists is to come forward not in words but in deeds as **initiators** of the struggle of the workers. To start to organise strike committees composed of rank and file workers and using the assistance of **all** revolutionary democratic organisations, youth leagues, rank and file revolutionaries at present deceived by the National Congress and thus mobilising **all** forces over the head of the reformist trade union leaders, develop the strike movement, especially on the railways, and by means of them, linking them up with political demands, lead the masses to the general political strike. We greet with joy the fact that Indian workers, as it is stated in the "Railway Mazdoor" are beginning to carry out this task. The general strike is of historic importance for the development of the revolutionary movement and the conversion of the proletariat into the leading force, mobilising the peasants and the city poor around it. It will deliver the first powerful blow at the power of the imperialists—bringing the revolutionary people right up to the highest form of struggle, the revolutionary uprising.

The development of the strike movement places before the Communists the task of forming mass trade unions, factory committees, and the necessity to combine the battles for the everyday interests with the political struggle. The revolutionary T.U. movement has had a number of individual successes, the strike at Sholapur and Bombay, the calling of a conference of textile workers with the participation of 400 delegates from 60 factories, the strengthening of its position among the railwaymen, the growth of the workers' press, etc.

However, the weakness of the G.K.U., the loss of the leadership of the strike at the "Madhowji Dbaramsi" factory, the loss of the leadership in the tramway union, etc. also show that the Communists disdain the everyday work in the factories and trade unions, do not build up groups of active workers, do not form Communist fractions, do not carry on sufficient everyday organisational and agitational work. It is **only** by leading and defending the interests of the workers in large and small struggles **constantly and every day**, in attack and defence, that the Communist Party can win the unbreakable **confidence** of the working class and lead it to the decisive battle against the exploiting classes.

It is time to get rid of the traditions of the past in the trade unions, the traditions of bureaucratic methods of work from above, the division into leaders and rank and file, and to start to form mass trade unions with **elected** management committees, consisting of workers from the bench, regularly functioning and **in contact** with the working masses, boldly promoting workers, supporting them and in every way developing their initiative and self-reliance.

We must carry on energetic work among the workers who are following the reformist trade unions. It is a great mistake to continue the practice of self-isolation from workers' meetings and the mass trade unions which are under the influence of the reformists. Communists must **always** take part in them and carry on work among the workers, urging them to join the united fighting front of the proletariat.

During strikes and other economic and political actions of the workers, it is necessary to propose to the workers who followed the reformists to help the general struggle, take part in the rank and file unity committees, defend the workers' demands, etc. and thus not in words **but in deeds** fight for the unity of the workers, exposing at the same time the reformists.

At the same time it is necessary to change the passive attitude of Communists to the question of the **All-Indian** trade union movement and repudiate the special theory that "the trade union Congress is not something living and concrete for the workers". In this, as in the other questions, there is shown lack of faith in the working class and local tasks are **counterposed** to all-Indian tasks, the G.K.U. is counterposed to the trade union Congress.

Such counterposing is very harmful. While developing a hundred times more our activity for strengthening the G.K.U. and converting it into an All-Indian textile union (including Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, etc.), it is necessary completely to do away with a negative attitude towards the All-Indian trade union movement and begin to form mass trade unions all over the country in the coal, steel and jute industry, the plantations and the railroads, **attracting** to our side the workers of the reformist trade unions.

After the split of the Calcutta trade union congress, the revolutionary wing did **nothing** to form a mass trade union

movement while the national reformists are carrying on a "unity" campaign (i.e. disorganisation of the revolutionary proletariat), organised a number of All-Indian campaigns ("Labour Day", etc.), formed a textile federation, seized the initiative on the railroads, formed provincial trade union councils, etc.

Even now the revolutionary trade union movement is in a position to send a number of groups of active workers to various centres in the country so as to start work among the rank and file workers. Only by boldly **promoting** workers and revolutionary tested Communist intellectuals into the leadership, starting real work and abandoning a number of mistakes explained above—only in this way the Communists will be able to start the organisation of the proletariat and develop the struggle for the hegemony of the working class in the people's movement.

6. The Struggle for an All-Indian Party.

The biggest gain of the proletarian movement, the greatest move forward is the fact that the advanced workers and revolutionaries have entirely separated from the National Congress and commenced to form an illegal Communist Party. The idea of an illegal C.P. has **already** been adopted and is beginning to be carried out.

However, the development of the Indian Communist movement is being blocked by the state of discord, separate existence of the Party groups and connected with it a number of mistakes enumerated above, without overcoming of which the movement cannot develop further normally.

If the period of isolated circles might have been considered to be inevitable in 1930 and at the beginning of 1931, at the present time such a position must be considered as **extremely** harmful and dangerous to the further development of the Communist movement.

The movement has now reached such a stage of development when it is **absolutely necessary** to raise resolutely and firmly the standard of struggle for an All-Indian Communist Party, for uniting and welding together all the Communist groups, for the organisation and ideological **unity** of the Communist ranks, utilising and developing at the same time the initiative from below to form and develop new local groups and organisations.

Hence it must be recognised that the Party organisation has not carried on a correct line, and instead of a struggle for the Party it has in reality taken the line of provincialism. Instead of helping the local groups, it has taken up the position of self-limitation and reducing the whole Party merely to a local organisation not linked up with other local organisations. Instead of rousing and organising the **ideological** struggle for the Party, widely explaining and discussing all the questions of principle of the movement (for which purpose it is necessary in the **shortest possible time** to create an illegal printed organ of the Central Committee and legal newspapers), the Party organisation was not even able to continue the publication of the legal Marxist paper of an all-Indian importance. The absence of such illegal and legal papers (and its substitution by the trade union press does not save the position) not only drove all disagreements deep inside, hindering the working out of a united Party line, but it played a tremendous negative role in the formation of the Communist Party, strengthening of contacts between the various districts, development of the class struggle against the imperialists and the bourgeoisie, and winning of the workers and the revolutionary youth to the side of the Communist Party. Revolutionary newspapers are appearing everywhere in the country (in Calcutta, Madras, Punjab, etc.), trying to preach Marxism and defend the proletarian point of view. However, the absence of an illegal (and a legal) Party press makes it exceedingly **difficult** to influence them, to struggle against confusion, discord and gross mistakes, **hinders** the working out of a united Communist line and the establishment of unity of views and methods of struggle. It is necessary to understand firmly the teachings of Lenin on the role of a central Party paper as an agitator and **organiser** of the masses and the Party. This is particularly important for the **present** period of the Indian Communist movement.

Among the circles developed a psychology of provincialism and refusal to struggle on an **All-Indian** scale. On all questions which were of All-Indian importance (the All-Indian Trade Union Movement, the general strike on the railroads, the

peasant struggle, the movement for the non-payment of rent and taxes, the Round Table Conference, the jute strike, etc.), the Communist groups proved unable to rise in their approach above the provincial horizon. They did not see the general tasks and the All-Indian scale of the struggle, which in its turn led them to narrow down their tasks on the spot in their provinces. In practice they completely cleared the All-Indian arena for the national reformists, who took the initiative in the organisation (i.e., in reality disorganisation) of the railroad movement, the textile federation, the united front campaign, the work among the miners and metal workers of Jamshepur, etc. Abandonment of the All-Indian arena, **self-isolation**, for instance, inability of revolutionary leaders of the Bombay workers to give assistance to the jute strike in Calcutta, etc., in practice leads to the strengthening of the influence of the bourgeoisie, hinders the formation of the C.P., prevents the winning by the working class of the hegemony in the struggle of the people, leads to the **loss of initiative** in all questions whatsoever in the struggle for the trade union congress, preparations for the railway strike, etc.

Provincialism and discord is also shown in the fact that the G.K.U. alone is made to take the place of the All-Indian trade union movement. In practice this leads to the fact that the Communist groups **voluntarily** leave the All-Indian arena and objectively play into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

The existence of the Party as a number of isolated groups brings about complaints that there are no forces, no comrades available, that it is impossible to cope with the great tasks facing the revolutionary movement. Hence we often find passivity, despondency, mutual disputes, deviations of all kinds, sectarianism and an opportunist attitude to national reformism, on the basis of which the possibility of splits not on a principle basis becomes very easy. However, this complaint about the absence of forces is contradicted by thousands of facts of every day life which show that among the workers and the revolutionary youth there are thousands of active fighters sympathetic to the C. P.

It is necessary to come out decisively for an All-Indian C. P. While increasing in every way, hundreds of times, local work (especially in Calcutta, etc.) it is necessary at the same time somewhat to move the centre of gravity of Party work to the All-Indian activity and begin to build the Party, carry in on the struggle for a common political line, creating a net of local Party organisations, developing the sense of responsibility, Party feeling and discipline, encouraging local initiative and courageously drawing into our ranks workers and those revolutionary intellectuals who are true to the working class cause. Such a change will not weaken but on the contrary will make stronger and more stable the local activity, contacts and agitation. It is necessary to build and extend Party organisations everywhere, encouraging local initiative. The strength of the Communist Party is determined by the degree of its contact with the broad masses, above all with the proletariat. The only correct form of organisation able to secure this contact and the fighting ability of the Party is the system of **factory** nuclei. Particularly in India, under conditions of terror and comparatively high concentration of the proletariat, the formation of factory nuclei is an **absolutely** essential, obligatory and highly important task of the Party. It is necessary to get in touch with and draw in all active industrial workers, because that is the chief guarantee of successful building of an illegal Communist Party, able to withstand the terror and lead the struggle of the working class. It is essential to arrange at the same time, propagandist circles, short courses, etc. in order to develop and teach the active workers the elemental essentials of Marxism, helping them in every way to be drawn into active Party work as organisers and leaders of working class struggles and Party organisations. The Communist groups were also unable to properly combine legal and illegal forms of work. In some districts, following the correct position of the platform of action of the C.P.I. that under present conditions the C.P.I. can exist **only** as an illegal Party, the Communists have not been able to ensure the formation and normal existence of illegal organisations and leading organs.

It must be thoroughly realised (and this will determine how seriously and consistently the Communists stand by the illegal Party and the revolutionary struggle) that the leading organs of the Party and the kernel of the Party organisations must be in an **illegal position** and that mixing the conspirative

and open apparatus of the Party organisation is fatal for the Party and plays into the hands of the Government provocation. While developing the illegal organisation in every way, measures must be taken for preserving and strengthening the conspirative kernel of the Party organisation. For the purpose of all kinds of open activity (in the press, meetings, leagues, trade unions, etc.), special groups and commissions, etc. should be formed which, working under the leadership of Party committees, should under no circumstance injure the existence of illegal nuclei.

To sum up: the slogan of an All-Indian illegal, centralised Communist Party, ideologically and organisationally united, a true section of the Comintern, fighting for the platform of action of the C.P.I. and the programme of the Communist International must become the **central slogan** for gathering and forming the Party and for the struggle against waverings, against a tendency of keeping to isolated circles, against toning down the struggle against national reformism and opportunist sectarianism, all of which hinder the victory of the working class.

Conclusion.

The international situation is becoming more and more acute. Japanese imperialism is carrying on war in China and together with a number of imperialist States is preparing its division and complete subjugation. It meets the resistance of U.S.A., which is striving to strengthen and widen its imperialist position in China by way of reducing the share of the other imperialist robbers and increased exploitation of the Chinese masses. The military offensive, the war of the imperialist States against the U.S.S.R., the first working class republic, which has the sympathy of the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed colonial masses of the world—is **fast approaching**. British imperialism is once more trying to utilise India, as in the world war, to supply reinforcements for its army, to use its raw materials and to make it into a strategic basis for the war against the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary peoples of the East. The Indian bourgeoisie is **once more** betraying and selling the revolutionary people for a mess of pottage.

In the approaching deadly struggle between world imperialism and the proletarian State—the role of the Indian Communists is enormous. The Indian anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution can deliver a death blow at British imperialism and thus hasten the complete destruction of capitalism throughout the world and guarantee the victory of the world revolution. The C.P. of India occupies a responsible sector of the world revolution. And for this struggle the Indian Communists must prepare in a truly Bolshevik manner.

At the present time, the tasks are exceptionally difficult. But for the Indian Communists there is no other revolutionary way to solve these tasks, except the Bolshevik way and that is: With the maximum of energy, tenacity and consistency, following the Marxian-Leninist theory and practice, to undertake, in spite of any difficulties, individual failures and defeats, the fulfilment of these tasks and the most important of them—the creation of a true Communist Party.

There can be no greater crime than if the Indian Communists (having their platform of action of the C.P.I. and if they agree with the present letter) **instead** of struggle for great historical aims of the Indian and world proletariat, will follow the path of unprincipled factional struggle, fractions and personal groupings. Unprincipled factional struggle will play **into the hands** of the British imperialists. True Communist groups must put the interests of the proletariat above everything else, direct all their efforts towards the rapid formation of the Communist Party, settling all disputed questions within the framework of the Communist International and if necessary with its assistance.

The Communists of the whole world do not doubt that, in spite of their present weakness, inexperience and certain isolation, the Indian Communists will show sufficient Bolshevik firmness, courage and decisiveness to come out on the broad All-Indian arena of struggle for the Party—the leader and organiser of the Indian revolution.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

On Murphy's Expulsion from the C. P. of Great Britain.

London, 10th May 1932.

The "Daily Worker" published in its today's number the answer of the Politbureau to Murphy's false article in "Communist Review".

The April issue of the "Communist Review" contained an editorial on the Second Five-Year Plan, by J. T. Murphy, which drew conclusions absolutely opposed to the policy of the Communist Party and the line of revolutionary working-class struggle against imperialist war.

The relevant passages from the article are as follows:—

"It is not enough to shout 'Defend the Soviet Union', 'Stop the transport of munitions'. We must do more. We must also advance the demand for credits to the Soviet Union.

"We must fight to work on the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction . . . The more the daily life of the working-class of the country becomes integrated with the industrialisation of the Soviet Union even through bourgeois channels, the more difficult it will be for the British Government to sever relations . . .

"But bind the struggle for bread and for work close to the fate of the Soviet Union, the country of Socialism in construction, until the working-class of this country feels and realises more and more that its fate and the fate of the Soviet Union are inseparable.

"This is fighting against the war. This is waging the class war as certainly and as decisively as the waging of a strike."

These passages show that J. T. Murphy is advancing the theory that the capitalist and Socialist systems can be "integrated" one with the other, and that it is the task of the working-class to hasten this process in order to avert war.

This view is put forward at the very moment when the entire capitalist world is preparing for armed intervention, and when an immediate attack is threatened on the Soviet-Manchurian frontier.

J. T. Murphy's childish argument that international trading relations reduce the danger of war is nothing but vulgar capitalist propaganda which is regularly churned out in the columns of the capitalist Press in order to disarm the workers and to prevent them from fighting against the warmongers.

The imperialist war from 1914-18 between the imperialist Powers who had the greatest trade connections is the shattering proof that Murphy's theory is absolutely false.

Far from being an integration there is a decisive sharpening of the struggle between the two world systems, the menacing danger of war with the Soviet Union, arises precisely because the capitalists, having failed to vanquish Socialism by means of economic competition, are now resorting to the weapon of armed intervention, for which they have prepared during the whole period of trading relations.

The present world situation is marked by the growing independence of the Soviet Union from capitalist world economy, the world economic crisis of capitalism stands in vivid contrast to the triumphs of Socialist economy.

The Five-Year Plan, based on the common ownership of the means of production by the working-class, cannot be reconciled with private ownership and anarchic decaying capitalism.

J. T. Murphy's theories are in complete opposition to the line of the E.C. of the Communist International, which at its eleventh Plenum sharply brought out the unbridgeable antagonisms of the two social systems:—

"The more successful the U.S.S.R. is in laying the foundation of Socialist economics, and in overcoming these difficulties of growth within the country, the more fiercely is the bourgeoisie determined to create more difficulties for the U.S.S.R. on the international arena.

"But the U.S.S.R. is beating the capitalist world and will inflict more serious blows on it as Socialist construction develops. . . . The existence of the U.S.S.R. is the source of the desintegration of capitalism."—(Manuilsky's speech—11th Plenum, page 19-20.)

Murphy has left the line of the Communist International and moved towards the camp of the counter-revolutionary

Trotskyists, who have always denied the possibility of building up Socialism in one country and continue to assert that the Soviet Union is an integral part of capitalist world economy.

The revolutionary workers will readily understand that the conflict between J. T. Murphy and the Communist Party is not on an abstract issue, but concerns the central question now confronting the working-class—the line of mass struggle against imperialist war.

The practical effect of Murphy's false theory is to sabotage the fight against imperialist war at the very moment when it is necessary to rouse every worker as never before.

No worker who accepts the false theory that the daily life of the British worker can be integrated with the industrialisation of the Soviet Union, through the medium of trading relations, will see the necessity of fighting against the war plans of the imperialists.

No one who is deceived by the capitalist lie, that international trading relations and the capitalist struggle for markets leads to peace will understand that the war phase of the world economic crisis has begun.

Murphy wants the Communist Party to abandon the policy of mass struggle against the capitalist warmongers and to make the question of fighting war into making proposals to the capitalists on how they should utilise their financial resources. To raise the demand for credits, he says, "is fighting against war," "is waging the class war as certainly and as decisively as the waging of a strike."

This is nothing but ridicule of the strike weapon and an impudent attack on the militant workers who are struggling to repeat the great successes of the Jolly George in 1920 under circumstances of tremendous difficulty.

If this statement is allowed to pass without emphatic condemnation the greatest practical aim of the Party in the present stage of the anti-war fight—the organisation of strike action against the making and transport of munitions for the war in the Far East — would be undermined and sabotaged.

The attack on the trading relations must be met with mass protests and exposure of the aims of the capitalists and declarations of solidarity with the Soviet workers and peasants.

But every worker should, above all, understand that the attack must be the signal to strengthen the mass fight against the warmongers in every sphere, especially against the anti-Soviet war front in the Far East.

To put forward the demand for trading relations as an alternative or supplementary form of fight against armed intervention means to completely disguise the whole character of the life and death struggle now going on between the two world systems.

Murphy not only does this. He goes even so far as to claim that the execution of Soviet orders in Britain means that British workers are working on the Five-Year Plan!

According to Murphy British engineers working under capitalist slave conditions, intensely speeded-up, paid low wages, and without a vestige of control in the industry, are being "integrated with Socialism in the Soviet Union"!

This argument might be advanced by a capitalist anxious to persuade the workers to submit to his attacks, but it would never enter the head of a revolutionary worker.

The fight for Socialism in Britain is a fight against the British capitalists, who are exploiting the workers. Murphy's line means the sabotage of that fight.

J. T. Murphy has point blank refused to recognise the obvious anti-working-class character of his article. Although given every opportunity to discuss the question in the Political Bureau and Secretariat and invited openly to recognise his mistake, he replied by manoeuvres, qualifications and attempts to justify his anti-working-class views.

The Political Bureau therefore decides openly to condemn the standpoint of J. T. Murphy before the Party and the working-class and to carry on a campaign of enlightenment in the Party Press.

The Political Bureau declares that the present acute war situation demands the utmost strengthening of the theoretical work of the Party and that every mistaken formulation or theory must be immediately corrected.

Otherwise it will not be found possible to improve our practical work, to destroy the influence of bourgeois ideology and to advance towards the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

Political Bureau, C.P.G.B.

The Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P. U.S.A., held in New York from April 16th to 19th, set as the foremost task of the Party the struggle against the imperialist war now being organised against the Soviet Union. In a resolution on the execution of the main decisions of the Plenum it is stated:

"Recognising the imperative necessity, in view of the danger of the Party soon being compelled to work under war conditions, to quickly overcome the present isolation of the Party from the decisive sections of the workers and to sink its roots firmly into the basic and war industries, as demanded by the main resolution of the Plenum, the Polburo is instructed immediately and energetically to carry through the following measures."

The measures enumerated were steps for mobilising the entire membership for a decisive turn to mass work, by a campaign of enlightenment in the press on the Plenum and E.C.C.I. resolutions and by organising broad district meetings of "actives". The organisational measures further include the establishment of effective collective leadership in the central and district apparatuses of the Party and of all auxiliaries. With the reduction to a minimum of the number of functionaries, those released will be sent to concentration districts as section instructors. In these districts specific sections, and in the latter certain factories and nuclei will be selected for concentration by the district committee. Forces will be assigned and trained for work in the revolutionary unions to be concentrated upon, especially those in the mining, metal, marine, and textile industries. Re the Daily Worker a member of the Polburo was made editor, with personal responsibility for making the change to mass work.

The resolution on the tasks of the Party, while stating that it had made some improvement in its work in strikes, hunger marches and Negro work (it also gained 5,000 new members in the recent recruiting drive, holding 3,500 of them) stressed the fact that it had not taken sufficient advantage of the extremely favourable objective conditions for mobilising the masses against the offensive of the capitalists and their preparations for war.

Its work "remains fundamentally in the same groove." This refers to backwardness in factory work and in building up the lower Party units, weakness in the struggle for unemployment and social insurance, the weak condition of the left wing unions, the failure to carry out the scheduled concentration on four important industrial districts (Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburgh), the considerable drop in the circulation of the Daily Worker (from 50,000 last year to 35,000 now), and a 100 per cent fluctuation in Party membership. The resolution recorded the continued isolation of the Party from the masses of workers, especially working women.

The chief obstacles have been strong sectarian tendencies and bureaucratic methods of work. Right opportunism has been evidenced in a number of instances, and far too much of the work of the nuclei has been carried on at inner meetings, and by a few comrades instead of by all members and among the masses.

This long resolution in the Daily Worker is self-criticism of the sharpest type. Such consistently thorough probing into the weaknesses of the Party's work and measures for their correction has never before been made by the American Party nor published in its organ. The intensification of the world crisis, and particularly the extreme sharpening of the danger of war against the Soviet Union make such a healthy critical examination necessary.

A complete analysis of the preparations for the coming election campaign was made at the Plenum. The main slogans which will be put forward are the following: 1) Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the State and employers; 2) against Hoover's wage-cutting policy; 3) emergency relief for the poor farmers without restriction by the government and banks; exemption of the poor farmers from taxes and from forced collection of rents or debts; 4) equal rights for the Negroes, and self-determination for the Black Belt; 5) against capitalist terror; against all

forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers; 6) against imperialist war; for the defence of the Chinese people and of the U.S.S.R.

Comrades **William Z. Foster** and **James W. Ford**, an Alabama Negro and leading trade unionist, were proposed by the Plenum to the coming nominating convention as Party candidates in the presidential elections. The election programme was drafted and published for discussion by the membership and readers of the Party press.

All decisions were accepted unanimously. Reports were made on behalf of the Polburo by Comrade **W. W. Weinstone**, on the capitalist offensive against the workers and the preparations for imperialist war, by Comrade **E. Browder**, on the Party's tasks in the present situation, by Comrade **W. Z. Foster**, and on the election campaign, by C. Hathaway. The secretary of the Canadian C.P. and a delegation participated in the work of the Plenum. A special conference on mass distribution of Communist literature was held, among other conferences.

How to Regulate Growth in the C.I. Sections.

By O. A.

The E.C.C.I. has sent to the C.C.s of the Communist parties a special letter on recruitment of factory workers for the Party, and on struggle against fluctuation. This letter must be brought to the notice of all Party organisations, not only for them to peruse it, but also in order to reorganise in a practical manner and alter the present methods of work with regard to drawing new members into the Party.

On the basis of the revolutionary upsurge the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are rapidly growing. To the fore are the Communist Parties of countries which are the weakest links in the capitalist system, and where conditions are ripe for a revolutionary crisis—Germany and Poland. The stupendous growth of the German Communist Party, the substantial successes of the Communist Party of Poland, despite illegal conditions, the political and, simultaneously, the numerical growth of even small Parties, such as the British, the Austrian, etc.—all this indicates that the power of attraction of the Communist vanguard of the Proletariat is growing. Though with gnashing of teeth, the class enemy and his social democratic agency are compelled to admit this fact. However, as shown by the figures on the growth of the Communist Parties, this growth lacks direction, it follows the line of least resistance, as a result of which, despite the growing sympathy of the workers for the Communist Parties, their numerical growth is accompanied by a reduction of the percentage of factory workers in their ranks, and is not accompanied by the consolidation of the organisational base of the Communist Parties in the factories.

The ruling classes keep a watchful eye on the factories, especially the large plants, that play a decisive role in the capitalist economic system, in order to keep away the workers of these factories from Communist influence. The Communist Parties find it difficult to work in the factories, owing to police and employers terrorism which is raging there. And yet, without factories, the Communist Parties cannot do justice to the revolutionary political tasks connected with the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat. That is why the Communist Parties cannot rest content with the numerical growth, if it does not bring with it the consolidation of the base of the Parties in large enterprises. Therefore, one of the most important organisational tasks confronting all the Communist Parties—especially important from the political point of view—is regulating the further growth of the Parties by concentrating their activity on drawing into their ranks factory workers, first and foremost, those employed in large factories. This does not mean that the Communist Parties must in some way or other artificially impede the influx of unemployed workers into the Party. Advanced unemployed workers must be received into the Party, just as the advanced workers of the factories, but it is particularly important for the Communist Parties to grow by improving and strengthening considerably their work in the factories. Connected with the regulation of the growth of the Party are also other tasks. Some Party members have no clear notion of the policy of the Communist Party in regard to admitting non-proletarian elements into its ranks. In the Party press one comes across appeals addressed to all workers, without making any difference between hand and brain workers, to

join the ranks of the Communist Party in masses. Such notions which make it appear that the policy of the Communist Parties is the same with regard to admitting non-proletarian elements into their ranks as with regard to admitting industrial workers, are decidedly erroneous politically. The Communist Party is the Party of the proletariat, its vanguard, and its composition must fully correspond with this character and role of the Communist Party. But shutting the doors of the Communist Party to advanced representatives of circles of toilers akin to the working class, is of course a thing not to be thought of. It would be, for instance, wrong for the Communist Parties to refuse to admit into its ranks employees or intellectuals in sympathy with the working class. It goes without saying that the Communist Parties are interested in strengthening their hitherto very weak positions in the rural districts by drawing into their ranks proletarian elements, especially farm labourers, as well as the best among the poor peasants, but it is essential to admit to the ranks of the Communist Parties only truly advanced, revolutionary representatives of circles of workers akin to the working class, not road-companions, but people fully prepared to fight for the proletarian cause on the basis of the Communist Parties and of the Comintern.

At the same time one must always bear in mind that the main task consists in enlarging and strengthening the Communist Parties from the ranks of the industrial workers, especially in the large factories, and that the entire recruiting work must be carried on in this direction.

Recruiting and regulating the social composition of the Party is indissolubly connected with fluctuation in the Party organisations. Just now there is considerable fluctuation in the Communist Parties. In the Communist Party of the United States it has already reached over 100 per cent. of the membership. Such fluctuation is due to lack of serious work with the new Party members: inadequate work by the nuclei where as a rule no efforts are made to draw new members into active participation in the life of the Party; predominance of social democratic methods in the recruiting work which takes place mostly at meetings, and not through daily Party work; failure to create and train reserves for the growth of the Party. Not only advanced but also casual elements frequently join the Party at the meetings, and these elements leave it again. It is self evident that measures for better recruiting of factory workers, must be accompanied by concrete measures for the entrenchment of the new members in the ranks of the Party organisations.

A correct policy in regulating the growth of the Parties and in the struggle against fluctuation must take into account the necessity of selection when admitting new members to the Party: only the most active and best revolutionary elements are to be drawn into the Communist Parties. An intensive growth of the Communist Party, if not properly regulated, is fraught with the danger of bringing undesirable elements into the Party organisations, which the Communist Parties cannot tolerate. Growth without discrimination is in the interests of the bourgeois parties, as for instance, of the Hitler Party which aims at attracting petty-bourgeois and partly also the more backward working class elements who can be easily deceived by the bourgeoisie; or, for instance, of the social democratic Party no less than one-half of whose membership are not workers but bureaucratic elements, the Workers playing a passive role. With regard to the Communist Parties, the question of growth is indissolubly connected with that of strengthening their fighting capacity, raising their activity and increasing their leading role in the working class. Selection is essential. At the same time, with regard to admitting workers to the Party, the tendency which one still comes across here and there, to expect too much from them with regard to political knowledge, as well as the tendency to put obstacles in the way of workers desirous to join the Party, and also to oppose young Party members being drawn into active work on the plea of their unpreparedness, etc., is utterly erroneous. Very harmful therefore are various sectarian distortions which in some cases still impede the healthy growth of the Party organisations and hamper the entrenchment of new members and the struggle against fluctuation. Therefore, the struggle for growth is conducted by the Communist Parties in the midst of struggle against opportunistic passivity and underestimation of recruiting in the factories, and at the same time, against sectarian disinclination to reckon with the growing desire of the more advanced workers to join the Party.

The letter of the E.C.C.I., after summing up the results of growth in the most important C.I. sections, gives prominence to the main problems of regulating the growth of the Communist Parties. We give here several, particularly important, excerpts from this letter:

I. About the Main Task of the Communist Parties— Recruiting for the Party.

"A close analysis shows that in all countries the chief cause of the unsatisfactory recruiting of factory workers does not lie outside the Party but inside it, in the incorrect plans and methods of recruiting work, and above all in the insufficient attention which is paid to the question of work in the factories and the absence of proper Bolshevik insistence in the reconstruction of all Party work on the basis of the Party . . .

Similarly, all the recruiting work of the C.P.'s in the future should be concentrated on the factories and above all on the big factories in the leading branches of industry, especially in places where it is vital to organise the resistance of the working class against the attack of capital and against preparations for military adventures. Recruiting work must be the daily duty of every Party member and the acceptance of new members should take place directly in the nuclei with the smallest possible amount of formal procedure.

In carrying out the leadership of the work for recruiting new members, the highest leading organs of the Party, the C.C. and the district committees must first of all see that a systematic recruiting of new members takes place in these factories. The Party, and above all such Parties as the C.P.P. and the C.P.G. must **within the next month or two** see that the districts and factories which are the leading sectors of the class struggle of the proletariat are all the time under the special observation of the Party with regard to the extension and strengthening of contacts with the workers of these factories and drawing into the Party the foremost revolutionary elements from among them. Suitable Party committees (local committees) with the participation and assistance of the C.C. in every case, must work out special methods of approach to every section of the workers of these factories (skilled, unskilled, women, youth, foreign workers, social-democrats, christians, etc.), organise special meetings for the workers of each group, publish special literature, appoint special organisers or even set up special brigades, etc.

In the immediate future, in connection with the growing war danger, it is of exceptional importance to make a special increase in recruiting work among women workers and among those sections of working women and especially young women who will be drawn into the war industries in the near future to replace the men who are mobilised for the army. The objective conditions for recruiting working women into the Party are extremely favourable, because in all countries working women are displaying great revolutionary activity (in a number of countries even much greater than working men). Recruiting itself must take place along the lines of attracting the workers into direct work for carrying out the concrete tasks of resisting the attacks of the employers and their open and secret agents and assistants, and special attention must be paid to drawing popular leaders of the workers into the orbit of the influence of the Party and then into the ranks of the Party . . .

. . . The concentration of the forces of the Party in the sphere of recruiting new members must be carried on not only in definite factories but also in definite political centres which are of special political importance. For example, the C.P.P. is faced with the very important task of bringing about a definite change in the growth of the Warsaw Party organisation. It is the duty of the whole Party to change the state of affairs in the shortest possible time and at all costs, because it is evident that if the Warsaw organisation of the Party is weak and is not based on the working masses of the big Warsaw factories, this circumstances will have a great effect on the whole of the struggle of the Polish proletariat for freedom. Similar tasks face the C.P. of Sweden with regard to Stockholm and the C.P. of Norway with regard to Oslo."

II. On Struggle Against Bureaucratic and Sectarian Distortions.

"To carry out this change in recruiting work, a most decisive and uncompromising struggle is also required against the elements of bureaucracy in the work of the Party organi-

sations with regard to sympathising workers wishing to join the Party and unable to get anything done for months (as happened up to the present time in various organisations in 1931 or, as in Spain, where hundreds of workers were refused admission to the Party on the sole grounds that there were no membership cards). A decisive struggle is also required against sectarian tendencies, against the fear of accepting new members under various pretences. The Party must impose the strictest punishment on those who are to blame for such bureaucratic formalism and sectarian narrowness. This applies both to Party committees and to factory nuclei, which must show the greatest flexibility in finding out sympathising elements among the masses of factory workers and (while observing the necessary measures to prevent provocation), must reduce to a minimum the formalities of accepting new members from among the workers in the factory . . ."

III. On Fluctuation.

"Such a situation is quite abnormal. It creates a danger that the present inflow of workers into the C.P. can easily be changed into an outflow and that in general the present numerical increase of the C.P. will not be very stable. Therefore the question of keeping the new members of the Party, of special measures for work with them, for raising their political level, for bringing them into the everyday practical work, for assimilating them into the ranks of the Party—all these tasks have now an urgent political importance and all the organs in the leadership of the C.P. in future will have tremendous responsibility for them to the world Communist movement.

Evidently a most determined change is required very rapidly in the present practice of work with new members. Considering that many decisions on the struggle against fluctuations have been made and the position continues to be very unsatisfactory, it is necessary to make a careful and systematic investigation of what is being done in this direction, to rectify mistakes in the very midst of the work and to further strengthen the work, removing all difficulties "without respect to persons", which hinder the correct methods of work of the Party organisations and especially removing everything which is the result of bureaucracy or the inefficiency of individual workers in the Party apparatus . . .

. . . Finally, the nature of the internal Party life of factory nuclei plays a decisive role with regard to fluctuations. If the factory nucleus lives a full life, takes part in all the mass movements of the workers in the factory, stands at the head of these movements, if all the members of the nucleus have Party duties and inner Party democracy makes it possible to discuss all questions of Party life and fight against deviations from the Party line and against bureaucratic and sectarian distortions in the Party apparatus, members as a rule will not leave, on the contrary the nucleus will grow and increase its influence on the masses. On the contrary, a factory nucleus which has no internal life, in which there is no self-criticism, will inevitably lose members and as a rule will fall to pieces. Therefore, in the measures for the struggle against fluctuations, the question of internal life in the factory nuclei must certainly occupy the centre of the attention of all leading Party organs. The C.C. must give directives to the local organisations to check up systematically all the members who leave the Party and without wasting time, to take the necessary measures to struggle against this evil. The C.C. and the district committees must concentrate on the task of reducing desertions from the Party to a minimum in the chief industrial centres in the shortest possible time, particularly in the chief factory nuclei. The experience of the C.P. of Norway along these lines is very instructive. As the result of bringing the Party leadership nearer to the nucleus and reanimation of the inner Party life of the nuclei, the number of members leaving the Party was greatly reduced. In 1930 the C.P. of Norway lost 524 members out of 729 new members, but in 1931 it only lost 195 out of 1,126 new members.

At the same time educational work with the new Party members should be increased. All kinds of Party schools and circles must without fail be formed for them. Evening courses and conferences are specially recommended for working out the chief questions of concrete work in the given factories, and in the future the corresponding organs of the Party leadership (above all the local committees) must systematically verify how the new members of the Party are taking part in the

general work of the nucleus, whether they are being overloaded with work, how they are being drawn into the the daily work of the nucleus, are the most capable and reliable of them being promoted to leading work, etc., immediately taking the necessary steps to rectify any mistakes and shortcomings which are found."

Questions of Growth and Recruiting in the CP. of Great Britain.

There was no systematic recruiting work in the British Party until May 1932, and in most cases the Party organisations confined themselves to the mere registration of gains and losses. In May 1931, the first three months recruiting campaign was decided upon. This campaign was prepared according to plan, which was linked up and carried through in connection with the most important tasks of the Party. Though the recruiting campaign brought to light many fundamental shortcomings of our Party, one must admit that through this campaign the most important tasks—recruiting and organisational development—were brought home to the Party.

Prior to the recruiting campaign the membership of the C.P.G.B. was either stationary or in decline. Since the last Party Congress (Leeds, December 1929) the membership fluctuation has been as follows:

	Dec. 1929	May 1930	Nov. 1930	Feb. 1931	June 1931	Nov. 1931
Members:	3200	2860	2555	2711	3054	6279
(1929 equal 100%)						
Percentage:	100	89.4	79.9	80.3	90.5	196

The upward movement of the membership continued also during December and in the first months of 1932, but we do not have at our disposal the exact figures from all the districts. However, on the strength of partial reports, one can say that the growth after November 1931 amounted to a further increase of between 2,500 and 3,000.

The trebling of the membership of the C.P.G.B., was however not accompanied by a corresponding numerical growth in the membership of the Y.C.L. and the other revolutionary organisations, nor by a larger circulation of the newspaper, and the growth was not even in all districts. The percentage of the growth in various districts in November 1931, compared with Juni-July 1931, clearly shows this unevenness:

District	Growth %	District	Growth %
Birmingham	395 %	Sheffield	97 %
Scotland	175 %	Liverpool	84 %
Tyneside	145 %	Bradford	28 %
South Wales	135 %	Outside the Districts	218 %
Manchester	129 %	National Group	66 %
London	102 %	Whole Party	106 %

Particularly unsatisfactory is the rate of the growth of important districts such as Bradford (Textile industry), Sheffield (Metal and mining industry), and Liverpool (Dockers and seamen).

Through the recruiting work which went on, by means of the activation of all members and organisations, of carrying out the most important Party tasks (Charter campaign, resistance to the attack on unemployment benefit, industrial struggles, campaign under the slogan "Not a Penny Off" and the General Election), three aims were chiefly pursued: first, growth of the Party, second, strengthening the Party organisation in the factories and third, improvement of the social composition of the Party.

The figures given above show how the first task was carried out. As to the carrying through of the second aim of the campaign — factory cells — we will deal with it in a special article. The third aim, improvement of the social composition, was not attained. And this is the most serious and important defect in the carrying through of the recruiting campaign, a defect that has naturally influenced considerably the non-fulfilment of the second aim — strengthening factory cell work.

At the end of 1930 the composition of the Party was: men 80 %, women 20 %; employed 51 %, unemployed 49 %; women employed in industry 30 %, men employed in industry 30 %; members of trade unions 65 %, in the Minority Movement 25 %, in the unemployed organisation 55 %.

The social composition of the Party at the end of 1930 was as follows:

	p. c.		p. c.		p. c.
Miners	11.3	Dockers	2.5	Iron & Steel ind.	1.0
Textile	7.1	Transport	2.5	Seamen	1.0
Metal	7.2	Employees	2.7	Shipbuilding	0.75
General Workers	3.9	Building operativ.	1.7	Electricians	0.56
Railwaymen	3.9	Furnishing Trade	1.3	Chemical workers	0.26
Garmentworkers	2.6	Printing	1.3	Unemployed	49.43

Most of the unemployed are workers. The Party consists of 99 per cent. workers.

According to the plan of the recruiting campaign which was discussed and adopted in the districts and in a number of the lower organisations, about 850 miners, 800 metal workers, 460 railwaymen, 360 women employed in industry, 340 textile workers, 250 transport workers, 230 shipbuilders, 200 dockers, 180 Garment makers, 150 seamen, 120 building operatives, 100 furnishing trade workers, 100 Iron and steel workers and 20 chemical workers were to be enlisted for the Party during the recruiting campaign. These approximate figures were not chosen haphazard, but in accordance with the social composition of the various districts, and were laid down together with the representatives of the respective districts concretely for every district, and in some cases concretely for every lower organisation and cell, and in connection with actual and pending struggles.

Far from reaching this number of industrial workers, the result of the recruiting campaign fell so short of expectations that the **social composition of the party is now relatively worse than prior to the campaign.**

We have received accurate statistics regarding this matter only from a few districts*):

London Women	Industry	Dockers	Metal Wkrs.	Railw. men	Build- ing. Op.	Seamen	Garment makers
According to plan	40	100	70	70	60	20	50
Achieved	43	—	51	14	73	5	12
Sheffield	Mining	Metal	Railway	Steel	Women in Industry		
According to plan	120	170	40	30	30		
Achieved	—	7	—	1	4		
Tyneside	Mining	Metal	Railway	Steel	Ship- building	Seamen	
According to plan	80	20	25	16	20	20	
Achieved	16	2	—	3	8	23	

The proportion between employed and unemployed members in these three districts which, numerically, constitute more than a third of the Party membership, is after three months of recruiting as follows: in Sheffield the same: 60% unemployed in Tyneside diminution of unemployed from 30 to 28%, in London an increase from 62 to 64%.

These unsatisfactory results of the recruiting work are partly due to wrong methods of recruiting. At the beginning of the recruiting campaign it was made clear that recruiting was to be carried on not only from time to time in the form of campaigns, but must be part and parcel of the daily work of every organisation and every individual member.

But in fact, over 90% of the new members were recruited only by means of special meetings. On the occasion of various anniversaries and campaigns, special recruiting meetings are organised by means of which the Party has made 5 to 6 thousand new members during the last six to eight months. Individual recruiting and energetic recruiting activity on the part of the lower Party units and, especially, on the basis of work in the factories, as well as systematic creation of reserves for the growth of the Party, is a rare occurrence in the C.P.G.B.

We are not against special recruiting meetings. They can and should be held from time to time. But if recruiting meetings are the only or the most important form of

*) These are statistics of the first three months of the recruiting campaign. The number of workers to be recruited from the various branches of industry was raised after three months.

recruiting, this shows that the recruiting methods are still social democratic in essence.

Preparation and leadership of economic and political struggles must be the basis of recruiting. Recruiting is to be based first and foremost on this activity which, combined with the personal activity of every Party member and with special and constant work with individuals who distinguish themselves in the struggle, is the best form of recruiting work.

The C.P.G.B. will probably be able to recruit another ten to 15 thousand new members by means of general recruiting meetings. But it will be able to recruit many more and bring the workers into closer contact with the Party by constant canvassing of sympathisers, by daily recruiting work based on the activity of every member, and especially on the activity of the factory cells.

Not before the process of growth takes place on this basis, namely, on organisation of the workers' struggles plus propaganda and intensive individual recruiting, will the growth of the British C.P. from the ranks of the large British proletariat develop on lines truly commensurate with the tasks of the Party.

Stagnation of membership in the factories.

Through the failure to understand that recruiting work must above all be concentrated in the factories, we have a state of affairs which shows that while the general number of Party members has trebled, the number of members in the factories has either remained stationary or has even relatively gone down. The statistics about the development of the factory cells are, a vivid illustration of this state of affairs:

	Nov. 30.	Febr. 31.	June 31.	Nov. 31.
No. of Party members	2,555	2,711	2,724	6,279
Factory nuclei	39	32	29	49
Members in Factory nuclei . .	218	190	141	266
Percentage of members	8.5%	7%	5.1%	4.2%
Factory newspapers	42	37	10	43
Total edition	15,650	9,832	12,192	15,550
Average edition	256	265	305	360

Thus: up to June 1931 there was an absolute and relative regression of factory cells in the C.P.G.B. The November figures show an absolute growth of factory cells and a relative regression of the percentage of members secured through the factory cells. The proportion between the most important Bolshevik form of organisation—the factory cells—and other units shows an absolute, as well as relative worsening, because the numerical growth of the other units is more rapid than the absolute growth of the factory cells.

According to the plan of the recruiting campaign which was improved and revived in October 1931, 52 new factory cells were to be established, namely, 13 in the mines, 12 in metal enterprises, 10 in the textile industry, 6 on the railways, 5 in the docks, 3 in the steel industry, and 3 in the garment factories. This aim of the recruiting campaign has not yet been achieved. In some districts only a beginning has been made with a healthy development of factory cell work. In London, for instance, there were only 12 factory cells with 67 members (on an average the cell had only 5 members) in June 1931, whereas in November 1931 there were already 23 factory cells with 127 members (on an average a cell has only 6 members). In February 1932 there were already 30 factory cells in London. In Scotland there were only 2 factory cells (not one of them in the coal mines) in June 1931 with 12 members, and in January 1932 there were 6 factory cells in Scotland with 27 members. But the percentage of members secured through the factory cells has decreased in Scotland and also in London. It has come to the pass that for instance, in London between June and November 1931 the 39 organisations made 201 new members (a 3 Prozent growth), whereas of the 12 factory nuclei that existed in June 3 went out of existence by November, the remaining 9 increased their membership only by 38 Prozent, and 14 new nuclei were established.

The main reason of this state of affairs in the recruiting work of the C.P. of Great Britain—apart from what has already been said about the methods—is the fact that Party work is not concentrated on factories. Even the plan of the recruiting campaign did not give sufficient consideration to factory activity. One still comes across many local and district secretaries who are well informed about everything

in their organisations, and yet know nothing or only general matters about factory activity.

In most cases factory cells are still not considered in the Party as the most important form of organisation which must be given constant attention, leadership and help on the part of the Executive. When one or several factory cells cease to exist, the district or local organiser is in most cases unable to explain the reason why, or where the members are to be found, or if there is a possibility of keeping the cell going etc. The fact that the cell or the factory newspaper has ceased to exist is registered, and there is an end to it. From the top to the bottom there is no sense of strict responsibility for the state of our organisations and members in the factories.

And finally, the life and activity of the factory cells themselves are in most cases extremely inadequate. With a few exceptions, the existing factory cells in the C.P.G.B. are organisations isolated from the workers, that do not organise the struggles in the factories, and whose activity consists mostly or mainly only in general and rather inadequate propaganda, sale of the newspaper and inner Party activity.

Other questions connected with the growth of the C.P.G.B. as, for instance, fluctuation, work with the new members, economic struggles and recruiting will be dealt with in subsequent articles.

What Experience Has Shown.

(Beginnings in the work with new Party members.)

In Scotland, where after several recruiting meetings, over 800 workers applied for membership in the C.P. in the first weeks in February, 1932, the process of really getting hold of them and keeping them in the organisation was extremely slow and unsatisfactory. For instance, in February the percentage of new members who had remained the Party was as follows: in Bridgeton 50%, in Townland 60%, in Springburn only 35 to 40%, in Maryhill 60 out of 115, in Gorbals 40%.

"Daily Worker" was quite right in not only publishing such reports, but in devoting to them a leading article.

As soon as the District Executive in Glasgow had ascertained this alarming state of affairs in regard to work with new members, a series of measures were decided upon which, we think, can on the whole serve as a positive example worthy to be imitated in other districts, provided they be really carried out. The most important of these measures are:

1. Appointment of a special temporary commission consisting of representatives of the most important organisations for control and exchange of working experiences with new members.

2. Personal calls on all new members, so as to make quite sure of them. It was a general practice for the lower organisations to send new members an invitation card to the meeting, imagining that this was enough. As a rule, 30 to 60% of the new members came to the meeting, and the others were considered as "lost". In any case, nothing was done to get hold of them also. It was therefore decided to form small brigades whose members are to visit all the new Party members, in order to discuss with them their work in the Party and questions that interest them most, etc. On this basis, discussions take place also in the circles, and emphasis is given to important points at the nucleus meetings.

3. Correct allocation of new members to the lower organisations. In Springburn, for instance, the local executive sent every comrade a postcard with a list of nuclei, giving date and time of their meetings, and inviting them to choose a nucleus which they would like to join. This is of course a thoroughly wrong method. It was therefore, decided that the local executives must decide themselves which unit every new member is to join, the guiding principle to be: the working capacity of every new member, and the best application of this capacity for the carrying through of the most important Party work.

4. Redistribution of good active old members among the new members (question of structure), in order to prevent a state of affairs when in some lower units only old members, and in others only new members are organised. This commission is already at work. At every meeting of the district executive it has to report in how far these decisions have been carried out.

FASCISM

A Typical Fascist Forgery.

By Giovanni Germanetto

The "Lavoro Fascista", the organ of the fascist trade unions, almost every day publishes photos of huge factories and docks in course of construction, of giant machines and blast furnaces.

These photos are inserted in the middle of reports of congresses and meetings, of speeches of fascist functionaries etc., as if these huge construction works were the embodiment of the work of fascism, of the initiative of the fascist regime, as if they testified to the creative force of fascism and its "great leader".

Thus for instance the "Lavoro Fascista" of April 17, 1932, contained a photo of a dockyard under construction with the heading: "Ferro-Concrete Construction"; on April 12, it published a photo of a group of blast furnaces, with the caption "Where metal is cast."

On April 10, there appeared in the same paper the photo of a cast iron colossus under the heading: "The last blow of the hammer"; on April 6, there appeared under the heading: "Machine giants" the photo of a huge crane, and on April 14, under the heading "50,000 Horse power in Steel", the picture of a giant electric turbine.

The reader could seek in vain, however, for the least indication as to where fascism has been building such steel giants and so many new factories. Why? The answer is quite simple. The vast new buildings, huge turbines, machines and factories, which are represented by the mercenaries of capitalism as being the achievements of Italian fascism, are an impudent forgery.

These giant buildings were erected in the Soviet Republic, by the workers of the Soviet Union, who, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are realising the Five-Year Plan in four years.

Here the documents: All the above mentioned pictures are photos of Soviet construction works published by the review: "Construction in the Soviet Union", issued by the State Publishing Department of the R.S.F.S.R., in numbers 7 and 8 of the year 1931:

1. The photo published by the "Lavoro Fascista" on 17th April appears in the above Soviet review on page 7, under the heading "Ferro-Concrete Construction in Filimonov".

2. The photo published on April 12, is taken from the same number of the Soviet review, (page 10). It is the photo of a blast furnace of Kramatorka, which works has to supply machines for the Ukrainian metal industry.

3. The photo which appeared on 10th April in "Lavoro Fascista" was published in the Soviet review on page 12. It is a photo of a tremendous casting weighing 120 tons from the blast furnace of Kramatorka.

4. The photo published on 6th April is likewise taken from this Soviet review (page 13); it represents the fitting of a 125 ton crane for the Kusnetz works.

5. The photo published by the fascist paper on April 14, appeared in the Soviet review on page 23, and represents the first electrical Soviet turbine of 50,000 horse-power.

These facts speak for themselves. Fascist capitalism only produces misery, starvation and war for the workers. It is compelled, in order to deceive the worker with regard to its creative powers, to publish as its own work pictures of tremendous new buildings and works, which the proletariat of the Soviet Union, emancipated from capitalism, is daily erecting, whilst the capitalist system is shattered in its foundations.

The regime of hunger, reaction and war, incapable of creating anything new, tries to represent the giant works of the proletariat of the Soviet Union as its own. This is a proof of how low capitalism has sunk, and this fact also explains why the capitalists are so feverishly preparing for war in order to crush the proletariat of the Soviet Union.

BOOK REVIEWS

"Women and War."

A New Pamphlet.

The illustrated 32 page pamphlet "Women and War" by Grace Hutchins, issued by the Communist Party U.S.A., follows the line laid down by the Theses and Resolutions of the 6th World Congress of the Communist International, on War. Under the sub-heading "The Proletariat Fights Against Imperialist Wars", it states:

"It is necessary to explain thoroughly to the masses the experiences of the last world war of 1914-1918; . . . This agitational and propagandist activity must be closely linked up with the revolutionary work of the Party among the masses."

So this pamphlet tells the story of women working in a large electric factory. It relates how they are forced into the factory because of the crisis. Their own and friends experiences during the last world war.

The class conscious worker who reads the "Daily Worker" tells them why the bosses want war. She points out that an imperialist war is being carried on today by the Japanese against the Chinese workers. She explains the imperialist contradictions arising out of the Japanese invasion of China and how it may develop into a new world war, in the following manner.

"But Japan has already started war against the Chinese workers", went on Sally Martin. "And the United States may be in it at any moment. The big bosses want war. They want to sell more goods and make big profits out of the next war, just as they did in the last world war you were talking about. They don't care what happens to us workers".

She explains what the Soviet Union means to her shop mates, the working conditions of the Russian women workers, and why they must support it if the imperialists, including "our" own imperialists should attack it.

Our "Daily Worker" reader ends up with concretely pointing out to the workers what they must do to fight imperialist wars by day to day struggle in the shop. In answer to the question,

"What can we do to stop them, if the boss class want war?", she replies, "Organise. Organise all working women in unions, under the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League. Organise under the banner of the Communist Party".

Then she proceeds concretely to prove her point.

The little book is chock full of facts and figures, both about the last war, and the secret war preparations.

Paragraphs like the following, are sure to make an impression upon every working woman.

"The small widow's pension is never enough to live on. In the United States only a few out of all the thousands of Gold Star mothers from the World War are on the list of the federal government to receive any pension at all. And the pension is only £30 a month.

The pamphlet gives facts about the worker's conditions in the war industries. One instance can be cited:

"Rayon plants can be changed overnight into the making of dynamite. With women already forming about 60% of the working force, the rayon industry is well prepared for the next war, and many plants are already on a war basis. At the American Enka Corporation plant in Asheville, N.C., for instance workers are photographed and registered before getting a job in the plant . . . the workers must slave 11 and 12 hours a day or night at about 16 cents an hour."

The role of the reformist trade unions, including the Women's Trade Union League, in the last war is stated. The position of the pacifists in the last war and their role today is exposed. Women's (peace) organisations are named. All supported the last war and will support the next.

Although the characters are lost after the 12th page, even a backward worker will continue to read the pamphlet through, because the facts are written in a most interesting manner.