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Britain, America and the War-Debts.

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

The sharp and open conflict over the War-Debts question has brought into the limelight the growing Anglo-American antagonism.

The propaganda machines on both sides are in full blast, stoking the fires of future war.

America is presented to the British public as Uncle Shylock, grown fat out of the bloodstained profits of the past war, and now insisting on his pound of flesh, to the ruin of the world.

Britain and the European debtors are presented to the American public with equal friendliness as spendthrift militarists and dishonest debtors, setting the world ablaze with their senseless conflicts, alternately coming to America cap in hand for new bounty, and then seeking to repudiate their contracted debts in order to pile up new armaments.

In this way the sentiments of the peoples on both sides are sought to be enlisted in order to support "their own" gang of usurers and world exploiters, and finally to throw away their lives in millions for their quarrels and profits.

It is necessary to speak plainly on these issues, to fight this propaganda on both sides, and to affirm the unity of interests of the American and British workers against both gangs of exploiters, against both Wall Street and the City, against both Washington and Downing Street.

* * *

The debts question is a symptom, and not the cause, of the growing Anglo-American antagonism.

The Anglo-American antagonism spreads over every sphere throughout the world. It has shown itself most strongly in the **Far Eastern crisis**, with the Japanese conquest of Manchuria assisted and supported by Britain and France against America. It has shown itself at **Lausanne**, with the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of Britain and France against America. It has shown itself through the rival manoeuvrings of the "Disarmament" Conference. It has shown itself behind the battles and civil wars in **South America**. It has shown itself in **Ottawa** and the attempt of Britain to draw close its weakening hold on the Empire against America.

All these conflicts, reflecting the basic economic-political rivalry for markets, for world-domination, have developed beneath the forms and pretences of "friendly relations", of diplomatic humbug and bitter-sweet speeches of acid politeness on either side.

Now with the debts controversy the conflict has become open and public. The exchange of Notes, each directly traversing and denying the arguments of the other, has ended for the moment in an impasse: France refusing payment, Britain making payment with the reservation that it shall be the last; the United States insisting on the full obligation or "compensation" for any revision.

The debts controversy is not itself insoluble. It is only one phase and symptom of a bigger antagonism. The debts question is a weapon of conflict between the big imperialist Powers.

Debts and reparations are not the cause of the world crisis, as many bourgeois economists still try to pretend. The increase, and not decrease, of the world crisis since the Hoover

moratorium has practically shown this. The cause of the world crisis is capitalism—the capitalist class ownership of the means of production. The enormous rising forces of production are bursting against the fetters of capitalist class ownership. The giant capitalist trusts, the rival imperialist Powers, fight ever more desperately for an outlet, for markets, for the new division of the world. The whole question of debts and reparations is only a strategic weapon in this battle.

The breakdown of capitalist stabilisation has inevitably re-opened the debts question, as it has re-opened the Versailles settlement and re-opened the Washington settlement of the Far East.

The partial stabilisation of capitalism in 1923-9 was based on five main pillars: 1. the maintenance of the Versailles settlement in Europe, on the basis of German acceptance of Versailles in return for Anglo-American assistance in reconstructing German capitalism; 2. the Dawes Plan, fixing reparations, and associated American-European debt settlements; 3. the restoration of the gold standard; 4. the American export of capital to Europe which made possible the restoration of the gold standard and the debts and reparations payments; 5. the Washington settlement of the Far East, delaying the open fight for the spoils of China and limiting the tempo of the naval race.

The artificial character of this restoration of capitalism, which was visibly based in respect of Europe on the American export of capital, thus piling up future contradictions, was exposed at the time by the Communists, who, in defiance of all the capitalist hymns of triumph and revival, declared that it was a "rotten" "illusory" restoration, leading to greater crisis. To-day it is noticeable that the British official Note on the debts question of December 1st has admitted this illusory character of the whole revival:

"The prosperity of the period 1923-9 was to a large extent illusory, and the seeds of future trouble had already been sown."

To-day all these pillars have broken down. The Versailles settlement is challenged by Germany and the claim to re-arm. The Washington settlement is torn in two by the Japanese conquest of **Manchuria**, and by the **Lytton Report**, envisaging the partition of China. The economic settlement in Europe has still more completely broken down. With the crisis, the export of American capital dried up, as payment on the already exported capital became doubtful. But the payments had only been maintained by this export. Credits in Germany became frozen. Reparations inevitably dried up. The gold standard collapsed in the majority of countries. Thus inevitably in the final stage the American debts settlements come into question. The culminating stage of the fight becomes the fight of the "Victor Powers" among themselves over the debts.

The peculiar character of the debts fight is that it is a fight between rival imperialist Powers occupying the roles of both creditors and debtors.

The imperialist Powers have long been accustomed to the role of world creditors, holding the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the chains of debt-slavery to themselves. Here no "international problem" was held to arise, when it was only a question of bleeding impoverished India or Egypt. Any recalcitrance of the debtor would be met with simple and immediate coercion. Indeed, the irony of history so chanced that Britain was at the very moment engaged in coercing **Ireland** into the payment of debt annuities (based not even on any delivery of goods at all, but on ancient land robbery and nothing else), at the very moment at which it entered into pleadings with the United States to be let off its own payments.

But the debt fight between the imperialist Powers is a new and extreme development. Indeed, this is what underlies the vexed problem of "transfer". Between the colonial country, subjected to subordinate roles of agriculture and the supply of raw materials, and the imperialist metropolis with its developed industry, there was no problem of "transfer". But when dog tries to eat dog, when in the last stage of imperialist conflict and decay one highly industrialised imperialist Power tries to subject another to tribute (Entente-Germany, America-England), the problem of "transfer" of the tribute becomes highly complicated; the meal defeats digestion.

The **United States** fights hard to maintain its creditor advantage, to make the maximum use of it weapon.

Britain fights, for over a dozen years now, for all-round cancellation, as expressed in the famous Balfour Note of 1922. This line is acclaimed as the height of "justice" and "humanity" in Britain. In fact, it means that the full weight would be thrown onto the United States, which alone is only creditor and not also debtor.

Britain fights to establish a European United Front of the Debtors against America (this chimes in also with the anti-Soviet preparations). This was the aim of the Balfour Note, and of Lausanne last year. America plays on the divisions in Europe. This is shown in the widely differing debt settlements, with the overwhelmingly heaviest burden thrown on Britain (80% of the total debt payments from Europe, resulting in a net loss of £200 millions on debts and reparations account), while **France** has been left a heavy net gainer until the Hoover moratorium, and Fascist **Italy** has been let off most lightly of all. In this way the true role of the debts question as above all a weapon in **Anglo-American** antagonism is revealed.

To-day a new urgency has come into the question. For the first time, the question of Default, of Repudiation has been raised.

Why has Britain so far paid for nearly ten years, and faced a net loss of £200 millions, rather than simply repudiating the account on any easily available moral or diplomatic grounds? This question is inexplicable to the jingo Rothermere-Beaverbrook press, who never cease to abuse Baldwin for the settlement. In fact the explanation is simple and obvious. For Britain is still a net creditor. Britain is still the largest world creditor, drawing some three hundred million pounds a year of tribute from all over the world. The risk of the loss of this by encouraging repudiation could not be faced. As the *London Times* stated in its issue of November 24th:

"If Great Britain of all countries were to repudiate her obligations, she would set an example which would be eagerly followed by every debtor country in the world—possibly even by private debtors—with incalculable results." Here is the dilemma which has drawn together the two world usurers in simultaneous antagonism and yet apparent unity.

But with the strain of the present crisis **Repudiation** has become practical politics in Britain. That is a measure of the extremity of the crisis. Repudiation has been seriously discussed and advocated within the British Cabinet, in the British financial press. The last strongholds of capitalism lose all stability. And the final British Note in effect threatens repudiation, if a satisfactory new settlement is not reached.

A new settlement, if not of cancellation, then of revision, is likely to be reached. American finance-capital, no less than British, is anxious at all costs to avoid the explosive issue of Repudiation. Further, there is a visible calculation of interests involved for American finance-capital. The total value of the war-debts settlements is calculated at 6.4 billion dollars; but the total value of American investments of capital throughout the world at 15½ billions dollars, and in Europe alone at 5 billions dollars (*Economist War-Debts Supplement* 12. 11. 32). In the conditions of the crisis it has been made abundantly manifest that both the public and the private debts cannot be paid. But the public debts, if unpaid, simply pass on to the Budget, i. e. on to the taxpayers; the private debts, if unpaid, are dead loss to the financiers. Thus, just as the interests of high finance compelled the cancellation of reparations, so the interests of high finance may now compel the liquidation—whether cancellation or extreme revision—of the war debts.

But this settlement will only be reached after a sharp struggle between Britain and America. America, as the Hoover Notes have already indicated, will stand out for "tangible compensation", with special reference to markets.

Further, any "settlement" of the debt question, even so-called "cancellation", will not mean cancellation of the debt burden for the workers. It will only mean a re-arrangement of the proportions between the rival state groupings. But the full burden of the war-debts will still remain, exacted to the last farthing, on the workers of Europe and America. 45 per cent. of the Budget in Britain, 30 per cent. of the Budget in the United States, over 50 per cent. of the Budget in France, goes to the service of debt. Only the Russian workers have thrown off this burden and freed the way for advance. Real cancellation will only be achieved also in the rest of Europe and America by the proletarian revolution.

POLITICS

The Fight for Persian Oil and the Tasks of the C.P. of Iran.

By L. Magyar.

I.

The conflict which has arisen between British imperialism and the Reza Khan government, confronts the C.P. of Iran, all revolutionary elements and all anti-imperialist fighters in the country with responsible tasks.

The C.P. of Iran regards it as its **chief task** to mobilise the working masses for the fight against British imperialism and to **organise** them in the course of this fight, to set up a proletarian cadre in the anti-imperialist movement, and thereby win the hegemony of the proletariat in this fight.

In order to be able to solve this strategic tasks the Communist Party of Iran clearly takes into account the meaning, content and character of the conflict which has arisen and is still going on, between British imperialism and the Reza Khan government and also the perspectives of this struggle. What are the issues in this fight? What role does the government of Reza Khan play? What are the perspectives of this fight?

Persia achieved its formal national independence as a result of the October revolution. Persia, which before the October revolution was a semi-colony of Russian and British imperialism, under the influence of the October revolution and the result of the national revolutionary struggles of the working masses obtained its national independence. At the same time, however, the ruling classes of Persia succeeded in throttling the national revolutionary movement in its beginnings. The Gilau revolution was crushed. The big landowners and the representatives of big mercantile capital were sufficiently strong in order to prevent the national movement from developing into the agrarian revolution. But the force and the swing of the anti-imperialist movement were thereby destroyed. The anti-imperialist movement was not carried out to an end. The country became independent **politically; economically**, however, all the important key positions remained in the hands of the imperialists, and in the first place in the hands of the British imperialists. Persia is a proof and an example of how a colonial or semi-colonial country can, in the period of imperialism, of proletarian revolutions and fight for national emancipation, achieve its political independence.

Comrades Piatakov, Bukharin, Radek and also Rosa Luxemburg, in polemics with Lenin, disputed this. The historical development the examples of Turkey, Persia and to a certain period also Afghanistan, have proved that Lenin's point of view was correct.

Economically Persia remained a **semi-colony** of imperialism: in the first place of British imperialism. The most important key positions of the country—foreign trade, oil, banking, motor transport—remained under the control of British finance capital. This circumstance and the class character of the government of Reza Khan caused the latter to pursue the path of capitulation to imperialism. Many Persian comrades have put forward the view that Reza Khan is only an agent of British imperialism. Other comrades, on the other hand, maintained that Reza Khan is the bearer of national progress and is successfully solving the task of the national emancipation and centralisation of the country. It is scarcely necessary to emphasise that both these points of view are incorrect.

Reza Khan and his government represent the interests of the semi-feudal big landowners and of big mercantile capital. This government has not solved the tasks of the bourgeois national revolution in Persia; it could not and cannot solve this task. 90 per cent. of the land is in the possession of feudal and semi-feudal big landowners. The peasantry is exploited by the semi-feudal tenancy conditions, by the money-lenders, the taxes and State monopolies. The economic key positions of imperialism, of foreign finance capital, have become still stronger during the regime of Reza Khan. The national question within the country has not only not been

solved but has become more acute. The Turkish, Arab and Kurdish minorities, the various nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes were subjected to ruthless national oppression. The Church is still one of the largest landowners in the country and holds important political positions in its hands. The monarchy of Reza Khan is the embodiment of the power of the big landowners and of big mercantile capital, and realises the dictatorship of these classes through its military-bureaucratic-police apparatus. The so-called democratic Constitution is only a farce. Formal bourgeois democracy is indeed the constitution of free commodity producers, and the Persian peasantry, it is true, is becoming more and more a producer of commodities, but not a free producer of commodities. So long as the peasant lives under the yoke and within the confines of feudal and semi-feudal agrarian conditions, the Constitution will remain a farce. The most elementary democratic rights—freedom of organisation, freedom of the press, of meeting and of election—are trodden underfoot. Big mercantile capital is becoming more and more coalesced with the feudal and semi-feudal big land ownership. The rich merchants are buying up the land, but they do not carry on their own enterprises on the land so purchased, but continue the semi-feudal exploitation of the peasantry in even more ruthless and cruel forms. In Persia share-cropping is still the prevailing form of exploitation in agriculture. Land, water, cattle, agricultural implements, seed corn and labour power are regarded as factors of agricultural production. The harvest is accordingly divided up into six parts, and the peasant receives only a sixth part of the yield in return for his labour. Thus if the big landowner places at the disposal of the tenant the land, water, cattle, implements and seed corn, he receives five-sixths of the harvest as rent. To this there is to be added the exploitation of the peasantry by money-lenders, taxes, high monopoly prices for matches, salt, oil, sugar, tobacco etc.

Owing to this its class character the Reza Khan government cannot conduct a consistent anti-imperialist fight.

The foreign policy of Reza Khan consisted and consists in taking advantage of the antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the imperialist Powers, endeavouring at the same time to lay increasing stress on the anti-Soviet character of its policy. It is very significant that even during the conflict with the British government the government press of Persia is conducting a systematic campaign against the Soviet Union, making use in this connection of the stupid arguments regarding "red imperialism". Reza Khan's government is endeavouring at the same time to take advantage of the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers themselves. For this reason the Persian government is endeavouring to interest German, Italian, Belgian and French capital in Persia. German capital is interested in the construction of railways, Belgian capital in motor transport, German and Italian capital in foreign trade, and French capital in the tobacco monopoly. The most important economic key positions, however, are still in the hands of British finance capital.

The fight which Reza Khan is conducting over Persian oil is nothing else but a **national-reformist fight**, and there is every prospect of his capitulating to British imperialism. For the government of the Shah, this fight is **not** a revolutionary fight for winning back the greatest source of the wealth of the country—oil. It is a case of bargaining at the cost of the working population of Persia. The Shah and his government wish to come to an agreement with the Anglo-Persian. **It is only a question of the price.**

Even this national-reformist fight would, however, have been impossible so far as the Shah and his government are concerned if it were not for the intensification of the fight between the two worlds—between the Soviet Union and imperialism—, if the intensification of the fight in the camp of the imperialists, and in particular the intensification of the antagonisms between England and the United States, between Deterding and the Standard Oil Company, had not created favourable conditions for the action of the Persian government. This national-reformist fight would have been impossible if the economic crisis had not compelled the Persian government to seek new sources of revenue, if the pressure of the masses had not forced the government of Reza Khan to come forward in the role of defender of the national interests. And further even this national-reformist fight would have been impossible as far as the Persian monarchy is concerned if the depreciation of the Pound, the Invergordon mutiny, the whole crisis of British imperialism had not

shaken the prestige and influence of British imperialism also in Persia.

The government of Reza Khan is conducting a national-reformist fight and is bargaining with British imperialism for a better price.

The working masses of Persia, however, are conducting a revolutionary fight against British imperialism.

II.

The English "National Government" has sent two diplomatic Notes to the government of the United States requesting postponement of the debt instalments falling due in December and a revision of the War-Debts Settlement. The "sacredness" of Treaties has not prevented the National Government from raising the question of the revision of the Treaty.

The Persian Government has annulled the Treaty with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and proposed a revision of this Treaty. The English government replied to this demand by dispatching warships to the Persian Gulf, and the Under-Secretary of State, replying to questions in the House of Commons, refused to give any assurance that no warlike means would be employed against Persia. Mr. D'Arcy, the representative of English finance capital, concluded the concession agreement with the corrupt, rotten Kadshar dynasty, which was only able to maintain itself with the aid of English warships and bayonets, and the Cossacks of the Russian tsars. This corrupt dynasty granted a concession to exploit the oil resources of Persia in return for—£20,000. It sold the future, the enormous riches of the country, for a mere mess of pottage. And the English government defends the "sacredness" of the agreement and sends warships in order to enforce its observance.

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company forms a state within the State of Persia. It has its own police (security service); it has its own laws. The army, police and State power of Reza Khan is at its disposal, as was shown in the strike in the year 1929, when hundreds of workers were arrested and banished at the behest of the all-powerful company. And during the strike the warships of His Majesty King George appeared in the Persian Gulf. The Company imported Indian, Armenian and Arab workers to Persia in order to destroy the unity of the workers by means of national and religious differences.

In the year 1931, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company still paid 1,700 million Pound Sterling to the Persian government as 16 per cent. of the net profits of the company. In the year 1932 the company proposed to pay only 300,000 Pound Sterling. It was this fact which set the ball rolling and provided the immediate cause of the conflict. The English Government recently concluded a Treaty with Iraq according to which a fixed sum is to be paid for every ton of oil exported. Thus Iraq does not receive a share of the profits, but a definite sum according to the quantity of oil exported. The Persian government is apparently striving for a similar agreement. But that is not the case. The D'Arcy concession embraces an area of 1,145,000 square kilometres (the total area of Persia is 1,645,000 square kilometres). This means that the Persian government has no right to grant other concessions on this territory. The Persian government is apparently aiming at a certain restriction of the concession area in order to be able to do business with Standard Oil or Sinclair. It is this circumstance which converts the conflict into part of the big fight between the big oil trusts.

* * *

In Persia itself a broad anti-imperialist mass movement is growing: a national movement against British imperialism. This movement is not organised, and the broad masses of the people who are taking part in it have not yet got rid of their illusions regarding the role of the government of Reza Khan.

The masses of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie still believe that Reza Khan is conducting a consistent fight against imperialism, and do not yet perceive that he is only bargaining with British imperialism over the price of the new capitulation. Reza Khan wants to obtain a higher price for Persian oil; the masses are fighting to win back the oil wells from British finance capital.

This situation determines the tactics of the C.P. of Iran.

Reza Khan only wants a higher price for the oil. The masses want the restoration of the oilfields to Persia. The Communists therefore set up the slogan of confiscation of

the oil wells. This demand is directed against British imperialism, but it also exposes the government of Reza Khan to the masses.

England has occupied the Bahrein Islands. The Persian government has already demanded the handing back of the Bahrein Islands. The C.P. of Iran demands the handing back of the Bahrein Islands and is opposed to any negotiations until the Bahrein Islands are given back. England sends warships to the Persian Gulf. The Communist Party of Iran demands that there be no negotiations with England so long as English warships threaten Persia. Next to the naphtha works the Saschi-Sach Bank constitutes the most important key-position of English finance capital in Persia. The C.P. of Iran demands the cessation of the activity of this bank in Persia and the annulment of the concessions held by this bank. At the same time the Communists demand the cessation of debt payment to England.

Foreign Trade in Persia is under State control. The C.P. of Iran demands the breaking off of trade relations with England. Its slogan is: "Boycott English goods, banks and undertakings."

In order to support these anti-imperialist slogans, in order to be able to take over the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement, the C.P. of Iran is fighting for the setting up of anti-imperialist unity committees which shall unite the masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie for common fighting actions. These committees of action shall lend weight to the anti-imperialist fighting slogans by means of demonstrations, protest strikes.

From the point of view of the whole movement it is of the greatest importance to mobilise the workers employed in the oil works. The oil workers of Persia already proved their fighting capacity in the big strike in the year 1929. English warships and the police of Reza Khan crushed this strike movement, as is now admitted in the Persian Parliament. The C.P. of Iran considers it its most important task to develop the strike movement in the oil region for shorter working hours, for higher wages, for better dwellings, for equality of the Persian with Indian and Arab workers, for the confiscation of the oil works, for the occupation of the oil works, for the removal of the English police from the oil regions. The C.P. of Iran is at the same time carrying on agitation for the united front among the Indian, Arab and Armenian workers by explaining to them that the anti-imperialist united front of the workers in Persia facilitates the fight for emancipation also in India and Iraq. The oil workers, with the support of the workers and toilers of the whole of Persia, can achieve the hegemony of the proletariat in this fight. The C.P. of Iran will concentrate its best forces in the oil regions in order to create proletarian cadres in the anti-imperialist movement.

The C.P. of Iran is endeavouring at the same time to popularise throughout the whole country the slogan of anti-imperialist fight and bring to the masses the fighting slogans for democratic liberties: (freedom of political organisations, freedom of the press, right of combination, right to strike, release of proletarian prisoners, repeal of anti-communist laws). There can be no revolutionary anti-imperialist fight if the masses do not win their democratic rights.

Needless to say, the C.P. of Iran is continuing its fight for the every-day demands of the workers (shorter working hours, higher wages, social legislation, freedom of trade union organisations, right to strike etc.). It goes without saying that the Communists also voice the demands of the peasantry: reduction and cancellation of ground rents, reduction of taxes, abolition of usurious debts, abolition of feudal dues. There is no need to say that the C.P. of Iran also propagates its final slogans (overthrow of the monarchy, workers' and peasants' government).

And to the extent to which the fight increases and the capitulation policy of Reza Khan becomes clearer to the masses, so will the C.P. of Iran accentuate its fighting slogans, its forms and methods of fight.

The Communist Party of Iran is confronted with responsible tasks. It depends upon the solution of these tasks whether the C.P. of Iran will succeed in arriving on the broad path of the mass movement, whether the Party will succeed in emerging from the narrow circles to which its work has hitherto been confined, and in penetrating into the broad anti-imperialist movement of the masses.

The Belgrade Conference of the Little Entente.

By Z. Gregor (Vienna).

Regarding the result of the recent conference of the Little Entente in Belgrade—the setting up of a permanent council and a permanent secretariat—the "Matin" writes that this is an experiment unique in diplomatic history, and converts the Little Entente into an outspoken alliance with a uniform "supreme command".

The "Matin", which is the mouthpiece of French imperialism, was probably exaggerating somewhat when it expressed such an opinion. The wish is again the father to the thought. For even when rightly regarding the Little Entente as the vassal system of France, one must not underestimate the independent imperialist greed of its individual members. But ever since the existence of this State grouping as a prop of the Versailles system and a threat to the Soviet Union, French foreign policy has constantly endeavoured to consolidate it and give it uniformity.

The French system of alliances in South-East Europe has recently passed through a severe crisis. The Stresa Conference showed that French finance capital is no longer able to throw away unlimited sums in bolstering up the bankrupt States of this corner of Europe. Paris, it is true, brought about the collapse of the Austrian Creditanstalt in order to prevent the German-Austrian customs union, but it was beyond its power to repair the damage resulting from the economic earthquake called forth thereby in the States of the Little Entente. This is the explanation of the cooling of relations between France and Rumania, which became apparent during the recent government crisis, as well as the open return of Hungary to Italian imperialism and the continual vacillation of Austria.

This crisis has resulted in a sharpening of imperialist antagonisms. Gömbös declared that the coming year will be a "year of revisions". And when students in Trau (Dalmatia) destroyed some century-old stone lions, symbols of the Venetian Republic, Mussolini vehemently protested against this in a bellicose speech in the Senate.

It was in this atmosphere that the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente met in Belgrade. The first item on the agenda was the question of "disarmament". As this word has long since become synonymous with "armaments" it is easy to guess what the main purpose of the Conference was. It should be mentioned in this connection that the General Staffs of the Little Entente, which also met in Belgrade some weeks ago, likewise discussed the question of "disarmament".

The result of the Conference of the Foreign Ministers was the formation of a Permanent Council of the Little Entente, consisting of the three Foreign Ministers, which is to meet at least three times a year in order to examine all the current questions of foreign policy, and at the same time to deal with all questions of special interest to the three countries in their mutual relations. There was also set up a Permanent Secretariat of the Little Entente which is to prepare the work of the permanent Council and facilitate the collaboration of the three States of the Little Entente.

The "Prager Presse", the organ of the Czech government, expressly describes the Belgrade decisions as a reply to the revisionist programme of the Gömbös government and to revisionist efforts in general. Thus the imperialist character of this Conference, which was called for the purpose of strengthening the apparatus of power for maintaining the status quo in South-East Europe, is practically admitted.

General silence, however, is maintained regarding another question, no less important than that of revision, which engaged the attention of this Conference, namely the question of preparation for war against the Soviet Union.

The Bucharest "Curentul" writes that French proposals for new military conventions were discussed in Belgrade but did not meet with much sympathy as all three States showed little inclination to undertake fresh obligations.

This refers to nothing else but the well-known desire of the French General Staff for closer military connection between Poland and the Little Entente. Such a military alliance, however, can have nothing to do with the Franco-Italian antagonism; it is directed exclusively against the Soviet Union.

The Belgrade Conference of the Little Entente means a strengthening of the power of French imperialism in South-East Europe, a boasting about the divisions, air-squadrons, tanks, and heavy batteries which the Little Entente has at its disposal under the command of the French General Staff. For this is finally the supreme command of the "alliance" of which the "Matin" speaks.

The Fight for Hegemony in the Mediterranean.

By J. B.

The steady worsening of the relations between French and Italian imperialism has led to a feverish competition in armaments. Each side is endeavouring to outdo the other in regard to naval armaments, to increase the air forces, to prepare a military base in the event of war. The Italian "Stampa" recently published precise calculations as to how many days a French army would require to reach the plains of the Po, and how many days would be required for the Italian army to cross the chains of mountains forming a barrier to the Rhone valley. The imperialist governments of France and Italy are quite aware that a war between the two States could not be confined to the Franco-Italian frontiers, but that the fight for the hegemony of the Mediterranean is bound to draw in all the Mediterranean countries.

Italy has gained a certain advantage over France through its connections in the Balkans (Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria—Treaties with Greece and Turkey) and France is now hastily endeavouring to catch up to its rival. There was Herriot's journey to Madrid, where he attempted to isolate Italian imperialism in the Western part of the Mediterranean. There is also the attempt to grant greater support, including material support, to the French allies on the Balkans, especially Yugoslavia, partly at the cost of Rumania.

At the same time French imperialism is displaying increased activity in Asia Minor. French diplomats a few months ago resumed negotiations with Turkey. After several interruptions an agreement was arrived at which settles the question of Turkey's claims to those parts of the Baghdad railway line passing through French mandatory territory, and also the complicated problem of the property rights of Turkish subjects in French mandatory territory. Negotiations are also proceeding regarding a fresh settlement of the Turkish debts, and in fact regarding the possibility of fresh French credits. The French government hopes by this means to be able to sever the threads which are being spun between Turkey and Italy.

A loyal attitude on the part of Turkey in the event of an imperialist war between Italy and France is all the more important to the latter as the French mandate in Syria is in no way stabilised. Some years ago, in connection with the Italian claims to Syria, there was talk of Italy sharing with Turkey the territory which is at present under French administration, Italy receiving the Southern portion, including Lebanon, Turkey receiving the Northern portion of Syria. It is of special importance to French imperialism to consolidate its rule in Syria, as in the event of a war with Italy Syria can play a strategically very important role.

The latest imperialist manoeuvre, the Franco-Syrian draft treaty, deserves special attention in connection with the French endeavours permanently to secure its domination of Syrian territory. Under the cloak of "Syrian independence", French rule is to be established still more firmly in Syria than British imperialist rule in Iraq. The division of Syria into several parts will be perpetuated if the draft treaty finds acceptance. Moreover, the military occupation will hardly be reduced, and "independent" Syria, when the Treaty has been concluded, will possess no more freedom than at present.

In particular French imperialism preserves itself the right to guard the oil pipe line through Syrian territory. After long negotiations French firms, which have acquired 25 per cent. of the shares of the Mosul oil wells, have decided, along with the American shareholders who likewise possess 25 per cent. of the shares, to lay a pipe-line of their own to a Syrian port, separate from the English pipe-line to Haifa. The French press does not seek to deny that this oil is to serve to create a reliable fuel basis for the French fleet in the event of war.

Finally, there should be noted the intensive efforts of the French diplomats to improve French relations in the Arab Peninsula. This also represents in the first place an attempt to oust the Italians from their position in Arabia.

All this indicates that the struggle of French imperialism to maintain its hegemony in the Mediterranean has reached a new stage.

GERMANY

From Papen's Plan to Revive Economy to Schleicher's Programme.

By Karl (Berlin).

The plan which Papen drew up at one time for the "salvation of Germany" consists of three parts. In **national economy** it represented an attempt to arouse the initiative of the capitalists by means of direct and indirect state intervention, to check the crisis by this means, and to bring about an artificial economic boom. In **home politics** it aimed not only at establishing a fascist dictatorship, but the leadership of this was to be placed in the hands of the German National Party, and the National Socialists accorded a definitely dependent position. Further, the influence of the Prussian landowners was to be strengthened and legalised, not only in national economy (quotas), but in state policy—that is to say, with respect to the relations between the Reich and the German States, or, more accurately expressed, between the Reich and Prussia or between Prussia and the States (alteration of the constitution). In **foreign politics** the plan aimed at attaining equality of armaments, firstly by means of a demonstrative effort at conciliating France, and later by an equally demonstrative slamming of the door on the Geneva disarmament conference.

Papen's plan for reviving economy boastfully announced that 1.75 million workers and employees were to be re-instated in the process of production. The data compiled by the trade unions show however that within the period of six months only 42,218 persons were given work in consequence of Papen's measures, whilst at the same time 150,000 persons were discharged.

This was the "result", although the bourgeois state proved especially generous towards the capitalists on this occasion. The Papen government made a present of 1.5 milliard marks to the German capitalists by means of the so-called tax settlement certificates. The capitalists received state bonds, the "taxation settlement certificates", to the amount of 40 per cent. of the turnover tax, trade and ground tax falling due. These certificates they were to convert into money again immediately at the banks or on the exchange. In actual practice, therefore, 40% of the taxes were remitted. To this must be added the 700 million marks to be paid in the form of wage subventions to employers engaging new workers.

Most important of all, however, was the fresh wage reduction enacted by Papen by means of "relaxing" the wages agreements and other measures (authorisation of arbitrators to fix wage rates dictatorially). The fresh wage cuts were to average 12.5%, but in actual practice 27% was to be permitted. It need not be said that all social services were again reduced.

In order to ensure the carrying out of these national economic measures, the forces of the State were concentrated more than ever against the revolutionary labour movement. The figures issued by the Red Aid show that between 17th August and 1st December there were 2853 persons tried for political and strike offences, and sentenced to a total of 2154 years of imprisonment.

In order to "revive" agriculture, that is, to overcome the agrarian crisis, a means was to be found in imposing quotas on agricultural imports, and in hindering or preventing cheap imports by means of higher duties. The German home markets were to be secured a monopoly. Further measures included subventions, state guarantee for agrarian debts, and lower taxes for the big agrarians.

The Papen plan was doomed to failure, for though it stimulated the capitalists, by its wage cuts and subsidies, to increased production, it was unable to supply any answer to the question of where these increased products were to be sold. The absorbing capacity of the home markets declined more and more—among the peasantry in consequence of the continued agrarian crisis, among the workers in consequence of the growing unemployment and short time work, the reductions in wages and benefits. The pauperisation of the petty bourgeoisie too has advanced rapidly.

The possibilities of selling on the world's markets have become smaller than ever, for the other states too are shutting

out foreign imports in proportion as they are seized and convulsed by the crisis.

That the Papen plan has proved a fiasco is due chiefly to the energetic self-defence actions of the workers, and to their strikes against wage cuts. The available statistics, not quite complete, show that in the short period between the middle of September and the beginning of November, 665 strikes took place, of which 315 ended with complete success and 29 with partial success. In the case of 261 of these struggles, the final result has not yet been published. The culmination of this wave of strikes was the strike of the Berlin traffic workers, which signalised at the same time the transition from the economic to the political mass strike.

Papen suffered a further reverse in his foreign trade policy. His plan of restricting agricultural imports from abroad by means of quotas, practically equivalent to an embargo on these imports, greatly aggravated the antagonisms within the German bourgeoisie itself, and between Germany and the other states. In the quota question opposition arose, and continues to exist, between the large agrarians, who hope that restrictions on imports will increase the prices of agricultural products, and the industrialists who produce for export and who fear the counter-measures of foreign countries and a further shrinkage of the export of industrial finished goods. As a matter of fact, Papen's quota plan was followed immediately after its publication by an aggravated trade war on Germany on the part of the countries whose trade suffered. In many cases this has degenerated into an actual boycott of German goods. Between January and September 1932 Germany's export surplus declined to 847 millions as compared with 1962 millions in the same period of the previous year.

The concern and anxiety caused by the agrarian crisis have increased. Germany is gradually becoming a grain-exporting country. Apart from the enormous difficulties in the way of grain export in the present period of international agrarian crisis, the superfluity of grain in the country threatens to break down the whole system of the artificial maintenance of the grain prices, a system which has already swallowed milliards.

Papen's aim in home politics, a fascist dictatorship **under the rule of the German National Party**, has been as little attained as his other aims. Quite the contrary; here again the antagonisms have become acuter. Hitler refused to accept the offer made by the German National Party to the National Socialists, deeming it inadequate. This gave rise to a tactical struggle between the two parties, which at least facilitated the exposure of the class character of the struggle in the eyes of the broad masses.

The social democrats, owing to mass desertion from their ranks, have only been able to give the Papen government indirect and concealed support for the most part (abstention from preventing the carrying out of the Papen wage reduction enactment, and of other anti-labour measures).

The plans mooted by Papen and Gayl with regard to the constitution aroused the opposition of the federated states, since these feared that their rights of equality would be adversely affected, that Prussia would gain an even greater ascendancy, which in turn would mean that the Prussian landowners would gain the upper hand.

In foreign politics too the Papen government landed in a blind alley. At the beginning of Papen's governmental activity, it is true, he contrived to attain a partial success at Lausanne in the question of reparations. The ratification of the agreement by the other Powers has, however, never been carried out, firstly because the inter-allied debt negotiations have not yet led to any settlement, and secondly because it is intended to use this signature as a means for combatting Germany's demands for equality of armaments. Germany's demand for equality of armaments has not been fulfilled. It has rather contributed to worsening relations between Germany and France, this affecting Anglo-German relations in view of the Franco-English pact.

The failure of Papen's experiment in every respect was clearly evidenced at the Reichstag elections of 6th November, and by the negotiations following the election. In Centre Party circles it is stated that it was precisely the Reichswehr minister Schleicher who convinced the Papen government that it would have to resign, his convincing argument being that ninety per cent. of the people had voted against Papen.

Although Papen's activities brought generous gifts to the capitalists, still the latter have realised that Papen's methods of openly revealing the fascist plans of big capital, accompanied by the simultaneous initiation of these plans in

all important spheres was bound to lead to a dangerous political and social isolation of the big bourgeoisie and its parties. Hence it was decided that group interests should give place somewhat to the interests of the whole bourgeoisie. Papan was to disappear, and the German National Party headed by Hugenberg was to retire into the background. Papan then resigned, with the object of facilitating the formation of a second presidential government on a broad basis ("national concentration"), and especially of furnishing the possibility of winning the National Socialists over for a coalition government.

And now the struggle began, openly and behind the scenes, for the new government, for the new national chancellor, for the redistribution of the shares of power of the fascist dictatorship. First of all an attempt was made with Hitler, to see if he had learnt anything meanwhile. But Hitler continued to demand, precisely as on 1st August, the whole power, or at least a definitely dominant position in the "national concentration", as the fascist dictatorship had been christened.

The leading stratum of the bourgeoisie again refused Hitler's demands. The bourgeoisie feared, for one thing, that a dominant position on the part of Hitler might promote the rapid acceleration of the revolutionary united front movement. The experience gained by the bourgeoisie in the Papan era has convinced it that the main strategic task of bourgeois policy at the present time should rather be the furtherance and intensification of efforts to split up the working class. And the necessary prerequisite for this is that not only the national socialist movement is promoted, but the social fascist leaders, especially the reformist trade union leaders, are enlisted for more active collaboration (outside of the cabinet of course). This is the so-called Schleicher plan. And this is why Schleicher is named a "social general".

(To be concluded.)

CHINA

The Chinese Red Army Advancing in Spite of the Fourth Campaign of the Kuomintang.

By Chie-Hua.

Since May last the bourgeois-landlord Kuomintang regime has been conducting its fourth campaign to "exterminate the Communists", to destroy the Soviet districts in South and Central China, in spite of the fact that the three former big "extermination campaigns" ended in complete defeat, thanks to the heroic defence put up by the Red Workers and Peasants Army. The Kuomintang government, which has shamefully capitulated to the imperialists, which betrayed Shanghai and has handed over the whole of Manchuria to the Japanese imperialists, is now, supported by the imperialists, concentrating its forces, numbering nearly 700,000 men, against the Soviet districts. In Central China the notorious, **Chiang-Kai-shek** has himself taken over the command, whilst in South China the Kuomintang forces are under the command of the war Minister **Ho-Yien-Chien**. This time Communism is to be completely exterminated. For months past the news agencies of the Kuomintang have been trumpeting forth news of victories and outdoing each other in their phantastic reports and descriptions of the marvellous successes of the Kuomintang army. But all this news is so obviously false that even their own supporters have to admit: "If all this news was correct then there would long since have been no more Communists in China."

The Chinese Red Army, supported by the rising wave of the Soviet movement, by the increasing fights against imperialism and the Kuomintang, has not only put up strong resistance to the counter-revolutionary campaign, but in addition has continued its advance into further districts. The results of the operations in the last few months show that the few losses sustained by the Red Army are far outweighed by the victories gained by it.

Let us consider first the operations of the Red Army in the frontier districts between **Fukien** and **Kiangsi**. In South-Kiangsi the first, third and fifth army corps, and in North-East-Kiangsi the tenth army corps of the Red Army are fighting, their total strength being 150,000 men. On the Fukien front they are confronted by strong Kuomintang forces, numbering 130,000 men, and the 19th route army, whilst on the Kiangsi

front they are opposed by more than 20 divisions of Chiang-Kai-shek's own troops. If we add to these the Hunan and Kwangtung troops which were ordered to Kiangsi, the strength of the whole of the white-guard forces on the Fukien-Kiangsi front amounts, according to the bourgeois papers, to over 250,000 men.

But in spite of the numerical superiority and the far better equipment of the Kuomintang troops, the Red Army is quite equal if not superior to them. In July last the Red Army, as a result of a number of fights, occupied Nankang (south of Kiangsi not far from the Kwangtung frontier), Nanhsiun (in North Kwangtung opposite the Southern frontier of Kiangsi), Sinfong and Lungnan (in South-Kiangsi), as well as other towns and completely defeated four divisions of the Kwangtung army of the Kuomintang.

We will quote a passage from the report from the Central Soviet district in Kiangsi:

"On 17th of August the Red Army of the Central Soviet district captured the district town of Lo-An, south of Nanchang. Two regiments and a battalion of the Kuomintang troops under the command of Sun-Lian-Dsung were disarmed; over 2000 rifles, more than 10 machine guns and trench-mortars, a wireless apparatus were seized, and over 3000 prisoners captured. After this victory the Red Army, on the following day, August 18, advanced to Ni-Huang and on the 19th to Fung-Gang-Yü. The first regiment of the cavalry division under the command of the Kuomintang officer Guan-Su-sen was defeated, a number of soldiers were taken prisoner and an air-craft was shot down. On August 21, the Red Army defeated three regiments of the 27th Kuomintang division in Ni-Huang and captured the town, taking over a 1000 Kuomintang soldiers prisoner. The defeated troops fled in the direction of Wutchou and were pursued by the Red Army."

The Red Army which is advancing to the North and West of **Fukien** has shown greatly increased activity of late. On October 3, the first army corps of the Red Army captured the town of Litzuan in East Kiangsi, after which it continued its advance and on October 18 captured Kienning in North-West-Fukien, and on October 20 captured Tainingh and Kwangtse, both of which towns are likewise in North-West Fukien. At the beginning of November Saowu and Chianlo in North-West Fukien were taken. During these fights the "fourth independent provincial brigade" of the Kuomintang suffered heavy losses.

The correspondent of the **Shanghai Times** reported as follows from Foochow: "Out of a complete company which ventured to fight against the Red Army, only three men and a few wounded who were able to flee, were left." Another correspondent, namely the representative of the **North-China Daily News**, reported from Foochow on November 3: "It is to be hoped that the government troops will be able to hold Yeng-Ping-Fu in the centre of Fukien, as otherwise Foochow, the capital of Fukien, will be in danger." There exists very little hope, however, for the Kuomintang army, as the bourgeois papers themselves have to admit that "the Red Army has advanced to a point 40 to 50 Li*) West of Yeng-Ping, and a state of siege has already been declared in Foochow".

In **North-East Kiangsi** the Red Army has likewise repeatedly inflicted heavy defeats on the enemy. On the Eastern front it captured Shunganh in North Fukien (close to the frontier of North-East-Kiangsi) on September 3; on September 19 it took Putsen (also in North-Fukien), and from there advanced to the frontier and on October 28 captured Chüchow, an important town on the upper course of the river Tsientang in South West Chekiang. On the West front, in North-East-Kiangsi itself, mutinous soldiers of the local militia went over to the Red Army. At the commencement of October the Red Army in North-East Kiangsi captured the town of Yukiang.

In **North-West Kiangsi**, on October 9, the Red Army captured Chin-an. On October 28, the 1st and 3rd divisions and the 18th army corps of the Red Army, as well as the 9th regiment, captured Sutzuan in **South-West Kiangsi**.

Let us turn our attention to the operations of the Red Army in the provinces of **Hupeh**, **Honan** and **Anwei**. The Kuomintang press is publishing sensational reports about the big victories of Chiang-Kai-shek in these provinces. The Kuomintang army which is here opposed to the 2nd and 4th corps of the Red Army, includes 8 divisions in the centre of Hupeh, 8 divisions in South Hupeh, 20 divisions in the border districts of Hupeh and Honan and Anwei, and over 20 gunboats on the

*) A Li is over a third of a mile.

Yangtse. And what have these strong forces been able to achieve? Let us again quote a report coming from bourgeois sources:

"Shortly after the national government announced that the 'campaign to annihilate the Reds' would soon be ended in Hupeh, there comes the news of the capture of Sinchow (in Hupeh, only a day's journey on foot from Hankow) by the Red bandits. Sinchow, one of the most important commercial towns in East Hupeh, was captured at 8 o'clock this morning by Communist troops about 10,000 strong." (United Press, October 4.)

On October 5, another town was captured by the Red Army, namely Chantsefu, which is only 80 Li distant from Hankow. It was captured by the Red Army, 10,000 strong, under the command of Kuang-Chi-Chün.

In October the fourth Red Army, under the command of Chi-Hsun, defeated the 30th and 31st divisions of the Kuomintang army at Macheng in North-East Hupeh, and then turned southward and captured Lotien in North-East-Hupeh. On October 6, the Red Army, under the command of Ho-lung, succeeded in recapturing the famous Soviet district on Lake Hung which has been devastated by Kuomintang troops. On October 13, in central Hupeh, a part of the fourth Red Army corps cut the railway line on the Pingan line, defeated the 56th and 34th divisions of the Kuomintang army and then made a rapid march in North-Western direction to the Suichien-Dsaoyang zone. At the same time, on the other side of the river Han, the second army corps of the Red Army captured Nanchang, Gutsen, Paokangh, Fantien, and other localities in North-West Hupeh.

A part of the troops of the second corps of the Red Army under the command of Wang-Bin-Nang, which had operated in Hofung in West-Hupeh, has now, according to a report dated November 5, advanced to the districts of Yu-Yang and F'eng-Shuih in the East of the province of Szechuan.

This uncheckable advance of the Red Army is accompanied by increasing mutinies of the soldiers of the Kuomintang army, by peasant revolts and partisan fights, which are spreading to ever further districts. New red armies and new Soviet districts are springing up in very many places during the course of these revolts.

In Tchinyuen, in South-West Chekiang, not far from Putsen in Fukien, a company of Kuomintang troops who had not received any pay for seven months, mutinied during the night of October 9. After releasing all the prisoners in the district prison and disarming all the armed forces and police of the district, they went over to the Red Army, bringing with them 200 rifles and 2 machine-guns. A great number of mutinies are also reported in the province of Szechuan. According to a report dated September 7, in Nunsan in East Szechuan, a battalion of the 21st Kuomintang army, under the command of Yang-sen, mutinied. There are already partisan troops and detachments of the Red Army in the districts of Liansan, Kai-Kia, Funtu on the Yangtse river and Sutin etc. in East Szechuan. On October 31, Pailing on the Yangtse in East Szechuan fell into the hands of such an "independent regiment" of the Red Army numbering 1000. There are already some red troops in the district of Tsunchen on the Yangtse (East Szechuan). The mutinies in Szechuan have increased of late since the outbreak of the generals' war in this province. At the commencement of November a battalion of the 29th Kuomintang army mutinied in Miandsu in North Szechuan. The soldiers killed their officers and hoisted the red flag. Small groups of partisans are displaying activity in the districts of Mowchow and Anchien in North Szechuan.

The most important of the new peasant partisan troops in North China are the detachments in the districts in the neighbourhood of Paoting in the province of Hopei (formerly the province of Chili), which have been operating there since August last, as well as the troops which organised a revolt on November 4 in Tschien in the same province. On the Yellow Sea, in South East Shantung, 5000 peasants carried out a simultaneous revolt in 50 villages in the district of Setzao on October 14. They succeeded in defeating the armed forces of the Kuomintang. They are now in possession of over 1000 rifles and are carrying on guerilla warfare in the district of Dschuen in South-East Shantung.

In view of the many defeats of the government troops and the ever increasing discontent and rebellion of the broad masses of the peasants against the ruling regime, the

Kuomintang are resorting to deceitful promises and manoeuvres. Thus the Kuomintang are promising to reduce the ground rents in the Soviet districts in which they intend to restore their rule and to carry out a reconstruction according to the so-called three principles of Sun-Yat-Sen.

But how were these promises actually carried out? An order regarding the distribution of land in the recaptured Soviet district issued on October 7 by the "headquarters for the suppression of bandits" in Hupeh, Honan and Anwei states that all land, as well as any other property which was distributed by the Soviets, must be returned to the former owners (article 11). Article 42 states that the peasants must pay the ground rent formerly paid by them. Land, the former boundary lines of which are no longer recognisable, or land which has been abandoned by refugees (mostly poor peasants and agricultural workers) is to be converted into settlements for Kuomintang soldiers. The government soldiers who settle on pieces of these lands must either marry or bring their relatives with them. Unmarried soldiers are not allowed to settle. The land tax to be collected from the settlers is to amount to 25 per cent. of the harvest.

Wherever the Kuomintang troops actually succeed in recapturing a district, the old state of affairs is reintroduced. The same high ground-rents and unbearable taxes are collected, all the social achievements which the Soviet Power has granted the peasants are abolished. The peasants are compelled to bear the cost of setting up a militia against the Communists and are also forced to enter the militia. The whole of the Soviet property, such as the newly erected hospitals, factories, co-operatives, banks and schools, is wantonly destroyed by the Kuomintang troops. Whenever a village is captured, the Kuomintang troops act with the most savage cruelty, killing anybody who comes in their way, not shrinking from shooting down old people or children and terrorising the population in every conceivable manner.

The complete failure of the fourth campaign of the Kuomintang fills the imperialists, the patrons of the Kuomintang, with rage and fear. The Lytton Report plainly expressed the dissatisfaction of the imperialists. The imperialists not only express their hatred against the Soviet districts in their newspapers, but also actively take part in the fight against them wherever they can. For example, the North China Daily News of October 15 quite openly reported that imperialist gunboats are playing an important part in maintaining traffic on the Yangtse river.

The broad masses of the peasant population and the Red Army are not alone, however, in this fight against the Kuomintang regime and the imperialists. In the big towns, in the centres of bourgeois China, the Chinese proletariat, as hegemon of the Chinese revolution, is preparing together with the poor urban population for the fight against the ruling class, for the Soviet revolution. The proletariat is connecting its economic struggles, its fights and demonstrations with political slogans, with the fight against imperialist intervention, for the national revolutionary war, for the overthrow of the Kuomintang, the strengthening and extending of the Soviet districts and for reinforcing the Red Army. The Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic has issued revolutionary war loans to the amount of 600,000 dollars, to which not only the Soviet population, the trade unions and party organisations in the Soviet districts are subscribing, but which has also met with a very big response among the workers and toiling population of Kuomintang China.

The Shanghai proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, carried out a big collection campaign in support of the Red Army against the fourth campaign of the Kuomintang. The sums realised by the collections are to be devoted to the purchase of an aeroplane named "Shanghai Workers", which is to be presented to the Red Army. The collection was welcomed everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm and nearly the whole of the sum required has already been collected.

Such large-scale actions by the urban proletariat for the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army plainly show the close comradeship existing between the revolutionary fighters in the white and red districts of China, and serve as an ever fresh stimulus to the heroic Red Army soldiers and the Soviet population to carry on the fight, in spite of the armed superiority of the enemy army, until the establishment of the All-China Soviet Republic.

INTERNATIONAL STRIKE WAVE

The Strike of the British Ryhope Miners.

By R. Bishop (London).

For eleven weeks, the miners of Ryhope (County Durham) have been on strike. The militancy of the strikers, their heroism and that of their wives is of great significance for the whole working class.

The strike arose over the question of the manner in which the company selected individuals to fill vacancies as they occurred. Prior to the strike the quarterly "cavils" were being drawn. The local Lodge decided that "cavils" should also be drawn for the 660 unemployed miners in Ryhope.

"Cavilling" is a method by which miners draw lots for the place in which they are to work for the ensuing quarter, and it is a method which enables good and bad places in the pit to be distributed in rotation. An even more important aspect is that it prevents the management discriminating in the choice of workers for specific places, it is a defence against favouritism in the allocation of working places.

The demand of the Lodge that the "cavils" be drawn for the unemployed miners, is in order to ensure that when any vacancy occurred men should be taken on in the order decided by the "cavil". The management objected to this and stated that they reserved the right to employ whom they wished when new workmen were required. This practice had led in the past to the victimisation of militants and the selection of those unemployed miners known to the bosses as "loyal" to capitalism.

The whole situation was discussed at a special Lodge meeting and it was decided by a vote of 700 to 6 to take **strike action** if necessary to enforce the demand that vacancies be filled by means of "cavilling". Three days later another Lodge meeting, attended by the whole of the 2000 Ryhope miners, overwhelmingly endorsed the previous decision.

The response to the strike was complete. The management were unable to secure more than 18 scabs to replace the **1,800 strikers**, but with this handful they endeavoured to keep the pit open in the hope of spreading demoralisation in the ranks of the strikers.

The strikers, however, refused to be demoralised and answered the scabs with mass pickets and huge demonstrations in which the miners' wives and daughters played a prominent role. Each day thousands of workers, many coming from surrounding villages, assembled to oppose the scabs and their police protectors who were imported into Ryhope by the hundred from surrounding areas. On the Friday of the first week of the strike the demonstrations became so militant and powerful that the police made two baton charges on the crowd. Individual scabs were escorted to their homes by police escorts of 30 or 40. Huge crowds followed behind and demonstrated outside the houses. Windows were smashed, several scabs received a rough handling one morning, and quickly the scabs began to fall away, realising that the game was not worth the candle.

By the end of the second week the company was obliged to close the pit down—and all scabbing stopped. To show their consideration for the scabs the management sent cart-loads of coal for the use of the scabs, but the strikers and their wives prevented the coal reaching its destination. The contents of the carts were emptied by the large crowds picketing the scabs' homes.

Around this period the women carried out a mock funeral of a scab and **600 strikers' wives** marched in solemn procession carrying a coffin labelled "blackleg". From the beginning the womenfolk showed a wonderful militancy. In the early days special meetings were held for them, to explain the issues at stake. Always the women voted solidly in support of their men—the strikers.

When the company found that neither scabs nor police intimidation could break the strike they started new tactics, summoning 700 of the strikers for breach of contract and losses caused by closing the pit. This action was taken on the strength of a joint ruling in County Durham between the reformist union and the owners that a fortnight's notice be given before laying a pit idle. The Ryhope miners had disregarded this rule.

When the police court proceedings took place practically the whole of the strikers, accompanied by a large number of women marched to the court in Sunderland. Throughout the march a distance of 8 miles, they were cheered and welcomed by thousands of workers and in Sunderland itself many more thousands lined the streets to welcome the striking miners. Strikers were fined 50/- each, and in addition six women and two men were charged with intimidation, and 5 men and one woman with wilful damage. The vast majority of the strikers declared they would rather go to jail than pay the fine. The reformist executive of the **Durham Miners Association**, who had all through done their utmost to sabotage the strike, sent a letter to the Lodge declaring that before negotiations could be resumed the men would have to return to work. A special Lodge meeting was held on the day after the Lodge decision, 900 attending. Only 8 votes were cast for even discussing the proposal to return to work, the remainder voting solidly for continuance of the strike. The advice of the Reformist leaders was decisively rejected and the demand was carried that the officials be called upon to resign from their positions.

Following the court case there was a barrage of abuse from the press, particularly the local press, denouncing the strike as unconstitutional and attributing it to Moscow influence (the delegate from the Lodge to the D.M.A. is a member of the C.P.).

The most virulent of the press organs was the "**Sunderland Echo**". The strikers took a decision to boycott this paper and the decision has been carried out. No longer is it to be bought in Ryhope, although previously it was to be found in every cottage.

In the first days of the strike the Lodge Committee formed itself into a **Strike Committee** and added to its number representatives of the rank and file of the strikers. Finance, feeding and publicity sub-committees were set up. Women were drawn on to the Committee and a special **women's sub-committee** formed. Every Lodge in the County was circularised with appeals for support. Within 4 weeks 97 of the 177 Lodges in the County had responded with contributions to the Strike Fund. There is hardly a Lodge that has not contributed by now. While the Executive were urging the strikers back to work, the rank and file were supporting to the utmost.

Over £1,500 has been contributed by the Lodges, over £200 from Labour Exchange collections, while many contributions have come in from other quarters. The Sunderland Branch of the Transport Workers' Union, for instance, invited a strikers' deputation to explain the issues, and after hearing the case levied themselves 3d. per member per week for the duration of the strike. The **Workers' International Relief** has been very active in support of the strikers. Four large feeding centres are working to capacity and a boot-repairing depot is set up, whilst food convoys have gone into the area from all parts.

Dependants of strikers are receiving relief from the Public Assistance Committee and the strikers are fighting for the operation of the Feeding of School Children Act.

An important feature of the strike activity has been the publication of a **strike bulletin**, which has reached a circulation of 5,000 copies in Ryhope and the neighbourhood. The strikers received the full support of the unemployed. The Ryhope unemployed miners levied themselves 6d per week in support of the strike fund and the members of the N.U.W.M. gave active support in picketing etc. Growing support has been forthcoming for the policy of the C.P. and the M.M., while the "**Daily Worker**" and the "**Weekly Worker**" are widely read.

As the strike drags on the efforts of reformists and owners to bring the strike to a conclusion become more frantic. One morning this week the miners of Ryhope awoke to find the streets of the village chalked white with the invitation to sign on for work and "get a pay-day before Xmas".

On the day before the meeting of the Council of the Durham Miners Association (December 10) the Durham press came out with the statement that 500 had gone back to work. This was an utter lie—not one had returned. It was a lie intended to influence the delegates to the Council. At the meeting the militants demanded that the Ryhope delegate **George Lumley**, a Communist, be heard. The platform opposed, but finally they gave way under pressure. Lumley spoke for 40 minutes on the strike and got a tremendous reception. A resolution was put for financial assistance being

given, but the platform fought against a vote being taken on it.

The meeting was a stormy one from beginning to end. The officials violently attacked the broad **Unity Committee** that had been established to assist the strike, amid uproar from the delegates. The same day the Unity Committee met and it was reported that most Lodges were in favour of assistance and six had imposed levies on their members.

On the following day a special Lodge meeting was held, attended by 1,200 members, and again a resolution was put in favour of a return to work. The resolution was discussed at great length, but was defeated by 750 votes to 280. The meeting also decided to post mass pickets to prevent a breakaway as the management had announced their intention of re-opening the pit. A big disappointment awaited the management. Only 20 reported for duty, and these the old familiar scabs.

A further Lodge meeting has elected 40 of the most active strikers on to the Lodge Committee with full powers and voting rights.

The strike has shown that it is possible for a Lodge to break through the barriers of Mondism erected by the Reformists and to carry on the struggle on a rank and file basis. The extent to which the strike has the support of other miners in the County is shown by the fact that the result has just been announced of the elections for the County E. C. The No. 1 District, which includes Ryhope, has elected the chairman of the Ryhope Lodge as the E. C. member for the area.

The Ryhope struggle was only made possible by consistent work in the union for a long period in advance. There have been a number of other pit strikes in Durham recently which have failed. In one of them the chairman of the Lodge declared afterwards that the reason for failure was that no assistance had been received from the Executive. At Ryhope the strikers did not look to the E. C. for aid but turned their appeal to the rank and file who have responded nobly and well. Ryhope has provided an inspiring example of how rank and file leadership can overcome all obstacles and face with confidence the attacks of reformists, owners and bourgeoisie state alike.

The Fight of the Czechoslovakian Miners.

By St. Budin (Prague).

The coalfields of Czechoslovakia are once again in a state of ferment. The big wave of strikes last Spring in the largest coalfields, which ended in a general strike and a partial victory of the miners, is of exceedingly great importance for the further struggle of the miners. In Brunn, where the united front was exemplary, where the determined fight of the miners compelled the coal barons to give way, an agreement was concluded at that time between the secretaries of the reformist and fascist unions and the coal barons, according to which there should be no dismissals before the end of the year. In the Ostrau coalfield, where the reformists succeeded by means of "united front" manoeuvres in shattering the real united front of the miners, the system of temporary lay-offs was introduced on a large scale, with the result that the position of the miners, has been greatly worsened. As both agreements are valid only until the end of the year, and as in the meantime the economic crisis has deepened and the possibilities of sales have lessened still further, the coal barons have attempted to carry out a fresh attack against the workers. Already some months ago the bourgeois newspapers published reports and articles regarding the crisis in the coal industry and the difficulties of the North Bohemian mine owners, who are prevented from adjusting the number of mine workers to the declining market possibilities. The reformist trade unions, the German as well as the Czech, have done everything in their power in order to hold back the rank and file from forming a fresh united front. At the same time the Government also made its preparations. In North-west Bohemia there took place a purging of the state apparatus: district officials and commanders of the gendarmerie who did not proceed with sufficient ruthlessness against the workers in the Spring were removed from their positions and their places taken by more reliable elements.

But all this proved of no avail. The memory of the successful struggle, the feeling of strength which the united front imparts to the workers are deeply rooted.

The example of the North Bohemian miners has found its imitators. In Svatonovice, where a few hundred miners are employed, the mine owners attempted a few weeks ago to put

through a wage cut. The unanimous strike of the miners prevented this. On the other hand, in the Kladno coalfield the reformist secretaries succeeded in disrupting the fighting front of the miners, with the result that the owners were able to introduce the temporary lay-off system. The elections to the pit councils which are now taking place in this district and which reveal the advance of the red trade unions, show that the miners see through the treachery and the manoeuvres of the reformists and are prepared to set up the united fighting front in the pits.

In the small **Rossitz coalfield**, however, the attack of the coal barons was frustrated. This coalfield, consisting of four pits with 2,200 workers, has great traditions of revolutionary class fights. The working conditions in this coalfield are particularly bad. Wages are 12 per cent. lower than in the Ostrau coalfield. A hewer earns only 140 to 150 Czech crowns a fortnight. At the beginning of November the coal barons wished to reduce these starvation wages by a further 2 to 13 per cent. The workers of the "Julius" pit replied by downing tools on November 6, and in a few days the whole of the 2,200 miners of this coalfield went on strike. The strike had been prepared by a number of unity conferences convened by the red miners' union. The fight is led by the strike committee elected at the unity conference and consisting of Communist, social democratic, fascist and christian workers. The reformist and the fascist secretaries at first declared the strike to be an "unofficial" strike. But as soon as their own members opposed them on this question they began to manoeuvre and declared themselves to be in favour of the strike. The workers, however, soon exposed this manoeuvre. On the board of directors of the Rossitz Mining Company there are social democrats and national socialists, who together with the other directors tenaciously insist on wage reductions, whilst their own party comrades on the strike committee are leading the fight of the miners. This has resulted in a tremendous disintegration of the reformist and fascist organisations. The repeated demands of the reformist and fascist secretaries to their members to leave the strike committee, have had the contrary effect.

The solidarity movement with the fight of the Rossitz miners has assumed great dimensions. In Brunn a committee of intellectuals, headed by university professors, was formed, which set up feeding centres in the strike area, gave hospitality to 500 children of the strikers in Brunn and organised a big collection. The small peasants and the small shopkeepers in the strike area have sent their representatives on to the strike committee and support the fight with all their power. A unity conference of small peasants and small shopkeepers expressed their solidarity with the miners and put forward their own demands: cessation of all forced sales, against the high taxes. The Domovina (organisation of small holders) of the Agrarian Party unanimously adopted at its conference a resolution expressing solidarity with the striking miners. On December 11, 600 delegates of the unity conference of the toiling population of the Rossitz district—delegates of the unemployed, women, youth, of the peasants and small shopkeepers—decided on a general strike. On December 14, the general strike was actually carried out. It was only by means of the greatest terror that the staff of the Oslavan electricity works, which supplies Brunn with electric current, were kept from participating in the strike.

The struggle of the Rossitz miners has already lasted seven weeks, nevertheless the fighting determination of the miners is as strong as on the first day of the strike.

A new strike threatens to break out also in the North-Bohemian coalfield. In spite of the incitement of the social fascist secretaries, the unity conference declared that only the red miners' Union and the delegation elected by it is empowered to negotiate with the coal barons regarding the prolongation of the Spring agreement. In order to add weight to this decision demonstration strikes were carried out in a number of pits. The reformists, who fear the opposition of the miners, have therefore gone to Prague in order there to conduct their secret negotiations with the coal barons undisturbed. They did not venture to abandon the Spring Treaty but decided to prolong it to June 30, 1933. It is true, the coal barons left themselves a loophole in order to be able to carry out new mass dismissals. The red miners' union and the delegation elected by it have issued an appeal exposing the treachery of the reformists, calling upon the miners to reply with a fight to an eventual provocation of the employers, and summoning a new unity conference for Christmas in order to deal with the prolongation and worsening of the agreement.

In the Ostrau coalfield, as a result of the pressure of the miners, the representatives of the red miners' union have been admitted to the negotiations. The employers declared that they are prepared to prolong the agreement for a further three months. The red miners' union calls upon the workers to fight against dismissals, against temporary lay offs, for the six-hour working day and for other demands. Some pits have already carried out demonstration strikes.

A fighting movement of the miners is developing also in the Handlova coalfield in Slovakia. Here the coal barons have given notice terminating the old collective agreement and put forward a number of demands: the bonus on account of increased prices is to be reduced by 50 per cent, wages are to be cut by 12 per cent. on an average. The red trade unions have refused to negotiate on the basis of these demands and the miners of this coalfield will in the next few days decide on further fighting measures in order to repel the attacks of the employers.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARATIONS

Japan's Preparations for a New World War.

By Sen Katayama.

The danger of a new imperialist world war is becoming more threatening. The contradictions in the camp of the imperialist Powers in connection with the Far-Eastern problem, Versailles system, war debts etc. are increasing in acuteness. Japanese imperialism is increasing its war preparations on the Far-Eastern front. The strained relations between Japan and America and the temporary apparent improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and Japan (due solely to the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union), in no way lessen the danger of intervention against Soviet Russia.

In spite of the fact that it is on the verge of absolute bankruptcy as a result of the economic, financial and agrarian crisis, the Japanese government is drawing up a budget amounting in round figures to 2200 million yen, of which 724 million, i. e. one third of the entire budget, constitutes military expenditure. The expenditure on the army is to be increased to 397 million Yen and that on the navy to 327 million yen. The naval expansion programme originally fixed for 1934 is to commence a year earlier, i. e. in 1933.

In Manchuria the number of Japanese troops has been considerably increased and now amounts to 150,000. Financed by the Japanese capitalists, numerous factories for the production of automobiles, aeroplanes, tanks and other means of warfare have been set up, and the construction of important railways is being speeded up in order to connect North-Manchuria with Rashin in North-East Korea, where the Japanese government recently decided to build a naval base. The money collected from Japanese workers and peasants for the alleged purpose of relieving the distress among the working masses in Manchuria caused by the big flood in the Sungari river valley last Summer, has been used for military purposes.

The Japanese ruling class is carrying on intensive war-preparations not only in Manchuria but also at home. Educational institutions have been militarised for years and a strict system of conscription has also long been in force. Peasant boys are required to put in a total of 200 hours a year in military training camps for four years. Three million boys and 1½ million girls have been organised in various bodies of a more or less military character. Every device is used and every opportunity employed in order to inculcate chauvinistic sentiments in the population.

Symptomatic of the war-preparations is the increased power and influence wielded by **Araki**, the Minister for war. It is quite possible that the military clique headed by Araki will supercede the Saito government in order to hasten the preparations for intervention.

The Japanese ruling class realise that the most important prerequisite for the carrying out of their war plans is the crushing of the revolutionary movement. This is the real object of the savage white terror in Japan, which has increased greatly since the commencement of the Manchurian war. Strikes are ruthlessly suppressed by the police, gendarmes

and fascists. During the past two or three years over 50 Communists and revolutionary workers have been foully done to death by savage torture in the police prisons. At the end of October 4 Communists were sentenced to imprisonment for life and 161 received sentences totalling 800 years. In addition, 3000 Communists and revolutionary workers are in prison awaiting trial.

Since last autumn the tendency to fascisation has become particularly marked in the camp of the social democracy. **Akamutsu**, one of the leaders and spokesman of the social democratic party, organised a new fascist party, the national socialist party, following the failure of a fascist coup d'état in October 1931.

The radicalisation of the masses resulting from the growing poverty is plainly apparent. Wages are being cut down, whilst at the same time prices are rising owing to inflation. War industries are flourishing, but the workers are frightfully exploited, having to work long hours, sometimes over 13 a day, without extra pay. The number of the unemployed has increased to over 3 million. The poor peasants have no rice to sell. Famine still prevails and is in fact increasing in the North-East of Japan. (The much talked-of rural relief does not reach the poor.) Increased burdens in the shape of taxes, import duties etc. are being imposed on the poor workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. The masses, however, are gradually realising the true nature of the crisis and the disastrous effects of the war. They have come to see that the occupation of Manchuria has not opened up an Eldorado or paradise as the militarists and capitalists promised. The peasants and unemployed are demanding free distribution of rice. Strikes of workers are increasing and assuming sharper forms. The strike of the Tamagawa tramway workers, of the Tokyo underground-railway workers and the workers of the Shibaura steel mill all bore an anti-war character.

It is necessary to enlighten the working class not only of Japan but of the other capitalist countries regarding the international character of Japan's war against China. It is a dangerous illusion to regard it as a mere local colonial war. The present war marks the commencement of a second world imperialist war and a fresh military intervention against the Soviet Union.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

The Paris Conference of the International Committee for the Fight against War.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The Enlarged Bureau of the International Fighting Committee against War, a result of the Amsterdam Congress, held its first conference since the Congress from 21st till 24th December. The importance of this conference is tremendous, both for the immediate activities of the Fighting Committee and for the promotion of the ideas of the Amsterdam Congress among the broad masses. The conference was originally intended to begin on 20th December in Strassburg, but the French government would not allow such a conference to be held in a country oppressed by imperialism. It was afraid of the effect of this conference among the population of Alsace Lorraine, and would only grant permission for delegates from the Soviet Union to enter Paris.

Numerous delegates attended the conference from all the large countries of Europe. The French delegates included: **Barbusse**, who acted as chairman with the utmost efficiency at all the sessions of the conference; **Cachin**, **Francis Jourdain**, the painter **Signac**, the socialist **Poupy**. Those from Germany included: the Reichstag deputy **Willi Münzenberg**, the pacifist General von **Schönaich**, **Dr. Bönheim**. There were delegates from Poland, from Great Britain, from Switzerland, from Italy, from Austria, from Czechoslovakia, from Holland, etc. When the delegation from the Soviet Union, consisting of Comrade **Schwernik**, Secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions, and Comrade **Helene Stassova**, arrived on the second day, they were received by an enthusiastic ovation, and their speeches made a great impression. It is, however, regrettable that this conference was almost exclusiv-

ely European in character; with the exception of two Japanese, one of them the veteran champion of the Communist Party of Japan, Comrade **Sen Katayama**, there were only Europeans present.

The conference was permeated with an atmosphere of unlimited confidence in the Amsterdam movement, and of impassioned determination to carry out the decisions of the Amsterdam Congress. Every speaker brought fresh evidence that the decisions of the Amsterdam Congress had met with enthusiastic response among the broad masses, but stressed at the same time the necessity of making these decisions more widely known, by means of the dissemination of more and generally understandable literature. In order to further this agitation, it was resolved to convert the International Bulletin into a periodical furnishing ample material to the committees in the various countries and to the organisations. On Münzenberg's suggestion it was resolved to initiate a great international struggle for the legality of the propaganda and the organisations of the Amsterdam Congress, in those countries in which the bourgeoisie seeks to frustrate the movement by dictatorial measures—especially in Germany.

The discussion was based upon **Barbusse's** masterly report. The author of "Under Fire" showed that since the Congress the war danger has increased, and that the wars already going on have developed further: in the Far East and particularly in South America. As causes for this state of affairs he mentioned the debts and reparations as some of them, and demanded their complete annulment; further the Versailles treaty, whose abolition he demanded; the antagonism between Great Britain and the United States; the bellicose machinations of Japan, supported by the League of Nations, that "Institution of deception and murder behind which the decaying class of the bourgeois conceals its greatest hypocrisy". This report was supplemented by the fundamental expositions of **Comrade Schwernik**, who showed that the main causes of the immediate war danger lie in the intensification of the capitalist crisis, in the growing radicalisation of the masses, and in the magnificent upsurge of the Soviet Union, this greatest obstacle in the way of reaction, and of the war forming the only way out for imperialism.

All the speakers showed the utmost importance of work among the masses of the workers as the main basis for the struggle against war, and stressed the necessity of mobilising these masses for the decisions of the Amsterdam congress, in the factories and workshops, at the labour exchanges, in the trade unions, etc. At the same time all the speakers declared that the mobilisation of fighters against imperialism must know no barriers, and must extend to every stratum of the toiling masses: peasants, middle class, intellectuals, technicians, etc. It was resolved to form special committees for each of these branches of work, and for the main social categories: women, workers organised in trade unions, physicians, etc. The question of **propaganda among youth** was accorded special attention. Mrs. Leo Vanner (from the International Women's League for Peace) gave a report on this subject, emphasising the enormous chauvinist propaganda being carried on among youth by the bourgeoisie. An international committee formed for the purpose is to issue a Bulletin for the youth, and to make preparations for a World Congress of Youth against war for the autumn of 1933.

No differences of opinion arose on the question of the **united front** as one of the chief means of mobilising the masses. All the delegates expressed their conviction of the uselessness of the proposals made by Otto Bauer and other socialist leaders with regard to an understanding between the II. and III. Internationals, since the II. International and the leaders of its parties collaborate in the defence of their native countries, and, as pointed out by **Comrade Stassova**, make more preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union than for its defence. The aim of the International Fighting Committee is the formation of the united front from below among all those sincerely anxious to fight against war by all available means, including the means of refusal to perform military service. The French socialist **Poupy**, whilst relating how his friends had won over 10% of the members of the Socialist Party of France for the theses of the Amsterdam Congress, stressed the enormous possibilities of work among the social democratic toilers, who are dissociating more and more from their leaders in this question.

Several delegates demanded that the propaganda carried on should be more **concrete** in character, that it should aim at exposing all those lying slogans by which the capitalists seek

to draw the masses into war (work schemes, democracy against fascism, etc.), and should tell the toilers what they must do in actual practice to prevent war, or to combat it once it has broken out. The discussion on this last point was weak: Only one of the Japanese representatives spoke exceedingly instructively on the actions undertaken by the proletariat, the peasantry, the soldiery, and the sailors of Japan against the imperialist war, in face of all the terrorist measures of the government. His report was, however, given very insufficient attention.

The conference adopted a number of resolutions unanimously, thereby laying down a **tremendous programme of action** for the coming months. The chief items of this programme are: The formation of a Vigilance Committee commissioned to discover and expose the machinations of the imperialists of France and Germany, and of their confederates in Europe, in the question of equality, the sending (in February 1933) of an inquiry commission to the Far East, as a counterpart to the Lytton Commission, whose tasks it is to conceal the truth about what is going on there; the holding of an **Asiatic Congress** in a large seaport of the Far East, etc. In order to raise the necessary funds for carrying out this plan, it was resolved to organise an **international collection** aiming at the sum of one million francs, and to mobilise the broad masses of the people for this.

To sum up, it may be stated that this conference represented an excellent **working meeting**, concentrated on **mass action**. There were no differences of opinion among the delegates on any leading points, although these represented a variety of political trends. All were inspired by the enthusiastic determination to make the Amsterdam Congress merely the beginning of a much broader agitation and organisation all over the world and among the broadest strata of the toilers. The presence of delegates from the Soviet Union imparted a specially impressive feature to the conference. The peace policy of the Soviet Union and its success in the conclusion of the non-aggression pacts were welcomed with satisfaction, but this must not weaken the vigilance aroused by the Amsterdam Congress movement in defence of the state now building up socialism. This Paris conference must be considered as a meeting greatly contributing to the **consolidation of the mass movement against imperialist war**.

IN THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY

American Labour Fakers Talk Radical.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The fifty-second annual picnic of the fat fakers who still head the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.) was held in a scab hotel **Cincinnati** for a number of weeks in November and December. The convention centred around the question of **unemployment insurance** and the **shorter working week**. Last year's convention had defeated overwhelmingly all motions for unemployment insurance, but during the year the Left wing Trade Union Unity League had won over hundreds of A.F.L. locals to the support of such insurance, the political elections had shown what even the American public was ready to do to out-and-out reactionaries, and the crisis had intensified to such a degree that the A.F.L. misleaders were compelled to acknowledge it. As their base even in the labour aristocracy narrows with the end of the stabilisation of capitalism so their phraseology takes on a more radical tinge. While it remains true that their purpose is to kill these measures with the kindness of sabotage, still it is a victory for the Left wing and Communists that the mass pressure of the rank and file forced them to about face.

Even the N. Y. Times had to note that the resolutions "contain more radical suggestions than usual". As an example, President **Green** said on Nov. 23, "If we are successfully to combat capitalism we can do it better through the development of solidarity and closer cooperation of all labour organisations" (re unity with the equally reactionary railroad unions). Of course, to reassure his masters the bankers, he also spoke elsewhere of "the restoration of the impaired capitalistic structure". Typically enough the S.P. fell in completely with the hypocritical spirit of A.F.L. bureaucrats, its spokesman

Hillquit characterising the stand on insurance as "a decided step in the direction of Socialism".

It was the increasingly militant hunger marches throughout the country as well as the growing leftward trend of its locals that forced the A.F.L. convention to **endorse unemployment insurance**, in principle. But in practice the measure evolved provided for state laws, one in each of the 48 states; Green opposed a federal law, stating that "it is practically impossible to enact constitutional federal legislation". This was a cue to the Supreme Court to declare state legislation unconstitutional also, with the guarantee that the A.F.L. would abide by the decision of the court. The A.F.L. is quite aware of the interminable lobbying against all labour legislation of the powerful bosses' associations. But the best guarantee American capitalism has against real unemployment insurance legislation is to be found in the very measure advocated by the A.F.L. convention. This is patterned on the Ohio state law, and calls for exclusion of the 16 million now jobless, with only those to be unemployed in the future to be affected by the bill. These would have to undergo a "waiting period" of 3 weeks, and if they qualified might get a maximum of 16 weeks relief per year, with payments based upon 50% of the "normal" weekly wage but not exceeding \$15 a week. Normal wages, with the stagger system (cutting full time workers down to a few days a week, ostensibly to give others some part time work, but actually to exploit both groups at a far greater pace) in effect to an increasingly greater extent, means wages are \$8 to 12 a week in a great many industries. Half of this would mean \$4-6 a week relief for 16 weeks, at a maximum, or a yearly average of \$14-2 a week. The scheme would be administered by state commissions, with the unions merely advising.

The purpose of this fake scheme is to disrupt the militant campaign for federal insurance being waged by the Left wing. The latter's plan calls for 52 weeks relief, paid for by the bosses and government, administered by labour, and providing a living sum. How much Green takes the interests of the bosses to heart is shown by the fact that he and the convention endorsed the proposal of Senator Wagner to permit employers to deduct from their federal income tax the payments made for unemployment insurance. This despite the fact that under Mellon's rule as secretary of the Treasury over \$4 billion were returned to big employers as tax refunds.

Lewis, head of the miners union, urged the passage of the resolution because otherwise "it will result in a breaking of confidence in our labour organisations and in their leadership. It would further complicate any attempt at a peaceable and orderly solution of our pressing social problems". Green put it even more openly: It would make "a valuable contribution toward the restoration of our impaired capitalistic system". That the growing radicalisation of the masses has forced the A.F.L. bureaucrats to reverse their stand on the question of unemployment insurance is evidenced by the fact that it is the leaders of the unions which still have some mass basis (miners, teamsters, etc.) who supported the resolution, while those in the real aristocratic unions (photo-engravers, etc.) headed by Woll fought it.

The A.F.L. variety of insurance is such that 7 governors of eastern states have endorsed a similar type. The sweep of the movement for insurance, resulting from the militant activities of the **Unemployed Councils** (which usually follow the lead of the C.P.) and the growing realisation by capitalism of the hopelessness of the crisis, is such that the N.Y. Times on December 4 reported that 8 or 10 states, including New York, would probably adopt "some type" of unemployment insurance before the end of 1932. The type is usually like that advocated by the A.F.L., if not more vapid. Early in December, 9 state legislatures had had their commissions recommend such insurance, and 15-20 are expected to consider the matter at their next sessions. Over half the insurance bills introduced into state legislatures in the past 16 years were introduced in 1931 and a dozen more in 1932. The Times goes on to say, "The barrage of unemployment insurance bills expected ... in January has spurred companies and trade associations to devise schemes which would eliminate the compulsory provisions and not work too great a hardship on employers". The legislation sponsored by the A.F.L. is not expected to annoy the bosses greatly since it is in effect in Wisconsin, Ohio, etc., introduced by the representatives of the employers themselves.

On the question of the **shorter work week**, the next important matter taken up, Green and his colleagues grew very much excited. He tearfully threatened to use force to obtain

the **30-hour week**, even to strike: "Some (!) militant union" will lead the fight. The Executive Council is "going to find a way out (!) even though we may be compelled to resort to forcible methods ... force of some kind ... We must get it through reason or force of some kind." The studied vagueness of the measures to be used are enough to expose their hollowness. But the fakers were more explicit: their threats boiled down to a polite request that the federal government put its employees on the shorter work week; with the climax that the Interstate Commerce Commission, the organ of the railroad magnates in the government, find the shorter week feasible for the railroad workers, so that Congress might enact it. So we start with threats of a mighty strike and end with pious hopes that some day Congress might enact proper legislation. The whole business was simply mock heroics to further the Teagle-Standard Oil plan to "share-the-work", whereby the great corporations were putting their employees on the stagger system, with wage cuts and speedup. The A.F.L. bureaucrats spoke of the shorter week **with no wage cuts**, but the latter was an afterthought not to be taken seriously. The capitalist press entered into the spirit of the game by pretending to be distressed at Green's militancy, chiding him for talking strike after so many years of perfect class collaboration and at such a time.

An interesting statement in the convention report on the working week is to the effect that the Republican and Democratic presidential conventions "recorded themselves strongly in favour of reduced labour hours". This, in conjunction with another stating that "there is little if any prospect of early relief" in the crisis, shows that the A.F.L. measure is simply an indirect endorsement of the Teagle-Hoover-Wall St. stagger system. Green previously publicly endorsed this system, though it means great wage cuts. His present statement against cuts is of a piece with his agreement with Hoover and the bosses in 1929 to eliminate strikes in "return" for their promise to avoid wage cuts. The A.F.L. has done its best to avoid strikes, but, according to its own figures, wages in 1932 were cut \$25 billion below 1929, and during the past three years these cuts have totalled over \$48 billions. In passing it may be noted that the most reactionary member of the Senate Smoots gives indirect support to the A.F.L. measure.

The SP., through its central Organ, the weekly New York New Leader, supported the actions of the A.F.L. convention 100 per cent, characterising it as "in fighting mood". (Dec. 3.) Norman Thomas called its advocacy of the 30-hour week "... vital ... probably more basic, significant and far-reaching than unemployment insurance itself". The SP. strives even more valiantly than the bourgeois press to spread among the masses the illusion that the A.F.L. is in earnest about the shorter week and jobless insurance.

On the **Negro** question the "New Leader" editorial of Dec. 3 says, "The official A.F.L. position" on the Negro question "has been consistently against any colour line". In the same breath it admits that Negroes are barred from many A.F.L. unions (machinists, railway clerks, etc.) and that fake "federal" unions (local unions directly connected with the A.F.L. centre) have been specially organised for them.

How closely the A.F.L. worked with Wall Street is shown by the fact that while most politicians and newspapers came out against war debt cancellation, Green said, "I am entirely in favour of such reduction if necessary". At approximately the same time Lamont, partner of Morgan & Co., stated the debts were "perfectly just but impossible ... choking the channels of world trade". Meanwhile the press reported, "Congress Leaders Unyielding on Debts". (Nov. 15-17, N.Y. Times.)

The membership claimed in the report of the Executive Council is 2,500,000 (a highly exaggerated figure), as compared with 4,078,000 in 1920. All officers were reelected. Salaries of \$10,000-12,000, plus enormous expense accounts and graft were also continued. As usual the most reactionary representatives of U.S. imperialism were the invited speakers. One was Senator Davis, millionaire ex-Secretary of Labour and still a member of the A.F.L., who is now under indictment for swindling millions of dollars through illegal lotteries. The Commander of the American Legion attacked the Daily Worker and the bonus march of the war veterans. The unanimity with which all speakers turned their guns against the Communists was noteworthy.

While the official convention was being held the **A.F.L. National Rank and File Conference on Unemployment Insurance** was also held, dominated by T.U.U.L. ideology and

leadership, though made up of A.F.L. members. It considered the following agenda: 1. unemployment insurance paid for by the government and employers; 2. immediate winter relief; 3. exemption from dues payments for unemployed members of the A.F.L., though remaining in good standing with full membership rights. (Just two weeks ago the A.F.L. had expelled 2,400 steam fitters in Chicago because being unemployed they were unable to pay dues.) There were large delegations from New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Detroit, Chicago and Cincinnati, and city conferences there by A.F.L. locals had elected the delegates. The 100 delegates represented 1,000 locals unions with 250,000 members; a number of other delegates were unable to attend due to lack

of funds. The bill on unemployment insurance it proposed called for **federal insurance** with payment of \$10 weekly and \$3 per dependent, for a full 52 weeks each year. The funds were to be secured through taxing the rich on large incomes (all these above \$5,000) and on inheritance.

Other resolutions adopted were in support of the release of **Mooney** and the **Scottsboro boys**, for recognition of the U.S.S.R., against imperialist war, for the National Hunger March, against injunctions, against evictions, for reduction of the high salaries of the bureaucrats, for exemption from dues of the unemployed, etc. A committee of 25 elected to appear before the convention was ejected by the police at Green's demand. Tom Mooney's representative was also barred.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Urals Reply to Comrade Stalin.

By L. Aragon.

L. Aragon is one of the revolutionary writers of modern France. In summer this year he travelled around the Urals with a group of writers from various countries. The result of his journey appears in his two books, one a book of poems and the other a book of facts and descriptions. With regard to the extract given below, Aragon writes regarding these books: "I want to publish them in France together with two prefaces referring the reader from one book to the other. I never mix lyrics and facts in one book. Such is my principle in writing. But the simultaneous appearance of these two books will give a great advantage to the reader—by reading the prose book with the title 'The Urals Reply to Comrade Stalin' he will be able from the book of poems 'Hurrah, Urals' to check up on the impression produced on a traveller by the stupendous sights of socialist construction. Vice versa, the reader of the poems will be able to assure himself by reading the prose book that everything which he took to be lyrical and fantastical is firmly based on actual facts. In Soviet Russia, the facts are more astounding than any fantasy of a writer." The extract given below is taken from the book 'The Urals Reply to Comrade Stalin'.

From Moscow to Sverdlovsk.

What is it that astonishes the foreigner at every station on the Ural Railway in 1932? Is it the people who run with kettles for hot water? Is it the sight of collective farmers coming to the trains with vegetables and fruit? No. He is astonished at every station to see big notices "workers wanted". At every station. Skilled and unskilled. At every station there is a list of professions for which jobs are open. Just as if it were done so that workers travelling by the place would become enchanted with the picturesqueness of the district and would get out of the train with the idea "here is the very place to settle down".

There is work everywhere. There is work in the hills and work in the valleys. There is work where the new buildings and the enormous factories can be seen like gigantic greenhouses. There is work where nothing can be seen but fields and flowers. In 1932. Here there is not only no unemployment but you can choose where to work and what to work on.

Sverdlovsk.

And as you go further, it is all just the same. The whole town is plastered with notices asking for workers of every category. Messengers, specialists, janitors, etc. are all wanted.

In the little book market on the square in Lenin Street, there is a notice hanging near the entrance in the open air on the recently published book of Friedrich Engels "Dialectics". We are in the Urals in 1932 and I think of Paris. What is called literature for the masses in Paris? The detective stories of Edgar Wallace.

The "Ural Worker" is the newspaper of Sverdlovsk and at the same time the newspaper for all the Urals. It has existed for 13 years, counting the years of underground work. It was the organ of the 1905 revolution and the organ of the

struggle against repression between the two revolutions. In Sverdlovsk, there is a museum and I saw the copy of June 23, 1918 with the headline "Execution of Nicolai the Bloody".

At present, owing to the shortage of paper, the "Ural Worker" has a circulation of 120,000. It should have a 250,000 circulation. This is the paper of the worker activists.

Magnitogorsk.

When an American engineer was asked his opinion on the future of this tremendous construction work, he replied: "I wish I had 5 per cent. of the shares of this plant."

Everyone has his own language. This estimate of the capitalist is neither nearer nor further from the truth about Magnitostroi of to-day than the homeric description which I should have given if I had given way to my bent for lyrics. One of our comrades, for example, in his speech compared two Magnitogorsk blast furnaces to a lyre. I am too fond of poetry to reproach him for this. But a lyre produces only sounds while blast furnaces produce iron.

Another American, an old worker who had worked for Ford and is now working here said to me: "Nothing on earth will make me leave here. I want to see what's going to happen next."

I talked for a long time to an Italian worker from Pit No. 4. He had been deported from France, deported from Belgium, deported from Luxemburg, deported from Germany. "The workers here do not know what capitalism is and how much the I.R.A. is needed" said he. "But I know it well enough because I have needed help... The young Soviet workers cannot understand the exceptional conditions under which they work. They do not know factory life over there. I could not work now in Germany or France."

Cheliabinsk.

The question under discussion at the construction of the Cheliabinsk tractor plant is: should apple trees or tangerine orange trees be planted in the assembling shop, which is 560 metres long and resembles a gigantic greenhouse. In the Reno factory where tanks are made, on an island in the middle of the Seine, cut off from the shore, the question is discussed in working hours as to whether electric fences should be put up or whether barbed wire is sufficient. The Cheliabinsk tractor plant has a big public park, a summer and winter theatre and a club with a talkie hall.

We were to speak in the summer theatre. Before the meeting started, a big audience gathered there to look at the unusual sight for which we had been invited. A gathering for fraternisation was taking place between the collective farmers who had come to the recently opened collective farm market and the factory workers. Such a sight had not been seen before in any theatre. The shock workers on the stage were competing for quality and speed. There were twenty of them and they were making saucepans and stools at the same time. The noise from the saws and the hammering on metal was deafening. The peasants, who had mixed in with the workers, were looking on in amazement at the mad pace of the work. They were pushing themselves

forward in order to see better. There were over a thousand onlookers. Tartars and Bashkirs gazed with their eyes fixed and children caught up and repeated aloud the rate of speed that was being attained: "Comrade so and so from such a department has made a stool in 17 minutes", "another has made a saucepan in 21 minutes and 30 seconds". The saucepan and the stool fly to the onlookers and go from hand to hand. "17 minutes", repeats a child, who is so small that they all turn to look at him. The things are eagerly grabbed for close examination to ascertain whether or not there is any fraud about it.

Are all the nails hammered in? Is everything complete? Peasants shake their heads with the air of connoisseurs. "A stool—in 17 minutes." The stool goes from hand to hand accompanied by exclamations of approbation. Everyone wants a look. Sceptics ask if the material was not prepared in advance. Here is a stool—completed in 17 minutes, and varnished. The record was beaten by a saucepan—made in 13 minutes.

My thoughts again went back to Paris, to Luna Park and to dancing contests where couples danced without stopping for 75 to 80 hours running.

Zlato-ust.

71 per cent. of the workers employed in the instrument department at the present time are women. They work better than men. The majority of them are unmarried. There is a whole room where only Y.C.L.'ers work. They get from 80 to 100 roubles a month. The forewoman is an entirely new type: She is a girl who has finished the 9 years' schooling and is now learning at the machine. She gets 250 roubles a month. In comparison to her the Frenchwoman is a harem prisoner.

At the same factory an illiterate worker named **Makaroff** is employed, who had taken a trip to Germany with an engineer. He reconstructed from memory, without any drawing or notes, a very complicated mechanism which he had seen abroad. This mechanism, applied to the machine, increases its productivity 10 times over. Thus a proletarian, who has not yet raised his general cultural level, finds within himself live forces for the industrialisation of the country. This illiterate worker Makaroff may be well contrasted with a hero of the French bourgeoisie, such as the aviator Coste, who poses for the movies and throws bombs on Morocco and Syria.

Karabash.

Here about a dozen foreigners are employed—Canadians and Czecho Slovaks. One of them was recently married and was given a room for himself and his wife. We looked over the house and remained as guests of his wife's parents. In this house, where other foreign workers also lived, there are two cooks, two Russian teachers and two persons to take charge of social matters. Downstairs there is the general dining room with a radio, a study, a library, and a kitchen. These workers said that they could never have had rooms like this in their own countries. But they felt that they were earning too little: 150 roubles a month. This was exactly what they spent on living expenses and cigarettes, so they had a talk with the factory committee, and were given 200 roubles.

It would be interesting to try to suggest such an increase of wages in France.

Nijni Tagil.

In Nijni Tagil there are 200 foreign workers employed, the majority of them being Americans and Germans. It is difficult for them to accustom themselves to Soviet life, as most of them do not know the language.

It happened that some mistake was made, and the foreign workers did not know whom to turn to. One of these workers advised writing to the local Soviets. The workers wrote in, the letter was not answered (this happens). After this they were simply lost because they did not know what to do next.

They held a meeting, and one of them proposed to strike. It must not be supposed that there was any bad motive in this proposal: What do the workers who have lived in a capitalist environment know about methods of struggle under a proletarian government? They only know what methods to adopt for struggle in capitalist countries. This proposal was supported by a number of comrades, but was quickly defeated by a few words from one of the American comrades.

(I told this story in the Local Party Committee, and asked the secretary if it was not possible to have a booklet issued, so that each foreign worker should have explained to him in his own language what his rights and obligations were, what was the structure of the institution, of the factory administration and of the local government, the role of the trade unions etc. The secretary told me that this had already been decided upon and that such a booklet would be given out within a very short time.)

Nadyejdinsk.

The martin furnaces of the Nadyejdinsk plant and the buildings in which they are located have been rebuilt. It is interesting to compare this purely Soviet construction with the buildings and furnaces in Sverdlovsk and Zlato-ust. There it was only the furnaces which were made over, while the process of work remains the same. Here the filling of the furnaces is mechanised. Cranes hand out huge lumps of metal at the end of their iron hands, which are run by a single person at a machine. There the loading is done by hand, calling for at least 4 workers for each furnace; they have to go close to the flames in the blinding light and flaming breath of the furnace.

And here at the gate of the factory there is a little room with manometers and thermometers, by which the engineer can ascertain the temperature and the pressure in the furnaces at any moment. Nothing here is done by guess-work.

We walked around the martin furnaces, and behind them, where the metal comes out. I noticed that the work is the same as all over the Urals: dangerous and not mechanised. Can it be that it is impossible to mechanise this process of clearing metal out of the furnaces? The engineer answered: "Nowhere in Europe is this process mechanised except in France. It was at a plant in Nantes, where the taking of the metal from the furnaces was mechanised. In France they guard the secret of this very jealously. They would not let me see how it was done." Thus, in France there are people who, for reasons of industrial competition, keep to themselves a secret of invention which would enable difficult and dangerous work to become easier and safe. And in order to defend the interests of these people, thousands of workers throughout the world must risk their lives every day.

* * *

They told me that only in the bath was it possible to find out whether or not there were people who still believed in religion, because when they took their clothes off you could see crosses or images hanging around their necks. I went into the bath at Nadyejdinsk, and what did I find? It seems that there is no one left in Nadyejdinsk who believes in religion.

Lisva.

In this town we visited the children's home. They had recently taken in 9 homeless children—children of former kulaks. One of them, just a little mite, has done nothing but eat and sleep since he came there. As soon as he has finished eating, he goes right off to sleep. When we came there he was eating and smiling at us. Another one, 7 years old, a robust child with foxy little face talked with us. He emphatically declared that he would never go back to his mother. "What will you be when you grow up?" "I'll be in the Red Army." "But what if they don't take you in the Red Army?" "Then I will go and study!"

On the wall hung a picture of Lenin when he was a child.

Dnieper Power Station Produces 100 Million Kilowatt Hours.

Moscow, 26th December 1932.

The workers of the Dniepr Power Station made the following entry into the Works Journal on the 20th December:

"The meters of our works show that to-day a production of 100,423,700 kilowatt hours had been reached. This is the best answer to the bourgeois press liars who are spreading the rumour that the Dniepr Works have been built, but fail to function satisfactorily. On the eve of the beginning of the Second Five-Year-Plan we solemnly undertake to fulfil our plan figure of a milliard kilowatt hours for 1933 and if possible to exceed this figure."

New Work—New Life.

By W.

(Special Correspondent of the Inprecorr in the Soviet Union.)

6. The Youth of the Ruling Class.

What a much better life our children have than we had—says an elderly worker with a sigh. Just look at these young people, fine lads!—he adds with a fatherly pride. "How did we spend our time? Churches and public houses were built for us, to keep us in the right frame of mind. When I was over-tired and plagued with cares, I simply got drunk. Now schools are built, everyone, truly everyone, learns. I, with my old head, am also learning in the evening classes, in order to be able to do my duty better. We, older people, spend our leisure hours also in a more organised manner, we make excursions, we go to the theatre."

The working woman **Gorovina**, in jest here: "And my children! If I had an opportunity to learn as they do, what couldn't I have achieved! My eldest is a ships mechanic, another son is a Red Army Commander, and a third attends a vocational school. He wants to continue his studies and become an engineer! The future of our children does not cause us any anxiety!" The **Cable Factory**, with its 5,000 workers, is for the present Soviet Union conditions a "small" enterprise. But even in this factory there is a network of schools that could be the envy of any small West European town.

It has first of all its "Fabsavutch" (factory school) which trains the children of parents employed in the factory into skilled workers after a few years in an elementary school. They receive here of course also a general education which enables them to attend subsequently a workers faculty, which again opens the way to the university. Many young workers go straight from the bench to the workers' faculties, and graduate successfully from them. **40 workers of the cable factory are already university students.**"

The factory has also its own technical school. Most of the large factories have their own elementary (7 years) schools for the children of the workers they employ. There is no such school in the Cable Factory, but there is a close connection between the factory and a school in the neighbourhood. The factory has become the patron of this school. The children from this school are taken periodically to the factory and shown over it. They become familiarised with the various machines and mechanism, they are also taken to see the work of the planning department, and do their mathematical lessons on the basis of the concrete planning work of the factory. The school has 4,000 pupils, most of them children of the Cable Factory workers; 3,000 of them belong to the Red Pioneer Organisation.

Not only the young people learn. The adult workers are also eager to study, they read, learn, attend evening classes of various kinds, or complete their education in the workers faculties and universities.

Educationally backward workers get off two hours everyday for theoretical and practical training, while retaining their full pay. Such training lasts sometimes up to 18 months. Very efficient workers are frequently entirely relieved of factory work, and sent to schools, in order to raise their qualification.

Workers who distinguish themselves and show special abilities are sent to the industrial academy, where they are fitted for such posts as directors and heads of departments.

There are many more schools in the **Kharkov Electric Motor Factory**. Its factory school alone occupies two gigantic buildings, the erection of which has cost 2,600,000 roubles. 3,000 young people are being educated and trained there.

The continuation schools for the workers of this factory comprise, apart from the above mentioned factory school, 3 educational establishments of various grades for young people and adults. The first grade gives a higher qualification to the students who attend it and trains them for the post of foreman. The second grade trains technicians. The third grade is the factory's own technical college from which the workers graduate as engineers. But this is only part of the school system which we casually saw.

The development of the network of schools in the young **Kharkov Tractor Factory** is on similar lines, but has not yet reached completion. Special mention deserve the elementary and secondary schools in the tractor factory established for the children of foreign workers, in which all the subjects are

taught in the German, English, Russian, Czech and Jewish languages (Ukrainian is the native language).

* * *

"Father, I should like to go to College, I am so interested in technique, I should like to become an engineer. "Thus speaks your son or your daughter to you, Comrade Schulze in Berlin, Comrade Meier in Vienna, or Comrade Brown in London. Thus speak many thousands and tens of thousands of lads and girls in the capitalist countries. And what do you say to them, Comrade Schulze? You will have to say to them: Child, you must be mad! With my wage, or perhaps even my welfare benefit, how can I spend 20 marks a month which is the fee in a secondary school, who will by the books for you, who can supply you with food and clothes up to the age of 24. You clench your fist, and your son or your daughter cries: Father, life is so dreary and hopeless!"

You must say to them, Comrade Schulze: It is not dreary and hopeless, my child. For there is a great country where workers children have no school fees to pay, where they are even fully kept as long as they study. Fight, in order that the same should also happen here.

* * *

In the Soviet Union, apart from elementary education, all those who study get a grant which in the factory school amounts to 25 and up to 60 roubles, in the higher schools of various grades to 80 and up to 200 roubles and in educational institutions, such as the industrial academy up to 300 roubles, namely, the amount of the salary of the highest state functionaries.

Arrangements are made also in the elementary schools which relieve to a certain extent parents of the care of their children: All children are given one, and in some schools, two hot meals a day. Children of parents with small earnings get the meals free, and the others at a price which is considerably below the cost price. The same applies to clothes and shoes.

* * *

65% of the young workers in the cable factory belong to the Y.C.L. This is an entirely new kind of working youth, a youth which has not known capitalism, for which working class rule is something natural and inherited. They know of course about capitalism from books and newspapers, for no youth learns so much history and studies international questions as the Soviet Youth. Every word, gesture and action of these young people shows that they are quite at home in the part of the ruling class.

The Soviet Youth hardly ever speaks about the difficulties of the personal life. These young people speak only casually about food difficulties, from the political point of view. Personally, they are not incommoded by them at all. The housing difficulties concern them a little more, because successful study and good housing conditions are closely connected. However, even the housing difficulties which still exist, do not make them sigh and find fault, they bring them rather into the forefront when it is a question of struggling for the improvement of housing conditions. When there are difficulties to overcome in the factories, the young workers are always in the forefront. In socialist competition, in the shock brigade movement and with regard to strengthening socialist discipline,— the Soviet youth plays a very important part.

Wherever something goes wrong, where abuses creep in, the Y.C.L. is on the spot with its "light cavalry". It controls the bureaus and workshops and sees to it that wilful bureaucrats be removed. If some work is behindhand, the youth organises "subotniki" (work on rest days). Where the old stand helpless, the young will always find a way out.

There was a time last winter when the work of the Cable Factory was in danger of being interfered with through the lack of drums for winding the Cables. This was comparatively a trifle, but the whole work depended upon it. But where to take the drums from? There was a promise of more drums next week.

The young workers assembled and decided to procure empty drums by means of a "night attack". The most active young workers procured two motor lorries, and, with 30 degrees frost, rummaged throughout the town, collecting empty drums in the streets or in places of previous cable works. When the workers came to the factory next morning, wondering how the work could go on without drums, they were surprised to see drums of which there had not been a

sign the day before. plenty of drums lined up in rows in the factory yard.

This is just a small example of tens of thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands of such cases throughout the Union. This is typical of the attitude of the Soviet Youth to socialist production and construction.

* * *

"Your child, Comrade Schulze, will say to you when you tell him about all this: 'But teacher says, that there is no freedom of thought in the Soviet Union, even such a prominent 'socialist' as Otto Bauer has said so'".

Perhaps you will answer him with a smile: what a fool you are! like the workers of the Cable Factory who have reason to laugh. You will think of your eldest boy, Comrade Schulze, who is already over 20 who is not only unable to study but even get apprenticed in some factory, and you will once more clench your fist with rage and shout:

"A miserable liar!"

And you will know what you owe to the future of your children.

The Faithful Guardian of the Revolution. Fifteen Years of the O.G.P.U.

Moscow, December 20, 1932.

The "Pravda", in its leading article entitled "The Faithful Guardian of the Revolution", writes:

Neither the security organs of the great French Revolution nor the Paris Communards had in their fight against the enemies of the Revolution to deal with such forms of hostile resistance as the proletariat of the Soviet Union has to combat. For the more sharply, unrelentingly and successfully the suppression and liquidation of the exploiters are carried out by the proletariat, the more desperate and varied is the resistance offered.

One of the forms of this furious resistance is the malicious sabotage work of the heads of the intelligentsia and of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, which has been shattered in open fights and in innumerable conspiracies, resorted to sabotage work as the chief form of the fight against the proletarian dictatorship. Economic sabotage work—that is the new page in the history of the proletarian revolution, which was revealed in the Shakhty trial and the years following. The O.G.P.U. exposed the Industrial party, the counter-revolutionary Kondratjev-Chayanov group, the counter-revolutionary interventionist organisation of the central committee of the Mensheviks etc.—the agency of the foreign general staffs, the agency of the remnants of the Russian bourgeoisie, who sought to hinder the socialist advance and, by means of sabotage work, economic destruction in the country and preparation of armed intervention prepared for the restoration of the power of the capitalists and the big landowners.

The greatest merit of the O.G.P.U. in the eyes of the world proletariat consists in the fact that it exposed the counter-revolutionary work of the Menshevik C.C., which at the behest of the imperialists was participating in preparation for intervention, and that it exposed the direct participation of the II. International in the interventionist-counter-revolutionary work. Dealing blows to the economic counter-revolution, the O.G.P.U. stands at its post in the fight against the desperate resistance of the kulaks to the collectivised economic forms in the village.

But the O.G.P.U. not only metes out strict punishment. The Labour communes in Bolshevo and in Kharkow, the construction of the White Sea Canal and the first Diesel engine locomotives in the Soviet Union are brilliant proofs of the great educational work and the great work of transforming former enemies and former declassed elements into workers who are helping to build up Socialism.

The whole of the 15 years struggle of the Cheka-O.G.P.U. against the enemies of the proletariat, every exposed conspiracy and every revolt discovered, every arrested agent, spy, terrorist, traitor, wrecker, speculator and deserter is an eloquent witness of how the "inner enemies of our revolution are agents of the capitalists of all countries", and that "in the fight against the inner enemy we are conducting the fight against the counter-revolutionary elements of all countries" (Stalin). Therein lies the cause of the anger and hatred against the Cheka-O.G.P.U. in the whole world on the part of the counter-revolutionary

elements from the Mensheviks and the Trotskyists to the open monarchists. Therein lies the cause of the confidence and love towards it on the part of the working population of our country and on the part of all the exploited in all capitalist countries.

We are concluding the first Five-Year Plan of socialist construction in four years. We are developing the socialist advance on all fronts and approaching the second Five-Year Plan, the Five-Year Plan for liquidating the classes.

But our further constructive work does not proceed "smoothly"; on the contrary, the path to the classless society involves overcoming the desperate resistance of the remnants of the exploiting classes. This renders it necessary for the Leninist Party to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship; it demands strenuous work on the part of all organs of the proletarian dictatorship, including also the O.G.P.U.

The capitalist elements in industry and agriculture have suffered a final defeat. The kulaks have been shattered as a class. We record the victory of socialist forms of economy, the victory of the collectivisation movement. The decisive victory of Socialism has already been achieved in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, difficulties still remain to be overcome. The XVII. Party Conference pointed the inevitable further sharpening of the class struggle, especially on various sectors of the front of socialist construction. The Conference pointed out the necessity of determined fight against the opportunists of all shades, especially against Right opportunism, the chief danger at the present stage. Still greater vigilance is necessary. The demoralised bureaucratic elements of the apparatus who have strayed on to the treacherous counter-revolutionary path, must be exposed and combated. The deceivers and criminals who cleverly carry on their kulak counter-revolutionary policy under the flag of "agreement" with the general line of the Party, must be severely punished. The enemy with the Party membership book in his pocket must be more severely punished than the enemy without a Party book. The remnants of the shattered liquidated kulaks, the last supports of capitalist exploitation in our country, are now attempting, by sabotaging the grain collection, to undermine the collective farms and prevent the socialist transformation of the village. This attempt will meet with retribution, just as will the attempt of the class enemy, by speculation on the market, to disorganise collective farm trading and prevent the improvement of the supplies to the workers.

So long as the class struggle rages in the whole world, the drawn sword of the proletariat must and will be held ready.

The "Pravda" concludes: "The proletariat, which is celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the famous Cheka-O.G.P.U., is convinced that, under the leadership of the Leninist C.C., with Comrade Stalin at the head, by improving and strengthening its cadres, supported by the strong aid of the broad masses of toilers who are fully devoted to the Party, the O.G.P.U. will remain the drawn sword of the working class, which unerringly strikes the enemy, and honestly fulfils its duty towards the Soviet Power.

Comrade Kursky

Moscow, 22nd December 1932.

The former Ambassador of the Soviet Union to Italy, Comrade Kursky, has died in Moscow of blood poisoning. Everything possible was done to save his life, but his constitution had already been undermined by diabetes and the efforts of the doctors were unsuccessful.

Comrade Kursky spent his whole life in the service of the revolutionary proletariat. In 1895 as a 19 year old youth he was arrested by the Czarist police in connection with student disturbances. After the completion of his studies he continued his underground party work and in 1905 he was in the ranks of the armed insurrectionaries. During the February revolution he was the chairman of the Council of Soldiers Deputies of the Fourth Army. During the October revolution he was a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Odessa. Later on he became People's Commissar for Justice and organised the first People's Courts in Moscow. He devoted considerable study to the questions of law and legal procedure and was Director of the Institute for the Codification of Soviet Law and editor and contributor of numerous journals and other scientific publications.

The Economic Control Figures for 1933.

Moscow, December 26th, 1932.

Comrade **Suleimov**, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R., delivered a speech concerning the control figures for 1933 before a joint session of various economic and political organisations in Moscow, including the Council of People's Commissars and the Economic Council of the R.S.F.S.R.

Main attention in 1933 would be concentrated on coal, foundry production, engineering, the chemical industries, transport and agriculture. The Soviet government had decided to invest 18 milliard roubles during the course of 1933. In view of the measures for the reduction of building costs this sum would make possible a still greater advance than in 1932.

In 1933, the first year of the Second Five Year Plan **metal, coal, transport and engineering** would be developed to the maximum degree possible both with regard to capital investments and production. The production of pig-iron was planned to increase by 45 per cent., rolled iron by 46.5 per cent., coal by 29 per cent., the various branches of engineering: tractors 34 per cent., motor-cars 60 per cent., locomotives 53 per cent., railway rolling stock 54 per cent. etc.

Referring to the **manufacturing industries** Comrade Suleimov pointed out that everything possible would be done to speed up their development, to encourage local small-scale industry and to encourage co-operative production as an important factor for supplies. In 1933 the co-operatives in the R.S.F.S.R. alone were planned to produce to the value of 5,680 million roubles, including 70 per cent. important articles for mass consumption. The control figures for 1933 with regard to the manufacturing industries provided for an increase of investments by 100 per cent.

Comrade Suleimov then discussed the work of developing **supply bases** (farms, vegetable production, etc.) for the industrial centres as an important factor for the improvement of supplies for the industrial working class on a district basis. The control figures provided no less than 39 million roubles for this purpose, not including the sums contributed by the industrial undertakings themselves.

Dealing with the question of **agriculture** Comrade Suleimov pointed out that during the last four years the cultivated area had been increased by 20 million hectares, an area as large as the total cultivated area of Italy or Poland. In this respect the provisions of the Five Year-Plan had been considerably exceeded. However, insufficient success had as yet been attained with regard to the increase of the yield. For this reason the control figures for 1933 dealt in particular with the necessity of securing an increased yield and improved quality in agricultural production. An increased grain yield ranging from 8 to 10 per cent. was aimed at for 1933. Even should the cultivated area remain stable the carrying out of this plan would mean an increase of grain production by 150 or 180 million cwts. A one per cent. increase would mean an increased yield of about 32 million poods of grain. Many concrete measures had already been decided upon with a view to securing the desired increases. Experimental measures had already been tried in the Upper and Lower Volga districts and although many collective farms had not done very well, the general result had been satisfactory and increases had been obtained.

Big successes had been obtained with regard to the socialist re-organisation of agriculture. The socialist sector of agriculture had definitely won the dominant position in production. However, the class struggle for the organisational and economic consolidation and improvement of the collective farms must still be carried on with all energy. The success of the work for the increase of the yield depended on the consolidation of the collective farms, the selection and distribution of the directive forces at our disposal, and on the consolidation of the organisational and political role of the agricultural machinery and tractor stations.

The soviet farms had already become an important section of the basis of socialist agriculture. However, even here there were numerous deficiencies to be abolished. The soviet farms must increase their supplies to the State and improve their organisation and methods of work in order to act as models for the other farms. In conclusion Comrade Suleimov pointed out that the control figures provided for a big increase of the sums to be expended for cultural and social purposes in 1933. The sum expended for such purposes would be 12 milliard roubles as compared with 9.8 milliard roubles in 1932.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

Anti-Imperialist Demonstrations in the Philippine Islands.

By Paul Levin (Manila).

Following the resolution of the Fourth Delegate Conference of the Philippine Proletarian Trade Union, militant demonstrations, involving collisions with the armed forces, took place in various parts of the Philippine Islands in September. These demonstrations are all the more significant as they took place following a fierce incitement by the Philippine bourgeoisie and the American imperialists against the Soviet Union, making use of the cry of "Soviet dumping" and Russian timber, which, they declared, would ruin the Philippine lumber industry. The main slogans of the demonstrations were: 1. Fight against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. 2. Against the white terror. 3. Fight against unemployment and starvation.

The first big protest demonstration took place in **Bulacan** in the town of **San Miguel** on September 5. The demonstrators, numbering over 10,000, mostly peasants and peasant women, first assembled in the suburb, from where they proceeded to the centre of the town, carrying banners with the following slogans: down with high rents, reduction of interest, defend the socialist Soviet Union, fight imperialist war. The provincial authorities, who were informed beforehand of the demonstration, concentrated the whole of the constabulary of the province in San Miguel in order to break up the demonstration. The constabulary, armed with rifles and with fixed bayonets, barred the way of the demonstration to the town. The masses made repeated attempts to break through the ranks of the constabulary, but were driven back at the point of the bayonet. This situation lasted for two days, when the demonstrators, who were quite unarmed, were forced to disperse. The breaking up of the demonstration has only served to increase still further the indignation of the peasants against American imperialism and the native bourgeoisie.

The demonstration in **Manila** took place on October 15. During the course of the morning, demonstrators gradually assembled in front of the legislative Assembly, and at mid-day about 3000 workers, each carrying a red flag, forced their way into the Legislative Chamber. The slogans carried by the workers were: 1. Defend the Soviet Union. 2. Against the partitioning of China, and for the defence of the Soviet government of China. 3. Fight against imperialist war. 4. Fight for improved conditions for the working class. 5. State benefit for the unemployed. The guards on duty in the Legislative Chamber, numbering 60, tried to disperse the workers, but were forced to give way to the pressure of the crowd. The President of the Senate, Manual Quizon, the most loyal lackey of American imperialism and one of the biggest landowners on Luzon Island, was finally compelled to meet the demonstrators and hear their demands. The demonstrators then withdrew from the Legislative Chamber singing the "Internationale" and other revolutionary songs, and then proceeded to the city hall, where they dispersed.

Demonstrations took place on the 15th and 16th of October in **St. Cruz**, the provincial capital of **Laguna**. The first started early in the morning of the 15th. Workers and peasants, numbering about 2000, lined up outside the local headquarters of the Philippine Proletarian Trade Union and attempted to march to the provincial building, when they were met by two companies of heavily armed constabulary who sought to bar their way. It came to a collision during which the constabulary attacked the demonstrators with fixed bayonets, with the result that five demonstrators were seriously wounded, ten slightly wounded and the demonstration was dispersed. On the following day, the 16th, the masses again assembled for a demonstration. The Provincial governor, realising the determined spirit of the masses and fearing a revolt, consented to listen to the protest of the demonstrators. Soon afterwards, however, he ordered the arrest of two of the leaders. This action only served to rouse the indignation of the masses, who demanded and enforced the release of the arrested leaders.

In the province of **Nueva Ecija**, demonstrations took place simultaneously on the 30th September in **Santa Rosa**, **Cabiao**, and **Cabanatuan**. In Santa Rosa 1000 workers and peasants took part in the demonstration. In Cabiao the demonstrators

numbered 2000, mostly workers, peasants and peasant women. In this demonstration the peasant women played the leading part. The constabulary attacked the demonstrators with clubs, wounding four, before the demonstration was dispersed. In Cabanatuan the demonstrators numbered only 500, nevertheless they showed a determined fighting spirit.

The distinctive feature of the present movement in the Philippines is that the working and peasant masses are beginning to get rid of their illusions regarding legality. There is every indication that the Philippine revolutionary movement has arrived at a very important turning point.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of the Working Class in Greece.

By **Kostas Grypos.**

2. The Tobacco Workers.

The men and women workers engaged in the tobacco industry constitute an important part of the Greek, and also of the neighbouring Bulgarian, proletariat. They occupy a prominent place in the history of the Balkan proletariat. The first strike of the tobacco workers broke out in Salonica in the time of the Turkish feudal rule, after the revolution of the Young Turks in July 1908. At that time the first "solidarity fund" was founded by Jewish tobacco workers. The tobacco workers also formed the main strength of the "Socialist Federation", which helped to bring to birth the proletarian revolutionary movement, in Macedonia. In 1912 there took place the first Congress of the tobacco workers of Eastern Macedonia. Since 1918, the tobacco workers have formed the main portion of the Greek proletariat. Numbering 55—60,000 and possessing a firm socialist ideology, they dominated central and Eastern Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly and Agrini, and played a considerable role in Piraeus and Mytileni. The tobacco workers' union was founded at the beginning of 1919 at the first Congress of the tobacco workers in Volo. Since then hardly a year has passed without a strike of the tobacco workers. The period of relative stabilisation of Greek capital was accompanied by a broad offensive of the tobacco workers in order to improve their economic position. By means of this struggle, which found its strongest expression in the big strike of 1924, they achieved an agreement with the State according to which the daily wages of the tobacco worker must amount to seven-twentieths of an English gold Pound, and those of the working woman to 40 per cent of the man's wages.

A further result of the fierce struggles was the founding six years ago of the tobacco workers insurance, the first insurance of this kind in Greece. The tobacco workers had to pay the same contributions as the employers, i. e. 6 per cent., and later 7 per cent., of their wages. It is mainly an insurance against sickness, and only partly against unemployment.

The following conditions accompany the unemployment insurance of the tobacco workers: in order to qualify for unemployment benefit a tobacco worker must have worked 125 days, but benefit is only paid for 60 days in the year.

The present phase of the crisis of Greek capitalism, which commenced in commerce and industry in the year 1929, has had disastrous effects on the tobacco industry. Greek tobacco, which in 1929 constituted 53 per cent. of the total production of oriental tobacco, in 1931 constituted scarcely 37 per cent., being ousted by Bulgarian and Turkish tobacco. From 1929 to 1931, the area under tobacco declined by 31 per cent., output receded by 46 per cent., exports by 14 per cent., whilst since 1927 the prices fell by 70 per cent. Between 1929 and 1931, the number of tobacco planters in Thrace and Macedonia declined from 73,983 to 51,494, i. e. by 31 per cent.

The disastrous crisis caused the employers to launch a fierce offensive against the rights that had been won by the tobacco workers. But the workers immediately replied with a counter-offensive. In 1929 a general strike of the tobacco workers broke out, during the course of which it came to barricade fighting in Agrini. By this means the workers not only repelled the attack of the employers, but also succeeded in getting the period of unemployment benefit extended from 60 to 75 days, and the qualifying period reduced from 125 days work to 100 days.

Nevertheless, since 1930 the employers, taking advantage of the rapidly growing unemployment and the dissolution of

the tobacco workers' union, following a decision pronounced by the Courts, succeeded in depriving the tobacco workers of the economic rights they had won. The agreement, according to which the daily wages of the men workers should amount to 7/25ths of a Pound (105 Drachma) was broken. The gates of the tobacco factories were opened to workers who were paid 85, 70, 60, and last Summer 30 and even as little as 18 drachmas a day. This means a wage reduction of 40 to 65 per cent. Sick benefit is only granted to workers who have worked 100 days. The others can simply die in the street. Maternity benefit has been done away with. The convalescent home in Thassos has been closed. Over 3000 women tobacco workers do not receive any sickness and unemployment benefit although they have to pay 6 per cent. of their wages into the insurance fund. Everywhere the eight-hour day is exceeded. All trade union action in the factories, even the payment of trade union contributions, is prohibited. Hundreds of tobacco workers are in prison and in exile. Finally, a month ago the government issued an order doing away with payment of unemployment benefit to the tobacco workers, whilst at the same time rendering generous financial aid to the tobacco manufacturers.

The black spectre of hunger is haunting the tobacco districts of Eastern Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace. Not only the tobacco workers, but the whole of the working population of these districts are drawn into the vortex of the crisis. Last Summer over 3000 tobacco workers carried out a determined strike struggle. The monstrous brutality with which the government is proceeding against the tobacco workers will not prevent them from again engaging in a general strike.

3. The Industrial Proletariat—Miners—Seamen.

After the end of the wars, which for Greece lasted until 1922, Greek capitalism, thanks to the huge profits it acquired, and by exploiting the cheap labour of the refugees, was able to build up an industry far and away beyond the pre-war level. Greece is today the most industrialised country in the Balkans, although as yet it does not possess any heavy industry.

It is absolutely impossible to ascertain the exact number of the Greek industrial proletariat, as the State statistics are very poor. According to the latest census of all workers and employees who were at work on 4th September 1930, the number of workers, employees and State officials, both men and women, was 350,000. Of these, 161,000 are industrial proletarians, 8,000 miners, 25,228 transport workers, 40,235 tobacco workers (of whom 16,661 are women), 66,781 office and bank employees, and 45,000 civil servants. Seamen and agricultural workers are not included in this census.

One cannot speak of social insurance in Greece. Only the 45,000 civil servants come under a system of insurance, which is as inadequate as was that of the tobacco workers.

After the outbreak of the crisis in 1929, the capitalists started a fierce offensive against wages and the miserable insurance which existed in the case of the tobacco workers and civil servants. Owing to the lack of organisation of the Greek workers and the fact that the big trade unions had been converted by the reformist leaders into an appendage of the State, and also owing to the great weakness of the red trade unions, the Greek bourgeoisie were able for the greater part to realise their programme. There is no branch of industry in which wages have not been reduced by at least 30 per cent. Wages in the textile industry have been reduced 40 to 50 per

cent. Up to 1929 there existed a legal nine-hour day in the textile industry, which was extended to ten hours until 2 months ago, when it was finally extended by law to 11 hours. The collapse of the carpet industry has brought tremendous misery to the carpet weavers, mostly young women.

The "Power" electric company in Athens is a ruthless exploiter of the electric and transport workers. This exploitation has assumed a colonial character (military drill, speeding up, engagement of large numbers of temporary workers, dismissals etc.). The repeated attempts of the "Power" company to reduce wages by more than 6 per cent. have fortunately been frustrated by strikes. Similar measures were adopted against the railway workers, who, in addition to a 6 per cent. wage cut, have had their holidays reduced by half, and many of them have been dismissed. It is now announced that the European railways intend to have the international trains running on Greek territory manned by their own staff, so that about 1500 Greek railway workers can be dismissed. For dock workers there has been introduced a State "Autonomous Harbour Board", which rationalises work according to a fascist-military system, i. e. thousands of workers who had worked in the docks for years have been dismissed, and wages have been reduced by 30 per cent.

In the Greek mines in Naxos, Chalkidike, Lavrion etc., which for the greater part are run by foreign capital, over 10,000 proletarians are employed under the most frightful wage and working conditions. Accidents with killed and wounded are, of course, a daily occurrence. As a result of the earthquake in Chalkidike, which destroyed the Stratoniki mines, about 1000 workers were rendered unemployed and are delivered over to starvation without receiving any relief or compensation.

The seamen, who constitute a strongly developed and militant part of the Greek proletariat, have since May 1930 been forced to accept wage cuts amounting to 40-50 per cent. There are 7000 unemployed seamen in Piraeus and other big seaports. As Greek shipping has been severely hit by the crisis in the last seven months and many very big ships are lying idle in the docks, unemployment among the seamen will increase tremendously this year.

4. Refugees—Civil Servants—Unemployed.

The immigration of refugees from Asia Minor, East Thrace and of Greeks from Bulgaria to Greece constitutes a special and unprecedented social-political phenomena. 1½ million people were suddenly torn from their old surroundings, and settled in North Greece, in the sterile, malaria-ridden, mountain districts. This settling in Greece meant a sudden proletarianisation of the masses of refugees who, for the main part, consisted of urban petty bourgeois and peasants of all categories. This new proletariat, devoid of all class consciousness, was unable to play a revolutionary role in the years so critical for Greek capitalism following the disaster in Asia Minor. By means of the first agreement regarding the exchange of population, according to which compensation amounting to the value of the property left behind in Turkey was to be paid to the refugees, the Venizelos party fostered the illusion among the masses, consisting mainly of petty bourgeois, that they would regain their former material basis and no longer be looked down upon as "mere workers". The League of Nations supported this agreement so long as it appeared necessary to it in order to secure the so-called refugee loan, amounting to millions of English pounds. In June 1930, following a new agreement between Venizelos and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, all further payments of compensation to refugees ceased. The profound ferment among the masses of refugees shows that they are no longer the reactionary wall which they constituted hitherto, but that they are now rapidly taking their place in the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants.

The present situation of the masses of refugees has become worse. The barracks in which they live, the cattle and farming instruments of the peasants are mortgaged to the European and American capitalists, to whom they have to pay compound interest. The camps of the refugees in the towns, a heap of dirt, tumble-down huts and rags, certainly constitute at the moment the most miserable human habitations in the whole of Europe. There are absolutely no sani-

tary arrangements. Water for drinking and washing is brought by motor lorries and distributed in tin buckets. Prostitution and venereal diseases are rife. The economic crisis which has prevailed in Greece for three years has, of course, greatly aggravated the desperate position of the masses of refugees.

The number of civil servants in Greece is about 45,000. A special category of them are the so-called "auxiliary" officials; who for years have lived under the constant threat of dismissal. The first declaration of the Tsaldaris Government consisted in the announcement that it would dismiss without compensation most of the auxiliary officials. When Venizelos came into power in 1928, he promised the civil servants that the Government would provide the sum of 180 million Drachma for the purpose of increasing their salaries. But Venizelos not only did not grant the 180 million but reduced the salaries of all civil servants by 6 per cent., although the salaries had already lost 40 per cent. of their purchasing power owing to the depreciation of the drachma. Promotions were practically abolished on grounds of economy. Most of the 13,000 elementary school teachers do not earn even 2,000 drachma a month (about £3). The Federation of Civil Servants was dissolved and any centralised organisation of the civil servants was prohibited. A special law forbids them to strike, and a further law provides that any civil servants going on strike are to be immediately called to the colours and placed under military law.

The civil servants however have not tamely submitted to this offensive. A considerable part of them are led by the Left All-Greek Civil Servants' Committee, which recently held a successful national Conference at which it was decided to organise the fight of the civil servants. A few months ago there took place a strike of the post, telegraph and telephone employees, which compelled Venizelos to resign.

There are no official statistics in Greece regarding unemployment. The factory statistics for 1930 show a 30 per cent. increase in unemployment compared with 1928, and the crisis has developed even more rapidly since 1930. In addition, the number of workers who are employed only two or three days a week is very high.

There is no State unemployment relief in Greece. Led by the Communists the unemployed movement enforced some trifling relief from the municipalities.

The only hope of the unemployed is their more systematic and strong mobilisation under Communist leadership. The slogan: "Unemployment relief out of the military budget", which is rousing the masses of the unemployed, will in the near future form the basis for more intensive fights of the unemployed together with the employed workers.

5. The Situation of the Toiling Rural Population.

More than 50 per cent. of the national income of Greece is derived from agricultural production. According to the last census, held in 1928, out of a total population of 6,204,683, 3,598,716, i. e. 58 per cent. belong to the rural population. Further, Greece differs from the rest of the Balkan States in that it does not produce sufficient corn for its own consumption; its main products are four luxury products—tobacco, sultanas, wine and olive oil—the greater part of which is exported.

The present stage of the chronic agrarian crisis, which has existed since the end of the war, is expressed in the reduction of the area under cultivation, declining production, falling exports and the drop in the price of all agricultural products.

In the case of tobacco there was a decline in the production, the exports and prices already in 1928. Since 1929-1930 the area under tobacco has declined by 38 per cent., output has fallen by 46 per cent., exports by 14 per cent., while prices have declined by 70 per cent. since 1927.

Before the war Greek sultanas accounted for 75 per cent. of the world output. After the war Greece's share in the world output of sultanas was reduced by 30 per cent. owing to development of sultana production in other countries, especially in California and Australia. The position in regard to sultana production is rendered still more difficult by a law which came into force in 1930, according to which 20 per cent. of

e harvest must be retained in the country and delivered to the spirit industry. This constitutes a legalised robbery thousands of vine-growers for the benefit of a few spirit-illing firms.

In 1929 to 1931 the export of wine declined by 68 per cent.

The olive oil output of Greece, which forms 18 per cent. of the world output, declined by one half in the period from 1929/31, as did also prices.

60 per cent. of the peasants are engaged in grain production. In 1928 grain production amounted to 356,129 tons, and in 1930 to only 264,200 tons. The decline of grain production is due to the backward methods of farming and the exploitation of the peasants by the Greek fertiliser industry, which enjoys a sort of monopoly, although its products are not only useless but even directly harmful, as was officially stated in Parliament. As a result, Greece is compelled to import 5-600,000 tons of grain a year, an item which accounts for 40 per cent. of the deficit in the trade balance.

The following quotation from the "Oekonomikus Tachydromes" of April 1932 gives a general picture of the decline of agricultural production:

"Last year the output of grain declined so much owing to natural disasters, that the crops did not suffice to meet the peasants' requirements in the way of food for themselves and fodder for their cattle. A great part of the vines were destroyed by frost. The harvest which was got in remains unsold as a result of the crisis, and prices are steadily falling. There is also no demand for tobacco, olive oil or wine. They lie unsold in the warehouses and peasant houses, and their prices are constantly sinking.."

Various so-called "autonomous protection organisations", which were founded by financial and industrial capital with the support of the State, have the task of rescuing the peasants and promoting national production, i. e., increasing the exploitation of the working rural population to the utmost limits. These institutions have in their hands the export monopoly for sultanas and a very considerable part of the tobacco industry and commerce.

A further fact tending to worsen the situation is the difference between the prices of industrial and agricultural products. Whilst since 1928 wine has fallen in price by 30 per cent., sultanas by 50 per cent. and tobacco by 70 per cent., bread has continually risen.

The exceedingly high taxes complete this depressing picture. Last year and in the current year the taxes amount to 50 per cent. of the net income of the working peasants. When the peasants hear of the arrival of the tax officials, they flee to the mountains.

A further form of oppression is forced labour for the municipalities. Refusal to perform this work is punished by fines.

This whole situation is leading to a rapid differentiation in the villages. The small peasants form a vast mass who never possess actual cash but only the paper money of the Agrarian Bank. Last year, 31 per cent. of the Macedonian and Thracian tobacco planters completely abandoned the cultivation of tobacco.

There are no statistics regarding the landworkers, hardly any of whom are organised. Thousands of charcoal burners, tree fellers etc. are working on the big forest lands belonging to the State, the monasteries and the landowners. There are no fixed rates of wages. The workers undertake 15 hours hard work in return for a sum arbitrarily fixed by the employers which only suffices to purchase a piece of bread.

The agrarian crisis vividly reveals all the class contradictions in the rural districts and causes a rapid revolutionisation of the poor and middle peasants and agricultural workers. There is no district in Greece without hunger-marches of the peasants. The tax collectors' offices are set on fire. The slogan: "Free maize!" resounded last Autumn and Winter throughout the whole of Macedonia and Thessaly; granaries were stormed, in Thessaly. Hundreds of revolutionary peasants have been sent to prison or banishment islands.

The Communist Party of Greece is exerting every effort in order to mobilise the working rural population for the fight. The chief weapon in this fight in the rural districts is the landworkers trade unions and the fighting committees of the working peasants.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Survey of Factory and Local Newspapers in Germany.

Published by the Nuclei of the C.P. of Germany and Revolutionary Organisations.

By G. M.

As a rule each number of these newspapers is made up of two to three articles of a general political character and a number of local comments. In the papers published in the enterprises in most cases it is material of a local character which predominates, and attempts are being made to link up general political material with local material. This, however, is not being carried on to a sufficient extent. A good example of such linking-up of these two types of material is provided by the leading article in the paper entitled "Das Rote Hüttenlicht" (Thuringia):

"Are the workers in the Schott Factory suffering from the economic crisis?"

"We cannot take up this question without remembering the empty envelopes which we get on Friday instead of pay. During the past two years the wages of the workers in the Schott Factory have dropped 15—20 marks. ... The few marks which make up the difference between wages paid to workers and relief paid to unemployed are used up in the form of direct taxes. Dwelling tax, citizens' tax and other such taxes bring down wages 18—20 marks. Of course the economic crisis intensifies this sharp drop in the purchasing power."

There is a linking-up of general political tasks with local tasks in the "Leverkusener Farben-Kumpel", "Der Bergprolet", "Rote Signale" (organ of the Thyssen workers) and others. The material in these papers is selected in such a way as to reflect characteristic features in the lives of the workers of the respective enterprises: taking up such subjects as—rationalisation, wage cuts, etc.

In the local papers (published not for the workers in one enterprise but for the population of a small town or village) the local material is almost always much weaker than the general political material. The leading political articles are not connected up with local tasks, and very often concrete material is selected in a haphazard manner and is not at all typical. For example, the paper entitled "Rotes Wald Echo" (organ of the Grefernrod Workers in Thuringia) in no. 4, two of the three pages are taken up with a reprint of the appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany, while the third page contains: 1) news on the "National Opposition Government"; 2) a telegram from Solingen on the hunger revolts which have taken place there; 3) a short article on the prohibition of the Thuringia "Volks-Echo", and 4) a notice to the effect that the reformists' sport league is keeping out revolutionary workers. This 4th notice is all the local material which the paper contains; the appeal of the C.C. of the C.P.G. is thus left hanging in the air, without anything to bring the importance of it before the readers or link it up with their lives. The following number of the same paper, no. 5 contains more local material, including correspondence from the factories and an article on the fascist organisation of "Shooters", but again this material is not linked up with the problems dealt with in the leading article.

The "Wurzener Rote Fahne", published in the town of Wurzen (Saxony) contains in each number several well written political articles devoted to all the important political events throughout Germany as well as in Saxony. The section devoted to Wurzen itself is much weaker. Unimportant details from local life often appear (as for example the notice about the accidental wounding of one policeman by another). There is some good material from the everyday life of the town (for example, the eviction of a worker, various manifestations of police terror), but as for the situation and struggles of the workers in the big enterprises—only one letter appeared in a total of six issues. Nevertheless, as compared with other papers the "Wurzener Rote Fahne" contains a greater variety of material than most of the others.

The papers examined for this survey were for July and August 1932. The main slogans appearing in them were: "Vote

for Ballot No. 3", "Anti-Fascist United Front", "Defend the Revolutionary Press", "Free Thinkers, Leave the Church in Answer to the Prohibition", "Against all Wage Cuts" etc.

This is good. But papers published locally, especially in enterprises, are in a position to put forward their militant demands side by side with these slogans and lending force to these slogans. They must do this, basing these demands on the conditions existing in the given enterprise or branch of production, and linking up the general political slogans with their demands. Sometimes the factory papers do not take advantage of this opportunity. For example, the paper "**Zeiss-Prolet**" gives general formulations:

"We, workers of Zeiss, must fight against wage cuts and dismissals . . . apply the weapon of passive resistance and strike against economic and political oppression."

It is impossible for anyone reading the "**Zeiss Prolet**" to find out from this paper when, under what conditions and in what enterprises the weapon of passive resistance can be best applied, and when to apply the weapon of strike. The paper describes very well various manifestations of exploitation (for example there is a very good caricature of the stop watch, "Breathing prohibited"), but there is not sufficient mobilisation for struggle against these manifestations.

The most correct approach is to be found in the paper, "**Bergprolet**" (issued in the "Leopold" mine in Magdeburg), which puts forward a concrete programme of demands, for which the R.T.U.O. is fighting in this mine:

1. Abolishment of fines.
2. Reinforcement of the drifts with props.
3. Repairing of elevator.
4. Oiling of the trolleys.
5. Shifts to be from 6-2, 2-10 and 10-6.
6. Taxes not to be taken out of wages.

"Comrades, talk over these demands. In our mine there is still much to be desired. Inform the revolutionary delegates in the pit committee and the members of the R.T.U.O. of your opinion.

"Organise meetings! Elect unity committees!"

Thus, the "**Bergprolet**" draws its readers into active struggle and attempts to arouse the initiative of the rank and file workers.

"**Leverkusener Farben-Kumpel**", in announcing the coming wage cut, calls upon the workers in the name of the R.T.U.O. immediately to organise a strike (a list of demands follows). The leading article on the wage cut, which closes with an appeal for strike, is written in a convincing manner and with enthusiasm. But a strike is such a tremendous event in the life of an enterprise, that once that it is declared the entire number of the paper should be devoted to it; the paper should take up the coming struggle from all sides, bringing out the experience of former economic struggles in that enterprise or another, and should foresee the questions which will arise in connection with the strike and give the workers answers to these questions. This is not done; following the appeal of the leading article there are notices on a number of questions, including very important questions (on imperialist war) and questions of secondary importance. Not one of these questions is linked up with mobilisation for the coming strike, and this number of the paper gives the impression of being an ordinary number, as if nothing of particular importance were taking place in the enterprise.

Then there is the little paper entitled "**Straßenbahner Wacht**", which is as a whole much weaker than the "**Leverkusener Farben-Kumpel**". An entire number is devoted to a one day tramworkers' strike called for July 24, for the purpose of disrupting a suburban meeting of fascists.

The majority of the papers reacted in a very live manner to the suppression of the revolutionary press. "**Das Rote Hüttenlicht**", for example, explains very effectively the connection which exists between the prohibition of the Thuringia organ of the C.P.G. with the general situation of the revolutionary press in Germany, and mobilises the readers in defence of the revolutionary press. In answer to the prohibition of the "Ruhr Echo" in the Ruhr, a number of local papers in leaflet form sprung up bearing the same title, with sub-headings: "Appearing in spite of prohibition", or "Our Answer to the Prohibition", with militant announcements and slogans calling upon the readers to read, distribute and defend the revolutionary papers. The slogans in almost all of these "Ruhr Echoes" are presented in a clear-cut manner with a mobilising effect. The only exception is one which was

issued in Essen and ends with the extremely unfortunate slogan: "We demand an accounting—why has our press be prohibited? We, proletarians, demand the truth!" It is difficult to understand what truth is demanded by the E comrades and from whom they expect to be told this "tr" and this "accounting"—from Papen and Bracht? S. demands can only give rise to illusions and create confusion in the minds of the workers.

The struggle of the working class in other countries is given very little attention in the papers which were studied. Almost the only event of this nature which drew the attention of some of these papers, was the strike of the miners in Belgium.

"**The Bergprolet**" for example, reports on the Belgian strike and calls upon the German miners to show their solidarity.

"Comrades! Miners!"

"Check up the transport of your coal. Do not let a single ton of German coal be sent into Belgium. The heroic struggle of the Belgian miners is your struggle. Pass resolutions of sympathy, send telegrams of greeting . . . Comrades in the mine workers' union! Demand that your union send financial aid to the strikers. The best way for us to support the strike is to develop an anti-fascist movement on the basis of a broad united front."

Not limiting itself to this appeal, which is signed by the R.T.U.O., the paper reprints telegrams from Inprecorr on the course of this strike, especially on the fraternisation between the strikers and the soldiers.

The questions of struggle against the danger of imperialist war are touched upon in not more than four or five out of the 20 papers which were studied. The "**Leverkusener Farben-Kumpel**" is the only paper which points out the tasks of the workers of this enterprise in the struggle against imperialist war.

"It depends on us whether or not there will be a repetition of 1914. It depends on us whether or not the Soviet Union will be bombarded by weapons which we have manufactured with our own hands. We must be on the watch. We do not want to produce war supplies."

The paper unmasks the reformist trade union officials, who declare that "they are not chemists, and cannot determine whether or not the articles which they are producing are destined for war purposes", and comes to the conclusion:

"Then (when war breaks out) it will be too late. Immediately elect observation committees in all departments. Struggle together with the R.T.U.O. and the C.P.G. against imperialist war."

But this same, "**Leverkusener Farben-Kumpel**" makes a serious error in another short article on imperialist war: "War—the Way out of Bankruptcy." A politically undeveloped worker who reads this article is likely to get the impression that war is really the way out of the crisis for the masses. This impermissible error should have immediately attracted the attention of the District Committee of the Party. Was this done, and how was this error corrected?

There is a fairly good agitational article on war published in "**Zeiss Prolet**", which emphasises the fact that war does not bring an improvement but a deterioration in the conditions of the working masses, and calls upon the workers to prepare for defence of the Soviet Union.

The popularisation of socialist construction is the weakest feature in the work of all the papers which were studied, and it is in this field that the most mistakes are made.

"Two Worlds—Two Systems" (lower Rhine) is a special publication devoted to the Soviet Union. The entire first number is made up exclusively of two long articles, contrasting the capitalist system with the socialist system, written in an extremely, dry, boring and abstract manner, with abstract argumentation about the fate of humanity and about labour and capital,—and two pages of statistics showing the growth of industrial production in the Soviet Union and the decline of production in general. At best the entire number is of value in providing statistical material for propagandists, but it would be very difficult for a rank and file worker to overcome his boredom and read it through to the end. In spite of the fact this publication bears the sub-title "Agitation and Propaganda Publication of the C.P.G.", its agita-

on be. If of the Soviet Union by in a square. Even the enemies of the Soviet Union do not deny that building is going on there and that production is being increased. But with regard to social changes, social improvement and the situation of the working class in the Soviet Union and with regard to the fact that socialism is being built in the Soviet Union there is not a word in the whole publication.

In some papers we find attempts to retort to the slanderers who attack the Soviet Union, but this is usually done without using any proof, and not in a convincing manner, at times even erroneously. For example, in a paper like the "Wurzener Rote Fahne", which on the whole is a very good and interesting paper, we find, in answer to the statements of a local bourgeois paper that in the Soviet Union "The nourishment of the entire population is endangered" and "methods of compulsion are being adopted against the farmers", the following statement:

"We emphatically declare that the feeding of the entire Russian population is guaranteed by the Government on the basis of socialist supplies. And if methods of compulsion are adopted against the farmer who does not fulfill his obligations to the Government, every sensible minded person will consider this correct.

"But are things different in Germany, is not the tax-collector sent to the house of anyone who does not pay his taxes . . .?"

It is clear that such a "declaration" not only does not combat anti-Soviet lies, but even provides grist for the mill of anti-Soviet falsification. The empty phrase about "Socialist supply" does not disprove anything, especially since it speaks of "the Russian population", without any differentiation. Presentation of the question of application of methods of compulsion with regard to the "farmer" shows an absolute lack of knowledge. Evidently this term is applied to the middle peasant proprietor and the kulak and the analogy between this and the taxation policy of capitalist Germany does not stand criticism. The tax policy, like the entire policy of Germany can be contrasted with that of the Soviet Union only as two opposite policies, for in Germany this policy is subordinated to the interests of the bourgeoisie, while in the Soviet Union the policy is subordinated to the interests of the proletariat and labouring masses.

A few grains of concrete information relating to the Soviet Union can be found in the "Rote Postkurier".

Evidently the editors and collaborators of the papers which were studied have not got sufficient concrete material on the Soviet Union. But it is precisely these papers, which are issued for mass readers, which must show the greatest concreteness in their agitation. For them it is not so important, in fact not important at all, to give statistical data on the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan as it is to give living examples as to how the Plan is being carried out. It would be a good idea to print in these papers letters from Soviet workers, correspondence from the Soviet Union, especially material relating to the Soviet workers of one or another branch of industry. The supply of such material could be organised through direct correspondence with Soviet worker correspondents and enterprises.

An attempt is made by these papers to carry on a struggle against fascism and social fascists. In addition to general political articles on fascism and social democracy, almost every paper contains news unmasking concrete manifestations of fascist terror and calling for struggle against it, refuting the theory of the "lesser evil" by local examples, showing up the local social democratic bureaucrats etc. In the factories it is material on social fascism which predominates, while in the local papers, it is material on fascism, which predominates. It must be stated, however, that in most cases the papers approached this question in a monotonous manner, not taking into account the variety of methods adopted by the class enemy; they do little to unmask the demagogic "labour policy" of the National Socialists and do not devote any attention to the "left" manoeuvres of the social democracy. The "Wurzener Rote Fahne" prints documents unmasking the fascists (for example the instructions regarding the organisation of "Nazi" nuclei in enterprises), picks out cleverly selected excerpts from bourgeois papers, from speeches of National Socialist leaders, etc. Some of the comments, based on facts or documentary evidence, show the kinship between the fascists and social fascists. In this connection the "Wurzener Rote Fahne" (in contrast to a number of other papers) deals with fascism not only as street terrorisation by national fascist bands: this

paper employed that government pressure on the working class, compulsory religious education, forced labour service for unemployed youth etc., are also fascism.

The papers show little of the actual struggle against fascism. In most cases they merely issue appeals to the anti-fascist workers, regardless of party affiliations, calling upon them to form a united front. These appeals are not always effective and are frequently of an abstract character. The "Roter Beobachter" (Silesia) publishes an appeal which makes it very difficult for a social democratic or christian worker to understand what he has to do,—and on the following page it publishes in heavy type the slogan: "Are you still not a member of the C.P. of Germany?" Such a presentation of the slogan can hardly make it of value for recruiting work. Reason should have been given for joining the Communist Party instead of speaking of membership of the Communist Party as something to be taken for granted.

We also find the opposite extreme. The paper of the unemployed in the town of Zerbst: "Der Pflichtarbeiter" with its great enthusiasm in carrying out the united front, makes the substantial distinction between itself and the C.P. of Germany:

It is a question of the strike of unemployed workers engaged in forced labour service.

"...The statements spread by the Z.Z. and the Z.E. (bourgeois papers) that our refusal to continue work is the hand of Communists, we emphatically deny. We have already stated in clear terms to the mayor that we are not representatives of any party, but are simply unemployed."

This statement that the strike is not due to the "hand of Communists" is again repeated in the form of an official statement by the strike committee. Of course it is true that the strike is not a Communist machination, and that the mass of the workers are vitally interested in it, but this explanation given in the paper is not the correct one. Communists cannot neglect to tell the workers if the C.P.G. has played or playing any part in the strike. Every rank and file worker will draw from this explanation the conclusion that in general, the Communists have nothing to do with it, and that the strike is being carried on and can be carried on without them.

It is a characteristic fact that more than half of the papers examined do not consider it possible to reveal who it is that publishes the paper, evidently considering that the sub-title "Organ of the Nucleus of the C.P.G." will estrange the non-Communist workers. In most cases we find the sub-heading: "Organ of the exploited of Thyssen", "Organ of the workers of Wurzen and outskirts", "Factory newspaper of the Feistkorn Company", "Organ of the workers of Leverkusen". In a number of local papers we find the announcement that the paper is published by the C.P.G., but we find this in very few factory papers (for example "Kruppkanone"—published by the nucleus of the C.P.G. in the Krupp Works). What is the proper stand to take on this question? Of course, if there is no nucleus in the enterprise, and if the paper is put out not by the nucleus, but, let us say, by the trade union opposition or a group of worker correspondents, then it cannot be called the organ of the Party nucleus. But if the paper is put out by the nucleus then a sub-title openly announcing the fact merely contributes to the authority of the C.P. nucleus, enabling it to announce its existence and speak openly to the workers without violating the rules of conspiracy.

The main shortcoming of the papers is the complete lack of material on the work and life of the local Party organisations or factory nucleus of the Party. The situation is slightly better with regard to news about the work of the R.T.U.O. (a few papers publish appeals of the R.T.U.O. with statements showing what the R.T.U.O. is fighting for in the respective enterprise). Not a single word is to be found in any one of the papers regarding the revolutionary organisations: I.R.A., W.I.R. etc.

In formulating slogans or tasks the papers in many cases do not take into account the fact that the formulation must be comprehensible to the readers. In the appeal to the R.T.U.O. regarding assistance to the Belgian miners, printed in "Bergprolet", it says:

"...remember the strike of the British miners. Do not permit a repetition of what occurred in 1926".

The German reader must remember very clearly the events of 1926 in England in order to understand that he is being called upon to prevent a defeat of the strike. The formulation

... abstract that it can be easily ... it does not pay to start a strike.

In articles, especially in papers put out for the rank and file, political terms must not be applied without explaining them. For example: "Die Rote Spindel" writes in the leading article, which is addressed to all the workers in the factory:

"The theory of the lesser evil has suffered a new defeat ... all reformist illusions must be thrown overboard."

But is it possible for workers who have not yet overcome their reformist illusions to understand what this terms means—the very workers to whom the appeal is addressed?

A similar example is the leading article of the paper put out for peasants, entitled: "Das Rote Dorf":

"... the bourgeoisie does not need any democratic screens at the present, and is ruling with the aid of open fascist methods, basing its support on the petty bourgeois masses brought together by Hitler's phraseology".

and this paper is addressed to these very petty bourgeois masses who do not understand yet why democracy is a screen for the bourgeoisie, or what the class character of Hitler's phraseology is etc. This must be explained in simple terms from day to day.

The make-up of the paper, which is a matter of not the least importance from a standpoint of distribution, leaves much to be desired in the majority of cases. The arrangements of commentary articles is such that the important material is lost among material of secondary importance, material on the most varied subjects is mixed together in anarchistic manner, and material dealing with the same question is not collected together and printed under a general heading. Slogans are often issued without any connection with material contained in the paper, and vice versa, the material contained in the paper often does not apply to the chief current questions taken up in the paper. In many papers there are good drawings and caricatures, but there are also wings which are in glaring contradiction to the intentions of the artist. The type for the headings is very monotonous, and often even the most primitive variations in the text are rarely applied—variations which would give the paper a more interesting appearance and facilitate the selection of the most important material (spacing, capital letters etc.).

Notwithstanding a number of defects, the factory papers of the C.P.G. are already playing an important part in the mass work of the Party. They must learn to get closer to the masses, and master the science of speaking clearly and comprehensibly, they must learn to bring up all questions "most vitally affecting the masses in simple language" and must learn to mobilise the militant activity of the masses, putting before them definite tasks, rallying them from day to day around the Communist Party and the revolutionary mass organisations. Then the papers will become still more significant and be better able to cope not only with the task of becoming mass agitators, but with the task of becoming mass organisers.

How Do Communists Keep Their Jobs?

By O. B.

Comrade Aumale in No. 23 of Cahiers du Bolschevisme on December 1st, 1932 gives an article on this interesting and extremely important question.

Comrade Aumale gives his personal experience. "Usually", he says, "the management of the factory informs our comrades, members of the Party, that they are fired and they are usually told to go to the office to get their money, or else when a comrade is leaving, the timekeeper tells him he will not be allowed back again, or finally, the comrades do not find their number when they leave".

What do comrades do in such cases, as Comrade Aumale? "In the first case, he usually goes to the factory office for his money without any resistance. In the second case he stope outside the gates, and in the third case he makes enquiries and usually leaves without a protest. In short, our comrades let themselves be split away from the masses and

allow himself fired without any resistance. Comrade Aumale is giving a very typical description for France (and not only for France). There is no need to prove how impermissible is such a situation when the capitalists can dismiss Communists and revolutionary workers without resistance. Is it not clear that this passivity makes it easy for the class enemy to break up the party and mass revolutionary organisations in the factory and is directed against the interests of revolutionary work in the factory. And even more if we add that there are members of revolutionary organisations and even nuclei which weaken their work out of fear of being dismissed. If there is even one member of a nucleus who is passive in the hope of avoiding dismissal (and it may be said without grounds for this hope) while the others do not struggle against dismissals, it is clear that such nuclei have not the right to be considered as Party organisations, because they are not able to carry out the elementary duties of a Party organisation with regard to the Party and the working masses.

In the article, Comrade Aumale gives an example of how to struggle against dismissals. When he was fired, he got back into his shop partly by artfulness and partly by force. He was met with derision by the management of the shop, which insisted on his leaving the workshop. Comrade Aumale started to argue, and the discussion excited the workers. Work was stopped, and as a result the manager was compelled to make a concession. Comrade Aumale was temporarily left on the job.

Comrade Aumale proposes that his example should be followed. Of course, we do not oppose this, but the method of Comrade Aumale is not the only one, and it cannot even be the chief method in the struggle against dismissals. The struggle against dismissals should never be the individual act of the man who is fired. If only the comrade who has been dismissed protests and fights, there can be no good results. He should combine his struggle with the struggle of the masses. If this is not done, it means that the Party organisation and above all the factory nucleus and the trade union organisation are working badly, are doing nothing. This must be specially remembered by the French comrades from factory nuclei.

What should a revolutionary factory organisation and above all a factory nucleus and trade union organisation do in such cases?

As soon as information on the dismissals is received, everything necessary should be done very rapidly to inform all the workers and call them to the struggle. For this purpose it is necessary immediately:

- a) To publish a special issue of the factory paper or a special leaflet with the facts of the case and concrete instructions what to do;
- b) to attempt to call general meetings of delegates, shop meetings and to get a decision passed by the working masses on concrete mass action in defence of the worker who has been fired;
- c) before commencing the campaign, a Party meeting should be called (or the bureau of the nucleus and the T.U. fraction) to give the line for the whole campaign and to distribute the work concretely among Party members and sympathisers. While ensuring the full leadership in the future by the nucleus and the Communists, it is necessary to act in reliance (through the fractions) on all the suitable mass organisations connected with the given factory (trade unions, Red Aid, etc.) so as to draw the largest possible number of workers into active action.

The forms of struggle will change according to the conditions of the time and place, but they must be developed as widely as possible. Among such forms of struggle are: a) protests in the press and by means of short meetings; b) short protest strikes, the sending of delegates to the management with demands (the immediate reinstatement of the workers) backing up these demands with decisions for protest strikes, etc.; c) the higher forms of mass revolutionary activity—quitting work, demonstrations, stay-in strikes. The selection of the form of struggle must be made by carefully considering all the conditions. If conditions are favourable, they should be carried from the lower to the higher forms of struggle. Finally it is necessary to remember preventative measures, conspiracy, the fact that the factory nuclei must be built up as an illegal Party organisation combining illegal methods of work with legal and semi-legal.