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CONTENTS

Politics		Van der Lubbe's Corpse Convicts the Incendiaries	67
The Session of the League of Nations Council	58	K.: Solidarity Action against Fascism and Chauvinism	68
Karl Radek: The New Armament Race	59	Increase the Campaign for the Release of the Four	68
Oesterreicher: The Importance of the Fascisation of the Austrian Chambers of Labour	60	Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg Campaign	
Gal: Proletarian Mass Struggles in Hungary	61	Fritz Heckert: The Anniversary of the Murder of Karl Liebkecht and Rosa Luxemburg	69
J. Rada: The Polish Working Class in the Struggle against the Fascist Decrees	62	Fight against Imperialist War	
V. Gradinaru: The Rumanian Railway Workers for the Second Time before the Court	63	Kopp: War-Clouds Gathering More Thickly over the Soviet Union	70
R. Youkelson: The Pan-American Conference and the Aspirations of British Imperialism	64	K. U.: The Czechoslovakian Social Democracy as the Organiser of War	71
Germany		Japan	
Letters from Germany: I. The Struggle among the Fascist Leaders against the Background of Intensified Economic Crisis. II. Further Intensification of the Church Struggle	65	Oda: Deepening Economic Crisis in Japan	71
Edwin Hoernle: A Year's Balance of the Fascist Peasant Policy	66	Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
		The Week in the Soviet Union	73
		Organisational Questions	
		Gransberg: The Work of the Communist Parties among Working Women after the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.	74

Ten Years After—Lenin's Path and Lenin's Triumph

King Charles I. of England, who ended his life on the scaffold, was taken prisoner by the troops of Cromwell. The King was taken into custody by a young cavalry officer of the revolutionary army. Upon being informed that he was arrested the King turned to the young officer and asked: "On what authority do you do this?" The young officer made no reply, but pointed to the window. In the courtyard a squadron of Cromwellian cavalry was drawn up. The King looked out and then declared with dignity: "Your authority is writ very plain."

—(An episode from the English revolution.)

When the news of Lenin's death came ten years ago we did our best to give in these columns a historical appraisal of the role of our great leader. The main points made in our leading article published in a special edition of January 22, 1924, were: Lenin saved the honour of socialism betrayed by the Second International. He enriched scientific socialism with new and brilliant strategy and tactics and carried them into effect in practice. Death robbed us of him in the prime of his life, but his work found a certain culmination in his lessons and in his actions, in the Party of the Bolsheviks founded by him, in the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia, and in the Communist International.

The whole tremendous value of Lenin's ideas and their tremendous significance for the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution became clear to us individual fighters and to the international proletariat as a whole only later, and above all under the guidance of the loyalest comrade and best pupil of Lenin, Comrade Stalin, who not only interpreted Leninism, but carried it into

practice correctly. The lack of revolutionary activity in the Second International was in accordance with its lack of revolutionary theory. Despite a number of very valuable individual achievements, the Marxism which lay between Marx and Engels on the one hand and Lenin on the other was not flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the founders of scientific socialism. The theoretical and practical achievements of Lenin represent therefore not merely a quantitative enrichment of Marxism since the death of Engels, not merely individual peculiarities as compared with the achievements of the other pupils of Marx and Engels, but they represent the contribution of a new quality to Marxism, they are the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The acid test for the correctness of Leninism has been provided again and again since his death by the course of world history.

When Lenin died the general crisis of capitalism, the situation which Lenin had described in 1921 as a sort of balance between the forces of imperialism and the forces of the proletarian revolution, had consolidated itself into a relative capitalist stabilisation and a period was opening which had been prophesied by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the last which took place under Lenin's leadership, a pacifist-democratic interlude. In Great Britain, Belgium and Scandinavia so-called labour governments took over the reins of office. In France the "Left" bloc came to power. Germany's war burdens were lightened and milliards of American dollars poured into the country. Locarno came, and Briand and Stresemann were awarded the peace prize of the Nobel foundation. A powerful economic boom began. The social democrats contemptuously brushed aside the Communist

estimation of the general crisis of capitalism and proclaimed the opening of a new epoch of capitalism—organised capitalism.

Everywhere democratic illusions flourished. It was the period in which the social democracy could gibber with success about the second path to socialism, the democratic path. But the hallucination did not last long. In 1929 a periodic crisis began and the illusions of the previous period quickly disappeared. The proletariat, including the aristocracy of labour, was plunged into the deepest impoverishment and misery. Peasants and artisans shared in the general ruin. An army of millions of unemployed workers grew up rapidly. The bourgeoisie, whose main support was the social democracy, not only socially, but also in the legislature and in the police, began to show a different face. It flung itself into the arms of reaction and fascism, and the "second path to socialism," the democratic path, proved to be the path to fascism.

In the same period the Soviet Union began first of all to reconstruct the economic system destroyed in the war and civil war. It succeeded in this work of reconstruction without outside assistance in the way of loans, and soon after, wrestling with immense difficulties as a result of the backwardness of the country, its agricultural character, and the encirclement organised by the capitalist Powers, it began to put the gigantic first Five-Year Plan into operation. All the difficulties which arose have since been successfully overcome, and the tenth anniversary of Lenin's death has witnessed the conclusion of the first year of the second Five-Year Plan. The Soviet Union has been transformed in this short space of time from a backward agricultural country to one of the most advanced industrial countries, and the world historical question of the collectivisation of agriculture has been successfully solved. Difficulties still exist, difficulties of transport, in the distribution of commodities, in the work for mastering modern industrial technique, but the forces are already there which will overcome these difficulties successfully. A united Communist Party, steered in the struggle and maintaining an iron discipline, possessing a high theoretical level, has been built up. A new generation forged in the fire of labour and struggle is there.

Despite all the difficulties, tremendous successes have already been achieved with regard to the satisfaction of the tremendously increased needs of the masses. For many years now unemployment, the insecurity of existence which is the greatest scourge of the modern proletariat under capitalism, has been abolished. The supply of food and housing conditions are improving daily. The cultural riches of the country are being placed at the disposal of the population as a whole to an extent undreamt of formerly. But it is impossible to sum up all the tremendous successes which have been achieved in a few lines. It is sufficient to say that two worlds are facing each other to-day; two worlds to which two separate paths lead. The path of the social democracy leads to increased impoverishment and misery under capitalism. It leads to reaction and fascism and in the end to new imperialist slaughter. The path of Lenin, the path of the proletarian revolution, leads to the emancipation of the workers, to socialism, to material well-being, and to cultural advancement for all.

It is impossible that the effect of all this should remain limited to the Soviet Union. It is impossible that it should not rouse up the millions and millions of the oppressed and exploited all over the world to take the path of Lenin. They must take this path, and they will take it! At a time when the world economic crisis is becoming an integral part of the general crisis of capitalism, and when the main contradictions of the capitalist world are intensifying tremendously from day to day, it can only be a question of time, and a short time at that, for a rapid transformation to take place in the present situation, for the world economic crisis to develop into a revolutionary crisis. However, the international proletariat will enter this crisis far better equipped than it entered the crisis of 1914-21, not only because the path advocated by the social democracy has suffered such obvious and complete bankruptcy, but because there are now consolidated, Communist, Leninist Parties in almost all countries, and, above all, because in this revolutionary crisis the Soviet Union stands foursquare to the world as a shining example to the revolutionary fighters.

Leninism means the victory of the international proletariat and the defeat of the international bourgeoisie. And, truly, its authority "is writ very plain."

Politics

The Session of the League of Nations Council

A little while ago the newspaper of Vandervelde, "Le Peuple," put forward the demand that the League of Nations, which up to that time he had supported through thick and thin, should turn itself into a League of Nations against fascism. This suggestion was enthusiastically taken up by the whole of the social-fascist press, which immediately began a campaign for a "democratic re-organisation" to be carried out by the League of Nations. Who is to carry out this "democratic re-organisation"? The three imperialist robber States? The trouble in the League of Nations, which has given rise to this demand, is nothing but a struggle of the imperialist Powers amongst themselves; a struggle with imperialist aims. Only if we regard matters from this point of view can we understand recent happenings in the League of Nations.

It is generally known that the League of Nations was formed after the imperialist world war as a league of the victor States in order to obtain security for the spoils and in order to maintain the dominance of these victor States over the rest of the world. When the war of intervention against the Soviet Union collapsed utterly, and when it became clear that the prophecies concerning the rapid disintegration of the Soviet Union from within were baseless, the League of Nations became the central organisation for the war of intervention, and in the preparations for this war it became the centre of the anti-Soviet propaganda. The leading Power in this international organisation of imperialist robbers was France. Fourteen years have passed since the League of Nations was founded and many changes have taken place since then. Not that the character of the imperialist robbers has changed in the least in that time, or that even one of them has abandoned in principle the possibility of an attack on the Soviet Union or could have abandoned it. But the antagonisms which existed even in the beginning between the imperialist Powers have in the meantime become more intense, and new antagonisms have arisen. The most important has been caused by the fact that the ranks of the imperialist robbers have been augmented by a new robber State—Nazi Germany. As a result of this development there has been a rift in the lute and a reshuffle has taken place within the League of Nations. When Japan invaded Manchuria it had the support of the League. This attack was to be the preliminary for the declaration of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The old aim of the League of Nations was about to be carried into execution. However, the bill had been drawn up without the host. The deployment of the defensive forces of the Soviet Union gave Japan cause to think twice about its intentions and to decide that it needed still greater military preparations if it might hope for success. In addition, there was the attitude of the United States, which was unwilling to abandon the Asiatic coasts of the Pacific to its chief imperialist antagonist. At the same time the imperialist forces of Germany began to stir more and more in the rear of France.

France was therefore like Great Britain, compelled to give way to American pressure and turn its face against Japan which, as a result, was isolated and compelled to leave the League of Nations. In the meantime Japan has found an ally in Hitler Germany, an imperialist Power which is also feverishly arming for war and would like, above all, to seize its booty in the East, in the Soviet Union, but would not despise the chance of seizing further booty in the North and South, and particularly in the West. France and its allies are therefore afraid of Hitler's armaments. In order to give itself a freer hand in its re-armament, Germany abandoned the League of Nations. For internal political reasons, and also in order to obtain advantages in Africa, Mussolini accorded a certain support to Hitler.

In the course of development therefore two imperialist groupings rose up in the place of the one; the old and weakened Versailles block was faced with a new block of Germany and Japan, a block which aims at creating a new imperialist reality and causes the members of the old imperialist block to become uneasy. Great Britain is still formally a member of the old Versailles block, but it mediates between the two blocks and would like to secure a temporary solution of the imperialist antagonisms and to form a tremendous anti-Soviet block embracing all the capitalist States. That is the situation in the League of Nations to-day.

The social-fascists are not ashamed to exploit for their own ends the recent statements of Comrades Litvinov and Stalin to the effect that the Soviet Union would be prepared to support the League of Nations provided it used its influence to prevent war. "Even the Russians expect something from the League of Nations." Yes, they do, but they expect neither anti-fascism nor democracy, and certainly not pacifism. The utmost they expect is that in its own interests one group of imperialists might be opposed to war at the moment, or to put it more clearly, that an attack on the Soviet Union by Japan at the moment would be inconvenient for this group. We should like to stress once again that in this the imperialist Powers in question are guided solely by their own imperialist interests.

What must the Soviet Union do in this situation? To put the question is to answer it, and to answer it as the Soviet Union has already done. This does not at all mean that the one group of imperialists will really be opposed to war when it comes to the point, and that it will not perhaps make common cause with the Japanese-German block against the Soviet Union. This whole social-fascist manoeuvre has but one aim, namely, to harness the workers to the war chariot of the imperialist group in question, and to keep them away from the class struggle, although it is clear that the workers must fight against their own imperialist bourgeoisie if they wish to establish their own rule and create the only real guarantee against an imperialist robber war and against a war of intervention.

Moreover, the present session of the League of Nations Council, whose agenda has only the two points, the Danzig and Saar problems, will show once again how little this organisation of imperialist robbers has to do with either democracy or anti-fascism. The League of Nations is the guarantor of the constitution of Danzig, but for months now this constitution has been treated like dirt with the toleration and support of the League. With the support of the League a bloody fascist dictatorship has been set up in Danzig. The present complaint of the League High Commissioner refers to two newspaper prohibitions only, the suppressed newspapers belonging to the Centre (Catholic) Party and to the Social-Democratic Party respectively. The decision to deal with the Saar question was even occasioned by the Nazis themselves. The Nazis themselves appealed to the League Council in order that the government of the Saar, which in any case permits full rein to the Nazi terror, should be still more complaisant towards them. It is true, however, that without the intensification of the antagonism between the French group in the League of Nations and Hitler Germany these questions would never have come onto the agenda of the League Council. These questions are subordinate ones for the imperialist robbers and in the best case they will become objects of bargaining. The future will quickly show the truth of this contention.

The New Armament Race

By Karl Radek

The preparations for war to secure a redivision of the world have now put an end to the disarmament comedy whose aim it was to persuade the masses of the people everywhere that there was no danger of war. All bourgeois governments are now vying with each other to prove the existence of the danger of war. All the imperialists have openly placed the question of increased armaments on the agenda.

The disarmament conference has gone bankrupt because all the imperialist powers realise the rapid approach of a new war for the redivision of the world. Some of them regard the prospect with horror, feeling that the redivision will take place to their disadvantage, whilst others look forward to it with joy in the belief that it will improve their situation. But both parties are unanimous in the conclusion they draw from the obvious intensification of imperialist contradictions, namely, increased armaments.

The new armament race is beginning in two different parts of the world: in Europe and in the Far East. The disturbances which proceed from these two centres of re-armament will destroy world peace and lead to a new terrible war unless the international proletariat succeeds in compelling the capitalist powers to call a halt.

Let us deal first of all with the *armament race in Europe*. German imperialism has delivered an ultimatum to the victors of the last world war: either they must disarm or Germany will re-

arm. The formulation of the question in this fashion permits the German imperialists to declare that they are opponents of re-armament, but that the refusal of the other powers to disarm makes it impossible for the German imperialists to show their peaceful intentions as they would like to do. In fact, however, in recent years Germany has pursued a policy of re-armament. This is undeniable. The only question is, how far has Germany progressed in its re-armament?

The former Chief of the French General Staff, Debeneil, estimates the regular army of Germany at 350,000 men. In addition to the regular army come the national socialist Storm detachments who total not less than a million men, and who, although they do not represent the same value as trained military forces, are nevertheless a valuable reserve of men with a certain amount of military training, who, in case of war, could be taken whole into the Reichswehr (German regular army) and made into thoroughly trained soldiers in a very short space of time.

With regard to the material at the disposal of the German army, the same French general expresses the opinion that the industrial basis required for military operations on a large scale has been thoroughly prepared for all eventualities. The German aeroplane factories, the Junkers works, the Bavarian motor works and others, can turn out 2,500 aeroplanes a month at full pressure. The German chemical industry is on a very high level. The industrial raw materials necessary for the prosecution of a modern war are now being accumulated on a large scale. In the first half of 1933 the import of nickel and wolfram reached the sum total of imports for 1932.

This material preparation for war is being accompanied by the necessary moral preparation. The German government is doing its best to secure the legalisation of its re-armament. It argues that if the other imperialist powers did not answer the German re-armament (a fact which could not be concealed from them) with war, they will not answer Germany's demand for the legalisation of this re-armament with war.

The official organ of the German heavy industrialists, the "Deutsche Führerbriefe," comes to the conclusion that sooner or later the French will adopt in the present case the policy which they have followed since the signing of the Versailles Treaty, namely, that they will agree to grant what finally cannot be refused, but at the highest possible price. The price of the "generous gesture"—all French gestures are generous—can be paid in various ways. Already French circles are consoling themselves with the thought that the bitter pill of final agreement to the German demands can be coated with the re-entry of Germany into the League of Nations.

The basis for this hope on the part of Germany's heavy industrialists is that Great Britain urgently needs the maintenance of peace on the Continent. Great Britain requires the maintenance of peace in Europe for two important reasons. One is that it must prepare itself for the coming conflict in the Pacific, a conflict which Downing Street is realising more and more is inevitable, and the other is that in case of warlike entanglements in Europe Great Britain would not be able to remain neutral and would therefore be strategically dependent on France.

As we can see, the "Deutsche Führerbriefe" sees Germany's re-armament chances in a very rosy light, but it carefully avoids any mention of the fact that there is a tendency in Great Britain to agree to German re-armaments, but only if they are directed against the Soviet Union.

A serious struggle is now going on in the ranks of the ruling classes in France concerning the attitude to be taken up towards German re-armaments. No one in France seriously believes in the possibility of answering this re-armament with a preventive war. Fundamentally there are only two variations of the policy possible towards Germany. One of these variations is to secure some limitation of Germany's re-armament by agreement, whereby some concessions would have to be made with regard to French armaments, and the second possibility is to abandon all hope of limiting Germany's re-armament in any way and to answer it by strengthening the French system of alliances and by increasing French armaments.

The campaign for increased armaments is most intense in Great Britain. The whole press of British finance capital, which is written for mass consumption, with the "Daily Mail" at its head, is carrying on an unbridled agitation for increased armaments on the ground that in respect of armaments British imperialism is lagging behind the other powers.

A struggle is going on in Great Britain between the representatives of the various branches of naval and military armaments about the division of the British military expenditure amongst them. In the foreground are, of course, the traditional exponents of naval armament who demand heavy naval increases. On the other hand, Lord Rothermere declares that although he has been a supporter of the British Navy all his life and although his sons are in the Navy, one must at last realise that the Navy has ceased to be the basis of Great Britain's defence. Great Britain must now turn its attention chiefly to the air and secure its defence by a powerful Air Force. Rothermere is responsible for a hysterical intensification of the armament howl; first he demanded an Air Force of 5,000 fighting machines, and now he demands no less than 20,000.

The "Kölnische Zeitung" of November 30 writes that as a result of this agitation the shares of all aeroplane works have gone up in value, and takes this as an indication that Great Britain intends to go in for powerful air armaments.

The agitation for increased armaments in Great Britain throws a garish light on the whole international situation. It indicates that whilst British imperialism is still keeping up its old role of "mediator" in words, it is in fact convinced of the probability of a speedy "settlement" of all outstanding questions by armed force.

Let us now take a look at the question of armaments in the Far East. The militarist party in Japan declares definitely that 1935, the year in which the Washington Naval Agreement expires, will be a year of immediate war danger for Japan. There is no doubt, however, that this contention is a pretext to cover the preparations of Japanese militarism for an attack on the Soviet Union. Still, it is quite certain that the expiry of the Washington agreement will mean an intensified armament race in the Far East, unless the Japanese militarist clique present the world beforehand with a fait accompli and begin the war themselves.

What is the relation of forces in the Far East? On the basis of the Washington agreement the relative strength of the three great naval powers was laid down as follows:—

Type	U.S.A.	Tonnage Great Britain	Japan
Battleships ...	525,000	525,000	315,000
Aircraft Carriers ...	135,000	135,000	81,000
Cruisers, Class A ...	180,000	146,800	108,400
Cruisers, Class B ...	143,000	192,200	100,450
Destroyers ...	150,000	150,000	105,500
Submarines ...	52,700	52,700	52,700
Totals ...	1,186,200	1,201,700	763,050

This programme was not completely carried out. The United States, which reckoned on its financial superiority and thought to push its antagonists to the wall by means of its financial strength, lagged behind this programme more than either of the other parties. Japan went farther than the other two parties in carrying out the maximum agreement.

However, according to the "New York Times" of December 17, "the seizure of power by Hitler in Germany and the armed operations of Japan in the Far East have given a great fillip to naval armament." An agitation for a stronger navy began in the U.S.A. pointing out that America's armaments were insufficient both on land and sea. And now a sum of a quarter of a milliard dollars is to be taken from the public works funds to build 32 new warships, quite apart and over and above the sums already voted for the purpose of strengthening naval armaments. The United States is to build a total of no less than 54 new vessels in the immediate future. A sum of seven and a half million dollars has also been granted for the purpose of building 130 new fighting aeroplanes. And the commander of the marine staff, Stanley, demands a further sum of 67 million dollars for the modernisation of already existing vessels.

The supporters of increased armaments point out that even if this programme is carried through the United States will have in 1936 one hundred naval units less than granted to it by the London and Washington agreements. The American fleet has a new great plan of naval armaments which is to be completed by 1939.

Japan, which has strengthened its fleet up to 95 per cent. of the maximum permitted by the naval agreements, is now doing its utmost to accelerate its naval armaments and not only to reach, but to exceed the maximum limits permitted by the agreements.

It is, in fact, planning to build a fleet which will put the maximum allowed by the Washington and London agreements far into the shade. Japan intends to appear at the new negotiations with a huge programme which is already in process of being carried out. On the basis of this programme Japan will demand equality of strength with Great Britain and the United States. With this aim in view the naval representatives of Japan demanded no less than 680 million yen for new armaments in 1934-35. This huge demand was reduced only very little by the Japanese government.

Thus the Pacific area shows new armaments on a very serious scale. A warlike atmosphere is spreading not only in militarist circles, but also in the more daring finance capitalist circles. The Japanese militarists are glorifying the coming war to the utmost in articles, scientific books and novels. As far as the spirit in the United States is concerned, von Kühlmann, a former German Foreign Minister, writes concerning the American Pacific fleet:—

"The chief topic of conversation amongst officers and men in the Pacific fleet is Japan. Japan's policy and Japan's prospects are continually being discussed, and the conviction is widespread that a military collision between the United States and the empire of the Mikado is inevitable."

One of the most remarkable evidences of the growing danger of war was the manifesto issued by *Randolph Hearst*, the owner of one of America's biggest newspaper concerns, concerning the danger threatening the Philippine Islands in case of war. Hearst always takes into consideration the feelings of the petty-bourgeois masses who read his 200 newspapers. Taking the peaceable inclinations of these masses into consideration the Hearst press was in favour of a rapprochement with Japan in order to relieve the tension between the two countries. But now the Hearst press has joined definitely in the agitation for increased armaments and publishes passionate accusations against Japan. This fact is an important sign of the change which is taking place in the feelings of the urban petty-bourgeois masses in the United States, and in the feelings of the farmers and the more backward workers.

The wave of warlike agitation is rapidly rising all over the world and it is being accompanied by a swift intensification of armaments. This is the harbinger of new storms for which the workers of the world must prepare themselves.

The Importance of the Fascisation of the Austrian Chambers of Labour

By Oesterreicher (Vienna)

The Chambers of Labour, which exist in all the provinces of Austria, are representative bodies elected by all workers and employees on the basis of proportional representation and are maintained by contributions deducted from the wages of all employed workers and employees. The rights of the Chambers of Labour are, it is true, somewhat limited. Their functions do not go much beyond approving draft bills affecting the social and political position of the workers and collaborating in the drawing up of official statistics. The social democrats, who had control of the Chambers of Labour, made them entirely subservient to their policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

As the elections to the Chambers of Labour were due on December 31, the government in the last days of December issued an order according to which the further carrying out of the functions of the Chambers of Labour is placed in the hands of Administrative Commissions. These Administrative Commissions are to be appointed by the Minister for Social Services.

This order provided at the same time for the exclusion of the Telegraph and Postal employees and also the workers on the Federal railways from the scope of the Chambers of Labour. The carrying out of the order took place according to the method employed in the fascisation of the representative organ of the postal employees. The Minister for Social Services offered the Federation of Free Trade Unions a third of the seats on the Administrative Commissions, while two-thirds were to be given to the insignificant trade unions of the Christians, the Heimatschutz and even the German nationalists, i.e., the unions under the leadership of the Nazis.

Expressed in figures it means the following: At the last elections to the Chambers of Labour a total of 546,769 votes was cast. Of these votes, 430,820 were cast for the candidates of the free trade unions, 56,837 for the Christian unions, 42,960 for the German nationalists, and 15,272 for the Red Trade Union position. The

so-called "independents," i.e., the Heimatschutz trade union, were not represented in the Chambers. In the Chamber for Vienna and Lower Austria, there sat 111 reformists as representatives of the free trade unions, 10 Christians, 10 German nationalists and three representatives of the R.T.U.O. The Administrative Commission is now to consist of four representatives of the free trade unions, four Christians, two independents and one German nationalist. The composition of the Administrative Commission in the other provinces will be similar to that of Vienna and Lower Austria.

The Central Committee of the free trade unions refused to appoint their representatives to these Commissions, pointing out that during the war and the time of the upheaval following it, the trade union leaders, at the risk of their popularity, actively collaborated in all the necessary measures of an economic and State political character. When this shameful reminder of their own Judas-role was of no avail, the reformists wished to show openly that they are to-day still ready to risk their "popularity" in order to co-operate in all the necessary economic and State-political measures and came to an agreement with the Christian Socials regarding a "composition of the Administrative Commissions which would be acceptable to both parties."

But all this was in vain. The government demanded that the Heimatschutz unions (independents) should form the majority together with the Christian Socials.

The Central Committee of the free trade unions more or less realised that another capitulation would not be tolerated by the masses of the social democratic workers and that it might unmask the collaboration of the social democratic leaders in the "corporative" fascisation in other spheres. They therefore went into "opposition." The free trade unions did not appoint any representatives to the Administrative Commissions.

The Minister for Social Services has now set up the Administrative Commissions for all Chambers of Labour. They consist exclusively of Christian Socials, Heimatschutz and German nationalists. The Chambers of Labour are thereby "incorporated."

This coup de main called forth tremendous indignation among the workers in the factories. The workers, among whom the slogan of a general strike against fascism is very popular, wished to take up the fight. The social democratic trade union leaders, however, succeeded in preventing this. In order to divert the indignation they caused resolutions to be adopted in the factories demanding new elections to the Chambers of Labour. In Graz it even came to a strike lasting for some hours in one of the biggest undertakings. Here a factory council deputation went to the governor of the province in order to submit to him the demand for new elections.

These Left manoeuvres of the social democratic leaders have as their object not only to serve as a safety-valve for the indignation of the masses, but also to conceal the agreement in principle of the social democracy with the "corporative construction."

The social democrats are speculating that, in view of the attacks of fascism on the Chambers of Labour, the workers will forget that ever since the existence of these bodies the social democrats have formed a united front in them with the representatives of the yellow, Christian and fascist trade unions against the representatives of the R.T.U.O.; that the social democrats have voted down every proposal brought forward by the representatives of the R.T.U.O. in the interest of the working class; that they always opposed the extension to the unemployed of the right to participate in the elections to the Chambers of Labour; that they immediately prepared the way for the present incorporation by allowing the government to extend the life of the Chambers by emergency decrees, instead of prescribing new elections immediately they fell due; that therefore the fascist incorporation is only the final result of the social fascist policy in the Chambers of Labour.

The Communists and all revolutionary trade union members are taking care that the treachery of the social democratic leaders is not forgotten by the workers. They are showing to the workers the significance of the fascisation of the Chambers of Labour as part of the whole fascisation, and the fight against it as a part of the fight of the working people against fascism.

The R.T.U.O. has distributed among the workers an "Open Letter" to the Central Committee of the free trade unions, in which it calls for a general strike for the following aims:—

(1) Immediate restoration of the freedom of the press, meetings, and the right of combination and to strike. (2) Cancellation

of all wage cuts and worsening of working conditions, reduction of food prices. (3) Provision of work at trade union rates and adequate relief for the unemployed. (4) Cancellation of all emergency laws. (5) Resignation of the fascist government.

The following concrete proposals are submitted for the organisation and conduct of the general strike:—

(1) Immediate convening of a general meeting of the factory councils and election of a revolutionary executive committee of the factory councillors. (2) An appeal to all factories, calling upon the workers immediately to carry out protest strikes. (3) Immediate convening of factory meetings in which revolutionary committees of action are to be elected as the leading organs for the general strike.

The working class is called upon to come into action at once, to adopt fighting measures in the factories and to organise the general strike.

Proletarian Mass Struggles in Hungary

By Gal

At the commencement of last year the Hungarian press continually announced that 1933 would bring a turning point in the development of the profound crisis of Hungarian capitalism. There was talk of prospects of a trade revival, of an amelioration of the crisis. The optimistic predictions were, however, completely refuted by the various annual reports of the banks and the agricultural and industrial undertakings. These annual reports state that, with the exception of the chemical and metal undertakings, which are working for war purposes, production in all branches of industry has uninterruptedly declined. The position of agriculture is exceedingly bad in spite of the good harvest. The State budget shows a deficit of 100 million pengő; the amount of taxes remaining unpaid and which cannot be got in figures at no less than 300 million. The report of the representative of the League Nations Tyler, on the economic position of Hungary, shows that the crisis has become more severe.

Whilst, however, the banks and the big landowners have received hundreds of millions in the way of subventions and are exempted from taxation, the working peasantry are sinking deeper into poverty, wages are falling, unemployment is increasing, and the home market is shrinking more and more. In Budapest the consumption of food has declined by 30 per cent.

The fascist press, however, still maintains an optimistic tone and insists that all that is required in order to overcome the crisis, achieve a speedy revision of the Treaty of Trianon and wage a successful fight against Bolshevism is the establishment of national unity and the abolition of the class struggle.

The government party, which has enjoyed a position of monopoly for eleven years and which recently adopted the name of "party of national unity," sees the guarantee of national unity in the further maintenance of its monopoly, whilst the opposition parties see the guarantees for national unity in the formation of a concentration government—the fascist movement in a rejuvenation of Hungarian fascism by the introduction of Hitler's methods, whilst finally, the social democrats maintain that national unity cannot be realised without them.

Hungarian fascism, however, has not succeeded either by its constant proclamation of national unity or by increasing its national, and partly also its social demagoguery in extending its social basis or preventing the intensification of the proletarian class struggle. The slogan of revolutionary unity of the proletariat, which the C.P. of Hungary has set up against the counter-revolutionary slogan of national unity, has become the fighting slogan of broad masses of workers.

Never since the overthrow of the Soviet dictatorship has the fighting unity of the proletariat been so real and great as it is at the present time. The struggles of the workers in 1933 were broader, more violent and more united than the former struggles of the proletariat under fascism. Contrary to the years 1930 and 1931, the majority of the strike struggles in 1933 were under the leadership of the revolutionary trade union opposition and were participated in by thousands of workers. They were of an aggressive character.

The successful strike of the leather workers set the example for wage struggles in other branches of industry, and strike struggles followed one another in all parts of the country. Although the strikes of the textile workers did not reach the level of the struggle of the leather workers and for the greater part were spontaneous,

isolated movements ending in defeat owing to lack of revolutionary leadership, they can nevertheless be regarded as important events for the Hungarian working class. Many thousands of working women and young workers received their baptism of fire in these strikes and thereby became active fighters for the cause of the proletariat. In a number of undertakings where the influence of the C.P. of Hungary made itself felt, the workers prevented the worst form of rationalisation being introduced, and in one big Budapest textile mill the workers, under Communist leadership, succeeded in getting the reckoning of piece-work supervised by elected workers' committees.

The C.P. of Hungary played an important role in the launching of strikes of the bakers and clothing workers for higher wages. The Red Trade Union Opposition succeeded before the strike in capturing the Budapest local group of the bakers' and garment workers' trade unions. Although, as a result of inadequate work in building up unity organs in the factories and also owing to the terror, these captured trade union positions were not retained, nevertheless the R.T.U.O. succeeded in preserving its influence over the majority of workers in these branches of industry.

The struggle of 5,000 workers in the Ganz Iron Works was of great importance in the strike struggles of the past year. This movement, which arose against the Bedeaux rationalisation system, was the first big movement of the Hungarian metal workers for years. The Ganz workers remained on strike for five weeks. The Red Trade Union Opposition made collections of money among the workers in other branches of industry and organised demonstrations of sympathy and delegations in support of this important movement. However, the organisational work of the C.P.H. in the Ganz undertaking was still weak; it had neglected to build up united front organs in the factory before the strike. During the strike even opportunist mistakes were committed, and thus the reformist bureaucracy succeeded in throttling the struggle.

The most outstanding event of the past year in regard to workers' struggles was undoubtedly the general strike of the building workers, which was distinguished by its extent and exemplary unity. Fourteen days before the outbreak of the strike the R.T.U.O. succeeded in capturing the organisation of the painters and grainers in the building workers' union. The strike began with the painters and grainers, and in a few days spread to all branches of the building trade. The fierceness of the struggle can be judged by the fact that in the fight against strike-breakers there were nine killed, 37 seriously wounded and 400 slightly wounded. The collective agreement concluded after the strike secured to the building workers a minimum wage of 54 hellers an hour instead of 30 and 40 hellers as previously. In addition to this immediate material success, the strike of the building workers resulted in a strengthening and extension of the proletarian united front.

The example of the building workers has raised the whole question of the general strike of the Hungarian proletariat. The social democratic party and the reformist trade union bureaucracy are taking into account the revolutionary mood of the Hungarian proletariat when they now manoeuvre with the announcement of a general strike in the spring. The Hungarian social democracy has rapidly abandoned its former slogan that "there can be no strike in a crisis," in favour of the slogan: "Strike in the spring." Of course nothing is further from the thoughts of the social democratic leaders than really to organise a general strike.

The C.P. of Hungary is endeavouring to frustrate this manoeuvre not only by preparing for the general strike, by further developing the strike struggles and by organising mass struggles, but also by launching a broad movement against the main organisational basis of Hungarian social fascism in order to convert the reformist trade unions into weapons of the revolutionary class struggle. In the recent decision of the C.C. of the C.P. of Hungary, every Communist and also every class-conscious worker is called upon to join the reformist trade unions in order to make them into organs of revolutionary proletarian unity, to drive out the bureaucracy, to realise proletarian democracy, to repel every attack of fascism and frustrate every act of treachery on the part of social fascism.

This appeal issued by the C.P. of Hungary has met with a lively response. Broad masses of class-conscious workers have recently joined the trade unions. This is particularly the case in those unions in which the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition has captured the leadership.

The mass strikes of the past year and the trade union struggles

reflect not only the revolutionary activity of the Hungarian proletariat, but also the growth of the political and organisational influence of the C.P. of Hungary.

The work of the C.P.H. still reveals a number of faults, but in spite of everything it must be said that, never since the existence of the fascist dictatorship has the C.P. of Hungary been so near the realisation of proletarian unity by mass struggles as to-day. Never since the Soviet dictatorship was the unity of the C.P.H., from the cells to the Central Committee, so firm as at the present time. This is the guarantee that the C.P.H. will in the near future organise new revolutionary mass struggles and will be able to lead broad masses of the proletariat into the fight against the counter-revolutionary forces which are gathering under the slogan of national unity.

The Polish Working Class in the Struggle against the Fascist Decrees

By J. Rada

By its decree of October 28, the Polish government announced its intention to intervene in all important wage conflicts, and declared that the arbitration awards of its arbitors would be binding from the outset. By this decree the government intends to rob the working class of its right to strike. The strike struggles of the working class, which set in in the spring of 1931 with particular vehemence, put a stop to the robber-campaign of the capitalists. But the bourgeoisie was unable to book as real successes the enforced wage cuts and worsening in the conditions of work. The struggles of the working class were conducted with unexampled stubbornness; they spread to other districts, were accompanied by the occupation of factories, developed into political general strikes, led to powerful demonstrations, and even to bloody street collisions with the police. The decree of October 28 therefore represents an attempt to deliver a decisive blow at the hated strike movement.

The ruling fascists are probably not so naive as to imagine they can master the big mass movement merely with this decree. They are counting upon the social democratic bureaucrats, whose task it will be to enforce the fascist robbery of the right to strike. The decree of October 28 can be considered as the legal crowning of the treacherous policy of the Polish representatives of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

Even on August 10, 1933, the leading article of the "Robotnik," the central organ of the P.P.S., declared:—

"The workers can tolerate the court of arbitration only in exceptional cases, when the composition of the arbitration commission or the person of the arbitrator is a guarantee for the impartiality and fair treatment of the question in dispute."

This hypocritical glorification of the fascist arbitration system served the intention to render the system of arbitration palatable to the workers.

The decree against the right to strike was published on the eve of the Fifth Congress of the trade unions led by the social fascists. The Congress was held from October 29 to November 1. This fact enabled the phrasemongers of the P.P.S. and their national brother parties (the Jewish "Bund" and the German and Ukrainian social democrats) to deliver the "sharpest" speeches against the fascist attack—while at the same time passing over in silence all proposals of the oppositional workers' delegates, who demanded a general strike to defend the threatened right to strike, and against all the other anti-working-class laws.

On January 1 the notorious law for unifying the whole of the social insurance came into force. This law means robbery of the sick benefit, increase in the contributions paid by the insured workers, cutting down of the period during which benefit is being paid, etc. As a "compensation," the law promises the worker old-age pension at the age of 66!

The Christmas presents given by the fascist dictatorship to the workers include also the lengthening of the working week from 46 to 48 hours and the cutting down of holiday gratuities for the workers. In this respect also the trade union bureaucrats have performed good preparatory work for fascism. In their report to the Fifth Trades Union Congress it is stated:—

"... since 1932 the central commission of the trade unions has issued the slogan of ruthless struggle for the collective treaties, be it even at the cost of small economic concessions."

These "small concessions" were the only "slogan" which these bureaucrats really followed, they quietly dropped the collective agreements until the workers themselves came into movement for their maintenance or the conclusion of fresh ones. The "small concessions" of the trade union bureaucrats have enabled the capitalists, in particular in the small and medium undertakings, in spite of the provisions of tariff agreements and of the law, to violate the right to annual holidays and to have Saturday afternoon off.

The Communist Party of Poland and the Left trade union opposition called upon the working class to demonstrate on December 20 against the fascist laws and decrees. The preparatory campaign for this fighting day developed into a united front action with the social-democratic and non-party workers against the common enemy. Meetings were held in the courtyards and at the gates of the biggest factories, and the demand of the workers for common action with the Communists was even heard at the social fascist trade union conferences. The preparatory campaign and the fighting day itself became revolutionary propaganda for a general strike.

In *Warsaw*, on December 20, a considerable part of the bakers, furniture workers and bootmakers were on strike, as well as the staff of the "Drucianka" metal works, "Noblesse" tobacco factory and about 4,000 Jewish workers in small undertakings. No less than six demonstration processions were dispersed by the police.

In *Lodz* strikes broke out at Scheibler and Grohmanns, the biggest textile factory of Poland, as well as in the Eisert factory and at smaller workshops—this political and illegally conducted strike was participated in by 15,000 workers, including those of the whole of the *Lodz* silk industry. A demonstration of unemployed numbering 500 proceeded to the Town Hall.

The strike in the *Bielitz industrial district* (Czech Silesia), where the influence of the P.P.S. and of the German social democrats is strongest, bore a definitely united front character. A conference of the trade union functionaries was held, at which the leaders of the recently concluded strike of the smelting workers moved that a protest strike be carried out on December 20. The bureaucrats did not venture openly to oppose this motion in face of the militant mood of the workers. They only succeeded in postponing the strike for another day. The "*Kattowitzer Zeitung*," the organ of the pro-Hitler big industrialists, in its issue of December 23, described this strike as follows:—

"In connection with the announced increase of working hours from 46 to 48 a week, as a result of which the free Saturday afternoon is abolished, the workers of the *Bielitz industrial district* carried out a two-hours protest strike on December 21. A part of the workers gathered in the workers' club, where protest speeches were delivered and resolutions adopted against the introduction of the 48-hour working week."

The C.P. will utilise the achievements of December 20 in order to launch a still broader campaign by means of factory meetings and adoption of resolutions by the factory staffs, by the election of committees of action and of strike committees, by means of partial struggles against any attempt to introduce the fascist decrees. By this means the ground will be prepared for the one-day general strike against the fascist anti-working class legislation.

The Rumanian Railway Workers for the Second Time Before the Court

By V. Gradinaru (Bucharest)

After a long silence, a part of the bourgeois press has decided to announce that the verdict in the appeal brought by the railway and oil workers who were sentenced in August last to terms of imprisonment amounting in all to 500 years, will be pronounced at the end of January.

Why were the 59 railway workers and oil workers given such savage sentences? Why has the present moment been chosen in order to bring the accused, among whom, by the way, are five members of the Central Committee of the revolutionary trade union federation, again before the Court?

As is known, one of the chief tasks of the late *Vaida Voevod* government was to realise the so-called Geneva financial restoration plan, the purpose of which was before all to secure payment of the interest on foreign loans, amounting to over 9,000 million lei.

It was obvious that such a "magnificent" plan could only be carried out at the cost of the working class, the petty bourgeoisie, who have been ruined by the crisis, and the poor and middle peasants

The government attempted to neutralise, and also succeeded in temporarily neutralising, the peasantry by prolonging the debt moratorium. The first attempt to realise this plan of the Rumanian and foreign bankers was made at the cost of the clerks and employees in private undertakings, whose wages were reduced 12 to 20 per cent., and at the same time wholesale dismissals took place. Thus thousands of school teachers and officials belonging to the national minorities were dismissed.

The school teachers and civil servants, as well as private employees, thereupon replied with gigantic street demonstrations, which took place one after another from the end of 1932 to the beginning of 1933.

It was thanks only to the treachery of the social fascist leaders, headed by *Bragadereanu* and *Raduceanu*, that the resistance of the employees and teachers was broken. This manoeuvre did not, however, succeed with the railway workers and oil workers, who had greater political experience.

The railway workers and oil workers replied to the fresh wage-cutting offensive and wholesale dismissals with powerful street demonstrations, strikes, and even with occupation of factories and barricade fights. In *Bucharest*, the workers replied to the announcement of a 12 per cent. wage cut with the demand for a 20 per cent. wage increase, withdrawal of dismissals and recognition of the factory councils. *Mirto*, the Minister for Ways and Communications at that time, had to admit in Parliament that he had been compelled to grant to the workers the sum of 350 million lei which had been intended to be used in order to restore the finances.

In *Ploesti* the oil workers, who took possession of half of the town and three times attempted to storm the police headquarters, succeeded in releasing 120 arrested workers. The successes which the oil workers and railway workers achieved in their fights, which lasted from January 28 to February 2, stimulated the courage and enthusiasm of the whole of the working class in town and country.

The bourgeoisie clearly realised that the working class would not stop at half-measures, but would endeavour to unite all the exploited and oppressed under their leadership. Therefore, on February 4, two days after the great railway workers' strike of February 2, a state of siege was proclaimed in the most important workers' centres. All workers' organisations were closed, with the exception of those of the social democrats, which were left untouched. The railway workers rose like one man in defence of their organisations and their leaders, when, in the night of February 15, the government commenced to carry out their plans, arrested 8,000 workers and dissolved the trade unions. The workers replied with fresh economic and above all political demands (release of their leaders, reopening of the trade union premises, recognition of the factory councils, immediate withdrawal of the state of siege). In support of these demands, the railway workers from February 12 to 17 occupied the railway workshops and fought on the barricades. Tens of thousands of workers in *Bucharest* and the provinces were drawn in this fight, as they recognised that the railway workers had become only the advance-guard of the working population in town and country. The government replied to these demands by shooting over 500 workers. Over 1,000 workers were wounded, and in *Bucharest* alone 2,000 workers were arrested. The bourgeoisie was in a state of mad panic.

The fights in February, however, had also an international importance. They showed that the C.P. of Rumania was capable of uniting under their leadership the most important sections of the proletariat and leading them in the fight against the capitalist way out of the crisis—and this in a country immediately bordering on the Soviet Union. The railway workers and the oil workers gave a living example of the application of the united front tactics without and in spite of the social democratic leaders of all shades.

What characterises the situation at the present moment is above all the fact that the Court proceedings against the railway workers are taking place at a time when the class struggle in Rumania has become exceedingly acute. The assassination of *Duca*, the permanent government crises, indicate that the moment is approaching when the ruling class can no longer go on living in the old way and the lower strata are more and more being mobilised by the Communist Party against hunger and imperialist war. For this reason, the Court proceedings are taking place under a state of emergency. Only the fight of the international proletariat will rescue the leaders of the Rumanian railway workers and oil workers.

The Pan-American Conference and the Aspirations of British Imperialism

By R. Youkelson (New York)

In order to get a full and clear picture of the growing antagonism between the two greatest imperialist Powers in their manoeuvres for the economic and political domination of the Latin-American countries, it is important to get acquainted also with the position occupied by Great Britain in this part of the world.

Prior to the world war the investments of Great Britain in the Latin-American countries amounted to about five milliard dollars, while those of the United States were around one milliard and a quarter; Britain had four dollars invested to each one dollar by the Wall Street bankers. The concentration on the war compelled Great Britain to stop further expansion and even to withdraw part of its tremendous investments. This left the gate wide open for rapid penetration of American capital—the super-profits of Wall Street bankers, accumulated by them as a result of almost three years playing their very profitable “neutrality” game.

American imperialism took advantage of this opportunity and fortified itself economically to such an extent that Great Britain at once found itself confronted with a gigantic rival. Here the race for deeper financial penetration and political hegemony between the two imperialist giants started with full force.

The United States entrenched itself in the Latin-American countries in such a manner that it was able to force the League of Nations, although not being a member of it, to recognise the **Monroe Doctrine**, thus officially admitting American imperialism's domination over the American continent. But this did not prevent, but, on the contrary, stimulated British imperialism to do whatever possible “under the circumstances” to build up all sorts of manoeuvres aimed at its severest rival—American imperialism. One of its main points of concentration was **Argentina**—the traditional centre of Great Britain's activities and influence. Britain claims “friendship” with Argentina since 1825. It is noteworthy that the Prince of Wales visited Argentina in 1925 in “celebration of the centenary of its treaty with England.”

The following table tells the story of the “century-old friendship” between Great Britain and the Argentine, as expressed in terms of merchandise sold by the United Kingdom during the fifteen years from 1910 to 1924 inclusive, as compared with exports during the same period from the United States:—

EXPORTS TO ARGENTINA

	By Great Britain	By United States
	Dollars	Dollars
1910	117,908,831	52,195,566
1913	154,053,513	73,012,668
1918	124,960,102	169,506,948
1924	173,340,072	163,512,720

This table shows that Great Britain, immediately after the war, regained very definitely its pre-war position in Argentina and established itself very basically, though the United States also gained enormous ground during the above period.

Great Britain had over a milliard and a half dollars invested in the Argentine in public utilities, such as railways, street cars, gas, light, power, telegraph, telephone, etc. This explains the “centenary celebration of friendship,” on the occasion of which the Prince of Wales chose to visit Argentina. England held on very tightly to this “friendship” and nursed it very carefully, until she succeeded in turning it into a powerful instrument, which she is using with a great measure of success in her economic war against American imperialism. Argentina was used by Great Britain as a nucleus for building up a pro-British bloc in South America, which consists now of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, and partly Bolivia, through which British imperialism is operating in its manoeuvres against American imperialistic manipulations. From what transpired in Montevideo immediately after the opening of the present **Pan-American conference** it appears that Britain was successful in planting an opening wedge for her penetration into the Caribbean territory, which is the immediate sphere of American imperialistic domination. This may be seen from the unity of action between Mexico and the above pro-British group on almost every question presented to the conference.

Mexico's bourgeoisie seems to be greatly disappointed in its expectations for profitable achievements as a result of its colla-

poration with American enterprisers. These expectations became very slim with the development of the present economic crisis. This can be seen from the fact that while in 1923, when the exodus of American companies operating in Mexico began, oil production, which amounted to 193 million barrels in 1921, dropped to 90 million in 1926, and fell in 1931 to only 33 million barrels. It is dreaming now of leaning closer towards Britain.

Great Britain's skilful manoeuvring against American imperialism was also manifested in Argentina's joining the League of Nations recently, immediately after signing a new trade pact with Great Britain. The outstanding feature in her joining is the reservation granted her not to subscribe to article 21 of the League covenant, which provides for the recognition of the “**Monroe Doctrine**.” This reservation accounts for the fact that on September 8, 1933, Argentina sent an official note to the United States government, in which she made it very clear that she would oppose any sort of intervention by the United States in Cuba. This note carried with it an indirect hint that behind it stood a well-organised group to support it. It, no doubt, served as a definite warning to American imperialism that, in the event of the Washington government intervening in Cuba, there will be trouble. This “trouble” could have expressed itself in various forms, each of which would result in great unpleasantness for the Roosevelt Administration. The latter has repeated its famous gesture of a “new deal” and “good neighbour” policy for the Latin-American countries.

The Roosevelt Administration also committed itself by cabling to fifty-four nations on May 17 last an appeal for peace and a proposal for non-aggression pacts, wherein Roosevelt suggested that all nations should “agree to send no armed forces of whatever nature across their frontiers.” While this pious phraseology was seemingly aimed mainly at Japan and England, who are a menace to the interests of Wall Street in the Far East and in the Latin-American countries respectively, it was also intended to create illusions among the Latin-American peoples. It seems, however, that the powers in Washington discovered that they put themselves in an embarrassing position, so on the next day the State Department altered it by amending a reservation: “except under existing treaties.” The infamous Platt amendment in Cuba is one of those “existing treaties.”

But even this reservation was not able completely to eradicate the first impression of the above gesture. This, coupled with Argentina's note, put American imperialism in a very delicate situation, so that intervention in Cuba under these circumstances doomed to inevitable collapse the Montevideo conference.

It can be stated that at the Pan-American conference the pro-British group proved to be a great stumbling block for the high-powered machine of American imperialism and inflicted serious damage upon the plans and machinations of the Washington delegation, by more than once upsetting the original calculations of Hull and his colleagues and achieving quite a bit for Great Britain in its imperialistic aspirations in Latin-America. Concrete results of these diplomatic achievements will undoubtedly come to light in the near future, and will force American imperialism to make new strategic moves.

All these manoeuvres in Montevideo only show that the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes of Latin-American countries are servile to imperialism—American or British—and are collaborating with them so that they may be able to continue to exploit the workers and toiling masses jointly, and jointly to crush the growing revolutionary sentiments among them, which are a growing danger both to the imperialists and the native oppressors.

CORRECTION

In the article “**Soviet Diplomacy and Its Social-Fascist Critics**,” published in the “*Inprecorr*,” No. 55, December 15 last, there occurs an error in the concluding paragraph. Instead of:—

“The more successes—even successes bought with sacrifices—Soviet diplomacy achieves, the more quickly will it be possible to hand over Hitler's and Mussolini's frock coats and silk hats to the revolutionary museum, and hand over Hitler and Mussolini themselves to the revolutionary museum.”

the paragraph should read as follows:—

“The more successes—even including successes bought with sacrifices—Soviet diplomacy achieves, the more quickly will it be possible to hand over its (Soviet diplomacy's—Ed.) frock coat and silk hat to the revolutionary museum and Hitler and Mussolini to the Revolutionary Tribunal.”

Germany

Letters from Germany

I. The Struggle among the Fascist Leaders against the Background of Intensified Economic Crisis

All efforts fail when the government attempts outwardly to conceal the open quarrel which is proceeding among the leaders, the protagonists of which are **Hitler** and **Goebbels** on the one side, and **Goering** on the other. The encirclement of Goering's position in Prussia is still being systematically carried out. **Himmler**, the Reich leader of the S.S., has now been made chief of the Thuringian State police. Thus the police of all the Federated States, with the exception of Prussia and Bavaria, are now under his control, and even in Bavaria he possesses the key position in his capacity as chief of the Munich police. The demonstrative announcement of the reform of the Reich by Goebbels and Frick, which is being opposed by Goering, shows that Goering will not be allowed even to maintain his positions in Prussia. The position of the Bavarian Stadtholder, **von Epp**, the only person, apart from Goering, who is still seriously offering resistance to the Reich reform, is seriously shaken. His close relations with the head of the Bavarian Catholic Church and, above all, his support of Cardinal Faulhaber, whom he protected from arrest, have sealed his fate.

It would be a great mistake to overestimate the intensified cliques-struggle among the Nazi leaders or consider it possible that this could result in a serious shaking of the fascist dictatorship without action being taken by the revolutionary proletariat. But it would be an equally great mistake to underestimate these conflicts, which, in fact, to a certain extent reflect the growing difficulties of the fascist dictatorship, and in particular the deepening of the economic crisis with all its consequences.

At the end of the year the "**Frankfurter Zeitung**," in its economic articles, somewhat openly criticised the economic policy of the Hitler government. But one does not need to cite these articles in order to prove the profound seriousness of the economic situation in Germany. In an official reply to the foreign criticism of the officially proclaimed victories in the fight against unemployment, the glaring contradiction between the declining wages income and the allegedly greatly increased number of employed is explained by the statement that two-thirds of the workers who have been re-employed do not pay any wages tax, as their income is not sufficient to be liable to taxation. This admission speaks volumes. Moreover, one need not be a prophet in order to predict that not only indirect wage reductions by "voluntary gifts" and the like, but also direct wage cuts will be on the order of the day in the next few weeks and months.

Only the war industry constitutes an exception in this respect. It is perfectly obvious that here it is intended to pay somewhat higher wages in order to protect the workers in the munition workshops and factories from "Marxist influence" and to establish an antagonism of interests between them and the other sections of the proletariat. In the whole of the other industries wages are being reduced by every possible means, quite apart from the effects of the new rationalisation offensive announced by **Ley**. This fact is quite openly admitted, for example, by the "**Frankfurter Zeitung**," which regards the State measures for the provision of work—which "can hardly lead to an increase in the national income"—as important solely in so far as they serve as a stimulus to the general economic revival. In the same article (January 4) the paper states that the number of "invisible" unemployed, estimated by it at about two millions, has not changed to any great extent in the year 1933. The number of newly employed, many of whom have been given only temporary work, does not amount to more than 1½ million. In the same article Labour Service is characterised as an example of a "Socially politically important, but economically not profitable occupation." The article goes on to say:—

"A number of unemployed, very much harder to estimate, have been given employment by a redistribution of work, i.e., likewise without any increase of actual work, production and income (!), but also practically without the expenditure of public money by sacrifices of workers hitherto employed (!) or employers."

The paper further criticises the policy of dismissing workers in those cases where more than one member of the family is in employment, and of excluding women from employment. In other words this means: the burden of poverty is spread over broader shoulders and the whole standard of living is further reduced. Even "modest provision for all members of the community demands under the present circumstances certain sacrifices which are bound to result in a reduction of the purchasing power of the people in employment, even when contributions are made voluntarily (?) and not by means of taxation."

This is plain enough. And when the "**Frankfurter Zeitung**," on the basis of the official wages statistics, calculates that there is even a small reduction of wages, it thereby admits that wages have been directly cut. How hopeless it is for the authorities to deny the growing mass misery and how even the incorporated press no longer troubles to represent this mass misery as increasing prosperity, is shown by the New Year's article of the "**Vossische Zeitung**," which with scarcely concealed irony praises the "rapid turn" from the extravagant promises made by the Nazis before seizing power to the "real political necessities," and even ventures to raise doubts as to the carrying out of the Nazi party programme.

II. Further Intensification of the Church Struggle

The news regarding the oppositional movement in the Evangelical Church directed against the Nazi regime has assumed a sensational character in the last few days.

Regarding the history of the movement, it is not unimportant to point out that the Evangelical opposition movement represents an aggressive movement against positions already occupied by the Nazis. Whilst up to the moment of the resignation of the "orthodox" Reich Primate, Dr. Bodelschwingh, the conflict within the Evangelical Church was still undecided, after his resignation and the appointment of Dr. Mueller it appeared as if the "renaissance movement," led by the national socialist "German Christians," had completely triumphed. Mueller installed a sort of episcopal Storm Detachment in the highest Church offices. For some weeks the voice of the opposition was almost completely silent. The "German Christians" made use of this time in order to bring about as far as possible a fait accompli. Some of the State Churches adopted the "Aryan Paragraph," under which the clergy and other Church officials of Jewish origin are to be removed from their offices. The Berlin "German Christians" repudiated the "Old Testament," and the Bishop of Saxony caused to be adopted through the Saxon Synod, which is dominated by the Nazis, a new fascist Confession of Faith. These events formed the outward reason for a new opposition movement, which broke out with suddenness and fierceness within the Evangelical Church, and which used sharper language every day and took organisational form in the Pastors' Emergency League.

The nature of the declaration made by the Opposition conveys an idea of the profoundness of the differences. Official Nazi circles were compelled to realise the seriousness of the situation; attempts were made to meet it by throwing overboard Hossenfelder, the Reich leader of the "German Christians," and compelling him to give up his Church functions, above all the important Berlin-Brandenburg bishopric. This success, however, only encouraged the Opposition. Already a week ago 6,000 parsons had joined the "Pastors' Emergency League."

Driven on by the German Christians, Dr. Mueller attempted to go over to the counter-attack against the Opposition. He forbade any ecclesiastical-political disputes in the Churches, and threatened to remove the oppositional pastors from their offices. This decree had hardly been issued when it was withdrawn. The "**Frankfurter Zeitung**," however, allegedly, received the order for withdrawal too late. The decree was published in this paper, whereupon it remained in force. This fact shows how great is the muddle and confusion in the camp of the fascist proclaimers of religion.

The Pastors' Emergency League replied to Dr. Mueller with

a counter-declaration. This declaration, appealing to the Augsburg Confession, states that when Bishops act contrary to the gospel they should not be obeyed. This means that Dr. Mueller, who always describes himself as being only the "instrument of the leader Adolf Hitler," is refused obedience. In spite of Dr. Mueller's prohibition, this declaration was read by more than 100 pastors from the altar steps or the pulpit on Sunday, January 7, to crowded congregations.

The Pastors' Emergency League went a step further. It called meetings, taking the form of divine service, for Monday, January 8, in the Berlin Cathedral and in the Nicolai Church. When, however, the Evangelical Church-goers arrived, they found the doors closed and guarded by Goering's police, who refused them admission to the churches, a proceeding unprecedented in the history of the last few decades. One can imagine the indignation this arbitrary act called forth. The excitement was so great that eight big public meetings, arranged at the last moment, could not be prohibited. Although these meetings had not been advertised they were all crowded. Crowds of people thronged the streets. To what consequences this dispute will lead it is impossible to say at the moment. There are rumours to the effect that Dr. Mueller will go into a sanatorium and his place will be taken by Dr. Bodelschwingh. It is, however, also possible that the "German Christians," making use of the panic mood to which the Opposition movement has given rise in certain circles of the Nazi leadership, will attempt to force through their programme. At the moment the first oppressive measures against the oppositional pastors have already been taken; Pastor Buelteemeier has been arrested in Dortmund for refusing to give the Hitler greeting to his confirmands.

The above is a brief outline of events in the Evangelical Church. The movement among the Catholics is not so obvious. Nevertheless it has become more noticeable in the last few days. Following Cardinal Faulhaber's New Year's sermon, with its attacks on the traditions of the old Germans, there were a number of demonstrations in the Catholic camp. The most important of these was that made by a priest, who, according to the Nazi press, held a mass for the souls of the six Communist workers executed in Cologne.

What importance have these facts for the anti-fascist mass struggle against the Hitler dictatorship? In the first place it should be remembered that at the commencement of the dispute between the "orthodox" and the "German Christians," Hitler declared himself "neutral" and announced that the Party would not interfere in the dispute. This meant that up to a certain extent the two movements were even welcome, as serving to divert attention from the non-fulfilment of the promises made by the national socialists. They played off each against the other. But fascism has less possibilities of manoeuvring than "democracy." The point at which these movements will cease to be welcome to the national socialists and become unwelcome will soon be reached, in particular because, precisely in order to get out of the clutches of the "totality" of the fascist dictatorship, movements which at the first glance appear purely "intellectual," or, as in the present case, even entirely "religious," soon become the expression of all economic disappointment. And this economic disappointment is exceedingly great among the middle classes, who at one time had the most unbounded illusions regarding the "Third Reich." Here lies the reason for the rapid growth of the Opposition movement in the Churches.

But the religious disputes deserve examination from another side. So far as political groupings are behind them, one can say that in the Evangelical Church the former German nationalists are behind the Opposition, and in the Catholic Church the former supporters of the Centre. It is hardly necessary to say that these circles, who regard themselves as the chosen and only possible representatives of the capitalist system, in spite of the incorporation have their doubts about the future of the "Third Reich." They have a clearer idea of the historical and economic connection of things than the loud-mouthed national socialists. The most "imposing demonstrations" do not blind them to the facts, and they are therefore bound to realise that the foundations of the "Third Reich" are very shaky. Hence they are endeavouring in good time to create a movement to canalise the discontent. Future credit is to be created for Religion, which has nothing to do with mundane affairs, including nationalism and racialism. When the earthly leader Hitler fails, there then remains only

God, the old eternal and unchangeable God of the Bible and of the Catechism, the personal and unchanged God of the Old Testament and of the New Testament as the last sheet anchor and refuge. Hence the loud cry for the old faith. This is the explanation why people like Cardinal Faulhaber, and Evangelical Church dignitaries, who were formerly known as the worst reactionaries, are using such strong language to-day.

It is therefore a very motley picture which the German Church Opposition presents. The real anti-fascist forces of Germany are thus confronted with a by no means easy task. They must prevent the Church Opposition movement from becoming a reactionary brake. They must point out to the masses that religion is the servant of class rule. They must also endeavour to enlighten those sections of the working population who have been drawn into the Church struggle and to connect them with the conscious anti-fascist fight of the proletariat.

A Year's Balance of the Fascist Peasant Policy

By Edwin Hoernle

As the Hitler press jubilantly announces, a "Reich Peasant Congress" is to take place in Weimar from January 19 to 21. This Congress will be nothing else but a meeting of leaders. This fact alone is remarkable. As late as October 1 last year, at the "Harvest Thanksgiving Festival," the stage managers of the Third Reich thought they could carry out a successful mobilisation of the broad masses of peasants from the whole Reich in Bueckeberg near Hamelin. It was intended at that time that, not a few leaders, but the masses of peasants should express their enthusiastic readiness to take part in the realisation of the tasks and aims of the Third Reich. However, this "Harvest Festival" turned out quite differently than the leaders had expected. Not only had many special trains to be cancelled owing to insufficient number of peasants wishing to attend the "festival," but in Oldenburg and other localities it even came to spontaneous rebellion of the working peasants when the Storm Troops came round rattling their collecting boxes for this peasants' feast. Forced by necessity, there will take place this month only a conference of reliable leaders, and only at the conclusion, in order to preserve appearances, "huge peasant demonstrations" will be held in all the big halls of the town of Weimar.

What is the political significance of this Reich Peasant Congress? It is, so to speak, the first anniversary of the Third Reich. On January 31 last year Hitler took over power and together with Hugenberg issued his notorious Manifesto to the German people. At that time Hitler stated the most urgent task of the brown regeneration of Germany was to "rescue the German peasantry," as the source of strength of the German people. This was to be achieved within the space of four years.

A year has elapsed since then. The masses of German peasants are demanding from the fascist leaders an account of their stewardship. The Peasant Congress to be held on January 19 represents only a manoeuvre in order to deceive and divert the masses of peasants.

All the big guns of the fascist agrarian policy: the Reich peasant leader and Minister Darré, his deputy, the Secretary of State and junker Willikens, the Thuringian Reich Stadtholder Saukel, etc., will be present in Weimar. According to programme, reports will be delivered on the land inheritance law, the regulation of dairy farming, peasant culture, the tasks of the peasant women, and, in conclusion, on the rebuilding up of the peasantry. A film, "Blood and Soil," will also be shown.

As we see, these are topical themes which are placed on the agenda. Hitler's peasant-deluders consider it necessary to defend with all demagogy and cunning the laws and decrees of their master, which have called forth mistrust and growing bitterness among the peasants, and to combine this with exhortations to remain patient. It is intended by means of high-sounding phrases to hide the fact that the peasant policy of fascism is dictated by finance capital and the big agrarians.

What has the Peasant Law done up to now for the German peasants? It has pressed them into a compulsory organisation in which, in accordance with the "leadership principle," they are not allowed to open their mouths. Hitler has still further reduced their cattle fodder by custom barriers and monopolies, and thus, in spite of artificially increased prices for dairy products, has diminished their income; by means of the land inheritance law he has created a privileged minority of big peasants. In fact,

Hitler, Darré, and Willikens have done even more: They have secured fat minimum incomes for this privileged big-peasant minority by the law of fixed prices for grain and the cartellisation of the mills; by means of the milk decree they have placed the sale of milk in the hands of the milk ring dominated by the banks and big peasants, and prohibited any free trade in milk by the peasants. Just recently, by the new law establishing a Reich monopoly for the sale of butter, cheese, and eggs, they have closed the market for these commodities and condemned, not the big, but the masses of small milk and egg producers to actual bankruptcy. This is completely in harmony with the official reconciliation with the former German national East Elbian junkers, the complete abandonment of even the smallest expropriation of the big landowners for the benefit of the peasant settlers.

The results of a year of Hitler's rule in the German rural districts are anything but the "rescue of the German peasantry." The outline of the new village dominated by fascism are already clearly to be seen: intensified class differentiation and polarisation of the peasantry, increased ousting of the working peasants from the market, proletarianisation of the small peasants, unlimited dictatorship of the big peasants, junkers, trusts, cartels, and banks. In addition, there is increased enslavement and exploitation of the farm hands on the big estates, who have been completely deprived of all rights, the starvation and compulsory militarisation of the sons of the small peasants, who are unable to earn anything in the factories and do not receive unemployment benefit, but instead are compulsorily recruited for the labour service camps and as "harvest hands."

In the face of such results of the fascist policy towards the peasantry it is not surprising that the disappointment and bitterness of the masses in the rural districts has already gone beyond the bounds of sullen resignation, and here and there is finding vent in open rebellions. All the "plebiscites" of the Hitler-Bonaparte like that of November 12, and still less the stage thunder of a Reich Peasant Congress, are unable to conceal the fact of the tremendous ferment among the peasants.

The new Hitler year opens up favourable prospects in the village for the Communist Party. The fascist murder bands have in vain in the past year attacked with bestial fury the functionaries of the Communist Party who have been active in the rural districts. There is hardly a leader of the revolutionary peasants' committees who has not been dragged into a concentration camp and tortured. Comrade Ernst Putz, who for ten years worked indefatigably as organiser and agitator among the working peasants, was tortured to death in prison. Thousands of small peasants and the village poor will in the coming year remember these "successes" and "rescue actions" of fascism, and will come to recognise that Communism alone offers them any hope.

It is now necessary for the anti-fascist forces to penetrate into the villages, where the swastika flags are rapidly disappearing, where the Hitler pictures are being thrown on to the rubbish heaps, and where the Storm Troops are encountering greater resistance when they come round with their everlasting collecting boxes. Here Communism has no longer the task of exposing fascism, but of organising the daily struggle of the agricultural workers and working peasants for bread, land and freedom and drawing them into the growing anti-fascist people's movement, which will result in the overthrow of fascism and the setting up of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

DECISION OF THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I. IN THE MATTER OF COMRADE REMMELE

Comrade Remmele in the years of 1932 and 1933 developed views in regard to a number of the most important political and theoretical questions which are incompatible with membership of the Communist Party, and on the basis of these views he conducted a fraction struggle against the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany. As Comrade Remmele recognises his mistakes, the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. decides:

- (1) To limit itself to removing him from all functions in the C.P. of Germany.
- (2) To accept the resignation of Comrade Remmele as member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and as a member of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

Van der Lubbe's Corpse Convicts the Incendiaries

Not a few scientific experts were troubled about Van der Lubbe's state of health whilst he was still alive. When the tool of fascism was presented to the eyes of the world at the Leipzig court for the first time after his crime, his appearance and his attitude offered such a strange picture that some explanation had to be given to the world. Therefore the professor of medicine, **Bonnhöfer**, gave evidence before the court and presented an experts' report on Van der Lubbe's condition. He announced that during the preliminary investigations Van der Lubbe had been a totally different person, lively, cunning, possessing keen perceptions and, above all, prepared to talk at great length. From this he argued, one must assume that Van der Lubbe was mentally normal. However, a curious world was unable to discover any of these qualities in the Van der Lubbe the Nazis presented to the court in Leipzig. Van der Lubbe sat hunched up in the dock and became more and more spineless every day. Only on two occasions did he utter an intelligible sentence and on most days at the trial he did not open his lips at all.

The stage-managers of the trial realised that the report of Professor Bonnhöfer was not sufficient to satisfy the bourgeois press in foreign countries which grew more dubious every day and began to set up hypotheses of its own to explain Van der Lubbe's extraordinary attitude. New scientific experts had to appear before the court in an attempt to relieve public opinion of its doubts and its suspicions. Now there is no lack of highly-trained medical men in Germany, and even in the ranks of the Nazis, but apparently it was difficult to find anyone of prominence who was prepared to sacrifice his scientific reputation in the interests of the Nazis. Professor Bonnhöfer based his report on his knowledge of Van der Lubbe during the preliminary examinations, i.e., before the opening of the trial. The first medical report on Van der Lubbe's condition after the opening of the trial was left to a foreigner, also a scientist, but not a medical man, as it transpired later. This expert was the Swedish "expert on criminal psychology," **Södermann**. This Swedish fascist, who had "studied" with the police in Lyons and was a member of an obscure "International Institute for the Study of Criminal Psychology" in Holland, naturally found that everything was in best order. Lubbe was "mentally perfectly normal," he declared. Södermann had asked him whether he had been maltreated in any way, whereupon Lubbe had shaken his head. Södermann had also examined Van der Lubbe physically and found nothing to suggest that the man was being treated in any particular fashion. During this examination Van der Lubbe did not speak a single word and, as Södermann admitted, all possible witnesses had previously been caused to leave the cell.

No one abroad took this "expert's report" seriously, but for several weeks the fascist court in Leipzig was satisfied with it. However, in the meantime Van der Lubbe's attitude became more and more mysterious, that is to say, mysterious and unexplainable so long as one refused to consider the assumption that he was being influenced hypnotically or by drugs, or with a combination of both. To the extent that the last vestiges of interest in what was going on around him left him, Van der Lubbe began to show extremely interesting and remarkable symptoms: his fits of senseless laughter became more frequent and more violent; his nose began to run copiously and had to be wiped for him continually, his capacity to sit up at all left him more and more. All this made it necessary to make another attempt to save the situation with a new "expert's report."

A Dutch doctor was to examine Van der Lubbe, assisted by Södermann. This decision had already been announced when suddenly the name of the doctor in question became known. He was a specialist this time, it was true, but a specialist for female sicknesses, the physician to the Queen of Holland, and a strict Catholic with many conversions to his credit. The result was that the world laughed, and even Södermann could stand the ridicule no longer and fled in an aeroplane to Stockholm. The Nazi authorities then abandoned the idea and contented themselves with a report of the prison doctor, **Schütz**, who had attended Van der Lubbe daily and was obviously the one who carried out the drugging. Dr. Schütz gave the report expected of him. Van der Lubbe, he declared, was in the best of health, he could follow the course of the proceedings and was in no way physically or mentally abnormal. Towards the end of the trial the question was again raised, and

Bonnhöfer announced to a curious world that one might have occasionally had the impression during the course of the trial that Van der Lubbe's mental state had suffered as the result of the period spent in prison awaiting trial, but that in fact there were no signs whatever that this had been the case and that Van der Lubbe was completely normal and fully responsible for all his acts.

The trial offered the Nazis some hope of ending it without suffering all too great a fiasco if they could persuade Van der Lubbe to keep his mouth shut, or at the utmost to answer yes or no to questions put to him. As Van der Lubbe could probably not have been persuaded to agree to this in the ordinary way and as he knew far too much, things which would have supported the statements of the Brown Book on the Hitler Terror, he had to be put into a trance. The bourgeois press has discussed the matter thoroughly, and more or less general unanimity prevails on the point that the drug used on Van der Lubbe was a rare one known almost exclusively to the medical profession, Scopolamin. The effects produced on a patient treated with Scopolamin would be identical with the symptoms manifested by Van der Lubbe during the trial. However, the last step in the process of reasoning was missing. The fascist executioners have now provided it themselves.

The fascists executed Van der Lubbe secretly without permitting anyone to see him previously and without making any announcement concerning the date of the execution. The intervention of the Dutch government was fruitless. The fascist authorities announced to the world that Van der Lubbe had refused to make any statement before his execution. The indecent haste with which the fascist executioners despatched their victim shows clearly that they feared that Van der Lubbe might after all open his mouth, and the thickest prison walls in Germany did not seem secure enough to them to conceal their joint secret.

When Van der Lubbe's head rolled into the basket the fascists heaved a sigh of relief. Dead men tell no tales, and they felt themselves secure finally. But once again before his body was buried Van der Lubbe testified dumbly against his instigators. The court announced that if they wished, the relatives of Van der Lubbe might take the body back to Holland for burial. Probably they reckoned that being poor people they would not be able to raise the necessary funds to pay for the transport. But when Van der Lubbe's relatives suddenly asked for the body to be handed over to them it was just as suddenly and decidedly refused. Why? Because they feared that a post-mortem would reveal traces of the drug which had been used. And this last act of the Van der Lubbe drama provides the final conclusive proof that he was drugged in order to prevent him betraying his fascist instigators and accomplices, and as his dead body would have proved this, that too had to be got rid of.

Increase the Campaign for the Release of the Four!

Twenty-five days ago, Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev were acquitted by the Leipzig Supreme Court. For twenty-five days they have been kept behind the impenetrable prison walls, away from the eyes of the public. One hears news of them only on such occasions when their nearest relatives are permitted to visit them for a few minutes.

In these twenty-five days van der Lubbe has been secretly, and (for many people) unexpectedly, executed. This judicial murder should serve to arouse and alarm all those who thought that after the acquittal of the four defendants there was no need for further concern and anxiety about their fate. With the murder of van der Lubbe, a part of Goering's threat—"not to rest until all the accused have received the punishment they deserve"—has been fulfilled. Will he venture to carry out the second part of his threat against the four revolutionaries?

The bloodthirsty fascist monster has long been lying in wait ready to pounce on its defenceless victims. Only the international protest movement, the world public, has prevented the fascist brute from carrying out its designs. Should, however, the world public relax its vigilance, if only for a moment, should the protest action weaken but a little, then it will be all up with the four accused.

Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev are in the greatest danger, greater perhaps than they appeared to be in some weeks ago. There is, of course, some sinister intention lurking behind

the fact of their being kept under arrest for twenty-five days without any decision being made concerning them. It hangs constantly over the heads of the four and increases the danger implied in Goering's terrible threat: "Just wait, you crook, till I have you out of the power of this court!" To-day, Goering has the four "outside the power of the court." Not that the Leipzig Court has been a power protecting the accused against Goering. The power which Goering came to realise and which held him back at Leipzig was the protest movement of the whole world. This is the protecting power of which he wanted to deprive the four. He hoped, and is hoping, that this is now the case. Goering is speculating on the world public losing interest in the fate of the four acquitted.

It is necessary to upset Goering's calculations! The only possibility of finally rescuing the four revolutionaries lies in passionately continuing and intensifying the protest movement. It will be possible to feel easy regarding the fate of the four only after they have crossed the frontiers of the country they have themselves chosen! All four, not only the three Bulgarian comrades! For Torgler to be held in a concentration camp, over which such a man as Goering has the command, would mean that he would be under the constant threat of being vilely murdered! He would be the last who would remain in the hands of the insane drug addict, who has been stigmatised in the face of the whole world, and on whom he would vent his blind, savage hatred!

Nobody must leave his post before the fight for the safety of the four has been decided! Any laxity endangers them!

Come out on to the streets again, in front of the German consulates and embassies, into the meeting halls! In the next few days there must be no factory, no office, no locality in which right-thinking people do not come together and where the question of rescuing the four revolutionaries is not dealt with.

Inundate the murderers with a flood of protests! Raise immediately and everywhere the passionate demand: Release Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev—and also Torgler!

Solidarity Action against Fascism and Chauvinism

By K.

In the countries bordering on Germany the anti-fascist actions against Hitler are in constant danger of being misused for nationalist ends. Certain demagogues in the ruling parties in France, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, know how to make use of the indignation of the masses against the monstrous barbarity of Hitler fascism in order to conceal the terrorist measures of their own government. Thus, under the mask of the struggle against Hitler fascism there is actually proceeding a systematic fascisation in all other countries.

The policy of the Second International is on the same lines. The catchword of "democracy," which was used in order to induce the working class to capitulate to the fascist dictatorship without a struggle, is now being applied in order to drag the working masses into imperialist war. The Amsterdam Trade Union International, as is shown by the decisions of Brussels and of the joint conference with the Bureau of the Second International, is pursuing the same policy of deceit. They all refuse to carry on a systematic, self-sacrificing, illegal struggle in Germany against Hitler fascism, and it is clear from this that they are aiming not so much at the overthrow of the Hitler government as finding a pretext for supporting their own capitalist bourgeoisie.

The Communists put forward the slogan: Active support for the anti-fascist mass struggle in all countries, at present before all in Germany, in order to prevent war by the overthrow of the Hitler government and to defeat fascism on an international scale. By means of this slogan we wish to draw the toiling masses, who still follow the treacherous demagogues, into our revolutionary front. With this object in view it is necessary to carry on an energetic campaign against chauvinism, by means of which the financial capitalists endeavour to create the psychological prerequisites for the new world war.

As the strike is the most important weapon, we must win the workers in the factories for our policy and bind them to us by a hundred threads. The campaign for international solidarity in the struggle against fascism and war must be strengthened. For this reason great importance is to be attached to the movement for the fraternisation of foreign factory staffs with the staffs of big

German factories. In addition to the general agitation for increasing the collection campaign, there exist two forms of active organisational connections which already show the first results.

One form of contact consists in organising frontier conferences round Germany, at which the representatives of factories and trade unions gather. The extension and development of these conferences, leading up to the organising and conducting of joint movements and struggles in similar branches of industry in two or more countries, is promoted before all by the International Trade Union Committees (Interkom).

The other form of contact consists in the direct connection between big factories in those countries adjoining each other, such as are being organised by the committees against war and fascism. Thorough united front work can achieve great successes in this sphere. We cite a few examples:—

The traffic workers of Paris have established close contact with the traffic workers of Berlin. No less than twenty-six depot meetings, some of which were overcrowded, were organised with the assistance of the C.G.T.U., at which German anti-fascist traffic workers delivered speeches to the Paris workers. Everywhere patronage committees were elected. There followed the huge meeting of 7,000 State and municipal employees against wage cuts, at which resolutions expressing the international sympathy and solidarity were adopted. At general meetings of the Paris traffic workers the formal decision to take over the patronage of the Berlin traffic workers was adopted. The meetings elected a workers' delegation for the purpose of visiting Ernst Thaelmann. At all these meetings anti-fascist literature and pamphlets on Germany and France were distributed and money collected for the Berlin traffic workers.

In the meantime, connection with the Berlin traffic workers has been set up. A delegate conveyed to the Paris workers the revolutionary greetings and the thanks of the Berlin traffic workers for the money collected. Thus contact has been established; the extension and development of these relations will constitute a firm bulwark against chauvinism. If this work is continued, these proletarians will not allow themselves to be incited into a war against each other.

Similar work was performed in the Paris Chief Telegraph Office for the purpose of establishing contact with the Central Telegraph Office in Berlin-Tempelhof, and also in the Paris Slaughter House (La Villette), with a view to establishing contact with the Central Cattle Market of Berlin.

In the Northern textile district of France, in Halluin-Armentières, similar decisions to take over the patronage of German factories were adopted, and collections were held, bringing in more than 1,000 marks, which sum was sent to the Wuppertal textile workers. Another patronage campaign is being conducted in the coal fields of North France for the benefit of the miners of the Ruhr coal district. The first contacts have been established.

The Communist municipality of Saint Denis has taken over the patronage of Cologne, and up to now has already collected about 1,000 marks. This money served to finance a special edition of the Communist district paper for Cologne, "Sozialistische Republik." Some factories in Saint Denis have taken over the patronages of Cologne factories. Similar examples can be cited from other suburbs of Paris. The first serious practical results of the united front policy have been achieved in Lille, Le Havre, Rouen, Lyons, Saint Etienne and in the Saar district.

With regard to the railway workers, the staff of the Gare du Nord, Paris, who have taken over the patronage of the railway workers of the Anhalter railway station in Berlin, and the staff of the Gare de Lyon, who have taken over the patronage of the Frankfurt-on-Main railway station, are leading the way. The workers of the Gare du Nord have commenced to collect money to pay for the printing of a leaflet which has been sent to Berlin, elected a patronage committee at an overcrowded meeting and organised a further meeting in order to proclaim a revolutionary competition in patronage contacts.

In the proclamation of the competition the railway workers of France are called upon to compete with the workers of the Gare du Nord on the following points: To win 40 new members for the patronage movement within two months (up to February 15); on the basis of the united front to establish direct connection with German railway workers; to issue a factory newspaper as often as possible in order to propagate anti-fascist and anti-war work; to issue a leaflet every week; to collect 800 francs; to carry out an action

against the Hitler terror at the railway stations and depots; to organise two factory meetings and to mobilise the whole staff for the exposure and boycott of transport of war material.

This decision on competition combines in an excellent manner the support of the anti-fascist mass struggle in Germany with the daily struggle against their own exploiters and with the fight against the preparations for war.

These practical examples show the path of fraternisation between the German and French proletarians, the path to the realisation of active proletarian solidarity, the path for the conduct of the international struggle against war and fascism. All parties and Red unions in the countries adjoining Germany should make it a matter of duty and honour to follow these examples as soon as possible.

Lenin—Liebknecht—Luxemburg Campaign

The Anniversary of the Murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg

The "Pravda" publishes an article by Comrade Fritz Heckert, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, containing, inter alia, the following:—

" 'Shot whilst attempting to escape,' this was the excuse with which the murderers of January 15, 1919 tried to cloak their crime. And this is the excuse which is being used again and again by the fascist murderers in Germany to-day to cloak the assassination of the best members of the working class. However, the similarity goes still further. Not only are the same cowardly arguments being used to cloak the murderers, but the murderers themselves are the same persons, the people who were mobilised by the social democracy against the Communist Party. To-day they are able to carry on their murderous activity against the working class on a greater scale than ever. Hartung, the murderer of Karl Liebknecht, is amongst the leading figures in the fascist ranks.

"The social democratic leaders Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske incited the reactionary officers in the most brutal and vile fashion against the leaders of the young Communist Party. The social democratic government put a price on the heads of the fearless leaders of the German revolution."

Heckert then quotes the notorious poem of Arthur Zickler published in the social democratic "Vorwaerts" on January 13, 1919, which openly calls for the assassination of the two leaders of the Communist Party, and writes: "This poem was composed by the same Arthur Zickler who is to-day publishing similar bloody incitements in the fascist press against the heroic German Communists who are fighting against the fascist terror. The counter-revolutionaries of 1919 thought that by murdering Karl and Rosa they could murder the revolution. But in the barrage of persecutions and slanders the Party of the revolution grew into the mass Party of the German proletariat.

"In the years 1918-19 the German proletariat suffered a defeat. The young Communist Party of Germany was not yet a Bolshevik mass Party and it was still burdened with social democratic traditions. The leadership of the Party was not yet clear about the role the revolutionary Party of the working-class must play. The influence of the social democratic party and of the independent social democratic party was still predominant amongst the masses of the workers. The treachery of the social democracy and the active part it took in crushing the revolutionary struggles of the working class made it into the chief support of the counter-revolution even then. However, the murder of Karl and Rosa did not kill the revolutionary will of the German working class.

The heroes of the working-class movement whose memory we revere to-day continued the work of Marx and Engels. They seized the heritage of Marx from the hands of the social fascist traitors and laid it back into the hands of the revolutionary working class fighting for freedom and socialism.

The small Party of Liebknecht and Luxemburg has developed into the Bolshevik mass Party of the German working class under the leadership of Comrade Ernst Thaelmann. Since the Wedding Party Congress it showed in its struggles up to the time of Hitler's accession to power, and above all in the almost twelve months of the fascist dictatorship that, armed with the weapons of Lenin

and inspired by the heroic courage of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, it is carrying on its tasks under the most difficult conditions of illegality to prepare the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party of Germany is faced with the task of organising the struggle for power. The winning of the majority of the working class is necessary for this. This means that the Communist Party of Germany must succeed in completely destroying the influence of the social democracy on the proletariat and establishing the unity of the working class on a revolutionary basis. This unity of the working class cannot mean "unity at any price." In their social fascist demagogy the social democrats, Trozkyists and right-wing opportunists accuse our Party of not wanting the unity of the working class.

"In his well-known article on unity Karl Liebknecht wrote: 'Who could desire and strive for unity more than we do? Unity which makes the proletariat strong to achieve its historic mission. But unity with traitors spells defeat! Can we unite with those who are nothing but the representatives of the capitalist exploiters disguised as socialists? Can and may we unite with them without making ourselves co-responsible for their crimes? Unity with them would spell defeat for the working class, would mean the abandonment of socialism and of the International.' We must not offer our hand to them, we must not unite with them, we must fight against them.'

"What Karl Liebknecht wrote then is valid to-day. In all its struggles against fascism and war, the Party sets itself the task of creating a revolutionary united front, but at the same time it declares openly and clearly that the struggle for the establishment of a united front means an irreconcilable struggle against social fascism and against opportunism in all its forms.

"The little group of heroic revolutionaries around Liebknecht and Luxemburg has developed into the Communist mass Party of the German proletariat. The courage with which the Spartakists fought in the January days of 1919 for the proletariat and for the young Communist Party is being emulated to-day with increased class-consciousness, with increased confidence and with burning passionate loyalty to the working class and its Party by millions of German workers in their struggle against fascism. Despite all persecutions, despite a bloody fascist terror they are continuing the fight for their aim, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

"Hundreds and thousands of new fighters took the place of our murdered leaders Karl and Rosa, and to-day thousands and millions of new fighters are taking the place of those revolutionary workers who have been murdered and imprisoned by fascism. The Communist Party has become an invincible force. The spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg lives to-day in the hearts of millions of the unknown fighters of the anti-fascist struggle. Their will lives to-day in the breasts of the German working-class masses. The German Communist Party and the whole of the German working class is faced with the struggle for power. Heavy and difficult struggles are before us. But we are proudly convinced that the Party of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, equipped with the theory of Leninism, will be victorious in these struggles."

Fight Against Imperialist War

War-Clouds Gathering More Thickly over the Soviet Union

By Kopp

The imperialist warmongers against the proletarian fatherland of all toilers are displaying a feverish activity in the new year, the war-year of 1934. In the last week or two not a day has passed without sensational reports. The Japanese threat to the Soviet Union has been rendered more real and dangerous by a turn in the policy of the MacDonald government.

The English public expected to hear immediately after the New Year the report of the signing of the new Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement. Instead of giving instructions to sign the agreement, however, the MacDonald government gave Lord Chilton, the English Ambassador in Moscow, instructions to put forward new demands. These demands are regarded as almost a breaking off of negotiations. Even the "Daily Herald" has to admit that months can pass before agreement is arrived at in connection with these demands. This paper also speaks of a breaking off of negotiations.

The English engineering industry immediately raised indignant protests, as the British government's refusal to sign the agreement deprives it of the Russian orders it was expecting. If the British government considers such an amazing attitude expedient, then it is of the greatest foreign-political importance. This is to be seen from the further happenings in the same week.

The English Foreign Minister Sir John Simon recently, on the occasion of his visit to Rome, plainly and bluntly declared that he believed the whole world would now recognise Germany's right to re-arm. This marks a definite change of policy on the part of England.

Against whom this front is to be directed is to be seen—apart from the interruption of the trade agreement negotiations—from a demonstrative turn on the part of England to Japan. Up to recently the cause of the bitterest conflict between these two countries was the struggle for the Indian cotton market. The inflation-dumping on the part of Japan deprived the English manufacturers of the possibility of competing on the Indian market. It came to a state of affairs which was described as a cotton war. The MacDonald government has now issued instructions to make concessions to Japan and conclude peace with her. The cotton agreement between India and Japan was consequently signed on the very day on which, with the new demands in Moscow, the British government caused the trade agreement negotiations with the Soviet Union to be wrecked.

The Japanese imperialists know what this means. Their raw cotton basis for war munitions is now secured. They replied by prohibiting any press reports on the activity of the armament industry in Japan. They wish to accelerate still more the manufacture of armaments in preparation for attack on the land of socialist construction. They had already previously declared that they were no longer bound by the Naval Agreement concluded some years ago with America and England. War is on the order of the day!

That the MacDonald government is definitely taking its place in the warfront is shown by a report, which was at first received with some surprise and the extremely important military-strategic character of which is to be seen only in connection with the Anglo-Japanese front against the Soviet Union. The English government has purchased from the Maharadsha of Kashmir (a Northern frontier State between India and the Soviet Union) his capital town of Kashmir, because the territory is extremely suitable for military works and fortifications which, it is alleged, are necessary for the "protection" of India.

After the visit of Sir John Simon to Rome, Mussolini, in his declarations, characterised the international situation in a manner which must be regarded without doubt as a manoeuvre to cover the Anglo-Japanese advance. The Chief of the Italian Blackshirts expressed hypocritical concern on account of the gigantic conflict, which is becoming more acute, in the Pacific Ocean between the United States and Japan. This terrible danger of war, he declared, is causing serious anxiety to the whole world. The Duce deliberately points to America in order to conceal the actual Japanese advance against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has already adopted its first comprehensive measure of security against these new war machinations. It again proves its desire for peace and its hostility to any imperialist aggression. In addition to the existing non-aggression pacts, it has offered to give a new guarantee to the four Border States, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland, by concluding a joint agreement with Poland on the inviolability of these States. This improvement of the frontier relations is obviously intended to put obstacles in the way of the aggressive intentions of the Hitler government, which is demanding "land in the East."

The Soviet Union's love of peace is beyond all doubt. The great successes achieved by Litvinov in the course of the past year have made known to the toilers in all parts of the world the Soviet Union's steadfast desire to maintain peace.

War against the Soviet Union, however, is to serve the imperialists as a way out of the crisis. This, the most frightful, criminal war in the history of the world, must be frustrated with all the forces at the disposal of the world proletariat.

The defence of the Soviet Union is not a question which only arises for the Red Army and the world proletariat allied with it on the day of the outbreak of the war. It is the task of the world proletariat already now! Hands off the Soviet Union! And hands off Soviet China! must be the slogan in all wars and fac-

tories and in all docks in the capitalist countries. Set up anti-war committees, especially in the armament works and in the docks! Extend the united front against imperialist war and the fascist warmongers! The fighting united front will secure peace for socialist construction. To drive out the imperialist governments and warmongers in every land and to fight for socialism means to bring peace!

The Czechoslovakian Social Democracy as the Organiser of War

By K. U. (Prague)

A new war is threatening to-day. Everyone is agreed about it, even "the apostle of peace," Benes.

What is the social democracy doing in the face of this danger? Inter alia, the following:—

Dr. Emil Franzel (one of the theoreticians of the Czechoslovakian Social Democratic Party), who despite, or perhaps because, of his "left-wing revolutionary Marxism," aspires to a position on the General Staff of the Czechoslovakian army publishes an article in the December number of the "**Tribune**," the theoretical organ of the German-speaking social democrats in Czechoslovakia, entitled, "The Problem of National Defence in Czechoslovakia." The contents of this article are so extraordinary that we feel that we should like to present them to a larger public.

Franzel declares: Germany is arming for war. Germany is preparing to attack its neighbours, and therefore we must prepare to defend ourselves. France is protected by its girdle of fortifications, and Poland is protected by its great army. And what about Czechoslovakia? In view of its extended frontiers it is almost defenceless.

"If Austria is integrated in the totalitarian German State then, so far as the historic countries are concerned, Czechoslovakia will be gripped in a vice by Hitler. It will be seriously threatened, and in case of a concentrated attack its position would be tremendously difficult."

Both Czechoslovakian diplomats and generals are racking their brains in the face of this problem. The "left-wing" social democrat, Franzel, flies to their aid with the solution:—

"I do not want to discuss here the question of whether the restoration of the Habsburgs, which would in any case antagonise Austria and Hitler Germany to a certain extent, would not in fact be the lesser evil."

Under the pretext of defending the fatherland against German fascism (in 1914 it was against Russian Czarism), Franzel is prepared to put Otto Habsburg on the throne. But that is by no means everything which Franzel demands "for the defence of our fatherland."

"The preliminary condition for our national defence is therefore the maintenance, or rather, the restoration of democracy in Austria."

What does restoration mean; what is democracy in Austria to restore?

"In this case (in the event of Austria being integrated in the Nazi State) the Czechoslovakian army would have to establish the safety of the right flank of the Slovakian army by, first of all, making a drive towards Stockerau-Vienna, which can still be flanked from Krems, so that possibly strong forces would have to be sent into action in order to hold the bridgeheads over the Danube between Krems and Hainburg. But as the line of communications between Vienna and Munich runs to the south of the Danube, the probability of a further drive across the Danube would have to be taken into account."

In other words, in order to create "the preliminary condition for our national defence" the Czechoslovakian army must undertake a drive on Vienna, that is to say, it must occupy Austria and put Otto Habsburg on the throne. That is the programme of Dr. Emil Franzel, one of the leaders of the Czechoslovakian social democracy.

But even that is still not sufficient for "our national defence." There will even then be enough dangers left, says Franzel. The Czech agrarians demand the extension of the period of military service from one to two years in order that one section of the army shall always be fully trained and immediately ready and the second section in training. However, Franzel doesn't approve of this proposal. It doesn't go far enough for him. "Why, if one recognises this system as effective, stop at half-hearted measures?" he asks. And what does he propose?

"A small professional army of specialists is a necessity. . . . In Germany one exists and has 100,000 men. For us such an army of from 45,000 to 60,000 men with a period of training from 2 to 3 years and of 6 years' service would be enough. This army, whether defensive or offensive (naturally, Czechoslovakia would wage nothing but a war of defence against Germany.—K. U.), would go into action immediately after the declaration of war."

But there is more to come:—

"Naturally, such a professional army alone would not be enough. Side by side with this professional army Czechoslovakia would have a people's army with a short-term period of service (6 to 14 months), an army which should include all men of military age and not merely a fraction of them as the present system does."

Is that the lot? No, Dr. Emil is not yet satisfied:—

"We also need a very active and very mobile Landsturm (the general reserve). The name we give it is not important. We could call it the mobile guard or something similar. As far as this body is concerned it would be of the highest importance to ensure that its spirit is reliable. This mobile guard of the democratic republic would have to be supplemented with the best and most reliable anti-fascist elements, i.e., from the ranks of the legionaries, the Sokol (semi-fascist patriotic sports organisations) and the working class organisations."

That is really the lot. According to Franzel's proposals Czechoslovakia should have: a professional army of 60,000 men on long-term service; a mobile guard of 250,000 men, "supplemented" by the most reliable elements in the ranks of the legionaries, the Sokol and the working class, i.e., social democratic organisations, which "like the national socialist storm and guard troops would do regular duties and training and undertake certain peace-time tasks."

This, then, is the programme of the "Left-wing" social-democratic leader Franzel for "the defence of the Fatherland." Not even the most rabid militarists, not even the most reactionary agrarians, not even the national democrats have come forward with any demands remotely equalling this, which means the complete militarisation of the country, the manifold increase of the Czechoslovakian military budget, and an unparalleled preparation for a new imperialist war.

It is clear that such a tremendous army would serve not merely to wage war against the "external enemy," and Franzel knows this better than anyone. And therefore he demands that this army should "undertake peace-time duties like the national socialist storm and guard troops." Franzel's party comrade Noske was the bloodhound of the German revolution. The laurels he won from capitalism are making Franzel jealous.

"The demand for a reform of our system of defence (according to Franzel's proposals) must be recognised as an urgent necessity by anyone who has studied critically the history of the world war and of the civil wars which followed it."

After that it ought to be clear enough why Franzel lays so much stress on the necessity of a professional army and on the necessity of absolute reliability where the mobile guard is concerned.

These shameful proposals of the "Left-wing" social fascists must be made known to all social-democratic workers. There is no room for honest proletarians in this party of militarists, social fascists, and war-mongers.

Japan

Deepening Economic Crisis in Japan

By Oda

I.

The so-called "military-inflationist trade revival" in Japan is only the reverse side of the deepening crisis. The endeavours of the highly-developed Japanese financial capital to monopolise the Far-Eastern market are being hindered by its biggest competitors, the U.S.A. and Great Britain. The world economic crisis has ruined not only Japan's home market but also its foreign market. Japan's attempt to rescue the capitalists by imposing a gold embargo at the cost of the workers and peasants, was frustrated by the present world economic crisis.

Japan's percentage share in the total imports of China, as compared with Great Britain and the United States, is shown by the following table:—

	1912	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933*
Japan	17.8	26	27	25	20	14	9
Great Britain ..	18.8	9	9	8	9	11	10
U.S.A. .. .	8.3	17	18	18	22	25	21

* First five months only.

Japan's exports to China declined also absolutely. Taking the total value of exports in the year 1930 as 100, in the year 1931 it declined to 90.3, and in 1932 to 45.3. Japan's drive to penetrate the British and Dutch Indies was checked by the intervention of British industry, which was threatened by the loss of one of its most important foreign markets. For weeks the Japanese and British delegates have been negotiating in London, in Lancashire and in Simla, but no agreement has so far been arrived at. The Japanese capitalists are attempting to penetrate into Abyssinia South Africa and Latin America.

All these facts intensify the antagonisms between the imperialists, before all between Japan, Great Britain and the U.S.A. Hence the last word of finance-capital is the re-division of the world by means of force. Japan has already made a commencement with the robber war in China and in Manchuria.

II.

The output of industry is rising, and at the beginning of 1933 even surpassed the monthly average of the year 1929. This increase is to be attributed to the increased market possibilities in Manchuria and the feverish armaments. Exports to Manchuria increased fivefold in the first eight months of 1933 as compared with the first eight months of 1932. More than half of this increased export is accounted for by the munition orders of the Manchurian government, which on behalf of the Japanese imperialists is energetically preparing to attack the Soviet Union. The number of the Japanese troops is being openly or secretly increased, and in addition the Manchurian government troops are being reorganised as a cadre army, supplied with specially-chosen Japanese non-commissioned officers and equipped with the most modern weapons.

What is the reason for this abnormal rise in share quotations, the reopening of bankrupt factories and the increase in the number of employed workers? The share of the big and small companies in the armament industry increased, on an average, fourfold in value from the year 1931 to the beginning of 1933.

From the data supplied by the Tokyo Chamber of Industry and Commerce it is to be seen that in the period from 1931 to 1932 the demand for pig iron increased by 150,000 tons; the demand for steel increased in the same period by 430,000 tons. In the year 1933 the consumption of steel was approximately 20 per cent. larger than in the year 1932. Steel imports doubled in the first seven months of 1933 as compared with the same period of 1932. According to data supplied by the copper and brass trade research institute, taking the months from January to July, the output in copper amounted (in thousand tons): in the year 1932 to 41.125, and in the year 1933 to 40.254, the imports of copper to 280 and 10,239 respectively, the exports 978 and 31 respectively, and the consumption 40.596 and 48.725 respectively.

There are no exact data regarding production in the war industry, for not only the State munition factories but also the private undertakings are in most cases not allowed to publish figures regarding what they have delivered, what they are producing at the moment, and the subventions they receive from the government. We shall therefore endeavour, by means of a few examples, to give our readers an idea of the situation:—

(1) **Shipbuilding:** The Ishikavadjima docks (comprising also motor-car and aeroplane factories) only recently engaged 500 new workers. In the last 18 months or so the shares of this undertaking rose from 5 to 35 yen. A similar development is observable at the Osaka-Tekko, Kawasaki, Uruga and Yokohama dockyards. The Fudjinagata dockyard, which was recently faced with bankruptcy, was saved from disaster and is now already paying dividends! All these undertakings are working day and night carrying out huge government orders. Overtime is not paid and work is very intensive.

(2) **Chemical Industry:** The Denki-Kagaku chemical factory supplied 2,005,000 yen more goods in the second half of 1932 than in the second half of 1931.

(3) **Metal:** The Sumitomo copper-plate and rolling-mill, the

biggest and almost the only factory producing light metals, in the first half of 1932 supplied finished and semi-finished goods to the value of 1,519,000 yen, and in the second half of 1932 to the value of 2,093,000 yen, as well as raw material to the value of 952,000 and 1,319,000 yen respectively.

(4) **Automobiles:** There are three motor-car factories in Japan worth mentioning, i.e., Datto, Tokyo-Gasudenko and the above-mentioned Ishikavadjima. These three factories are now being merged on the instructions of the government. Their aggregate output was 392 cars in 1930, 430 in 1931, and 819 cars in 1932. After the merger the annual output will probably rise to 1,100 cars, of which 80 per cent. will be taken by the army. Godo-Didosha, as the undertaking will be called, is likewise important for the manufacture of tanks and armoured cars.

(5) **Aeroplanes:** The Aitshi-Tokeidenki Company supplied material amounting in value to 4,574,000 yen in the year 1931, whilst in the year 1932 its output increased to 6,079,000 yen.

In the State budget for the year 1934-35, amounting to 2,111 million yen, 487 million are earmarked for the navy and 449 million for the army. The expenditure for the army and navy shows an increase of 100 million yen as compared with 1933. The share of military expenditure in the whole State budget rose from 27.1 per cent. in the year 1931, to 34.6 per cent. in the year 1932, to 36.8 per cent. in the year 1933, and to 44.3 per cent. in the year 1934. It must also be borne in mind that the increase in the military expenditure in the year 1932 as compared with 1931 was almost completely devoted to the war in Manchuria and Shanghai. In the current budget year the expenditure on Manchuria declined by almost a half, whilst the budget for the army and navy increased by more than 154 million yen. This means that in the current year over 250 million yen more than 1932 were spent exclusively on fresh armaments. In 1934 this expenditure will be double.

In regard to the strength of the navy the situation is very favourable for Japan. Compared with the United States, Japan possesses 23 per cent. more armoured cruisers of Class B, more than twice as many submarines, and eleven times more torpedo destroyers. Roosevelt, however, has now decided to surpass the opponents of the U.S.A. in the Pacific Ocean in the shortest possible time by building to the maximum strength accorded by the London Treaty. When this project has been realised, Japan's navy will lag far behind that of the U.S.A. Hence the Japanese government is hastening to fulfil the so-called second navy plan, and in addition to continue its feverish secret arming.

Japan is continually engaging in provocations on the frontiers of the Soviet Union. As is known, the conquest of Eastern Siberia has for long been the dream of the Japanese imperialists. General Araki, the Japanese War Minister, recently declared that the Japanese people must be prepared for "the worst," and all the newspapers in Tokyo are agreed that this "worst case" means war, either against the Soviet Union or against the United States.

III.

And who has to pay for all this? The workers and peasants. According to the data of the Bank of Japan, the decree of occupation and wages developed as follows (1926 = 100):—

	1931	1932	1933*
Number of workers employed ..	74.4	74.7	79.9
Nominal wages	91.3	88.1	85.8
Real wages	90.7	88.1	89.5

* First six months.

In reality, however, the deterioration of the standard of living is more marked. From 1932 to 1933 the prices of the most necessary articles of food and clothing rose by about 15 per cent., whilst wages were reduced or in the best case rose only 1 or 2 per cent. According to the data supplied by the "Economist" of October 1, 1933, the number of workers employed and wages developed as follows in the various branches of industry (on the basis of 100 to represent 1926):—

	Number of Workers		Wages	
	1931	June, 1933	1931	June, 1933
Engineering	96.5	130	92.1	85.8
Dockyards	78.1	80.4	95.4	91.4
Motor-cars	85.8	84.4	90.3	86.9
Metal	90.3	100	94.4	87.9
Spinning Mills	70.8	66	72.7	60.9
Weaving Mills	62.4	65	83.3	69.4

It can be seen from this table that in the most important branches of industry wages have been reduced.

The position of the poor peasants is still worse. The prices of cocoons, silk and rice are continually declining. In general, the prices of goods which the peasants have to purchase are continually rising, whilst prices of agricultural products are continually falling. There was a particularly abundant harvest last year. In spite of the declining price the consumption of rice is steadily falling, as the position of the chief consumers, the workers and partly also the peasants, is continually deteriorating. The law passed by the government concerning the increase in the price of rice only benefits the big landowners and rich peasants, who are the main suppliers of rice.

More than two million completely destitute unemployed are on the streets. What is to be done with them? The answer of the imperialists is war! when the unemployed will be at once converted into the cheapest cannon fodder.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Week in the Soviet Union

Industrial Building Activity at the Beginning of 1934

In Yaroslavl, work has commenced on the construction of the Volga Power Works Combine, consisting of a power station, a sluice and a gigantic coffer dam. The plan for this huge power works provides for the diversion to the Volga of a part of the water flowing into the White Sea. In the course of five years, more than a million cubic metres of ferro-concrete work and 30 million cubic metres of excavation work will be carried out.

In the year 1934, 54 million roubles will be expended on these building works. Almost half of this sum will be devoted to the construction of dwellings for 35,000 persons, including the workers engaged in this work and their families. The number of building workers will be 15,000 in the first few months.

The Ufa Motor Works is one of the most important construction works of the current year. The Diesel department is already 70 per cent. completed. This factory will manufacture 10,000 motors annually. The first department, the Diesel department, will produce motors already this year. The capital to be invested in the Ufa Motor Works in the current year amounts to 54 million roubles. The present staff of 4,000 workers will be doubled in the next three months in order to accelerate the construction. It is of particular importance to record that a technical school will be established in the Ufa Motor Works for the Bashkir workers, who will now for the first time be enabled to achieve a high qualification of work.

On January 8, the fourth coke battery of the Kusnetzk Works commenced operations. The construction of the fire-proof material of the coke ovens, as well as other responsible work, was performed by young Soviet experts, whilst two years ago such work had to be entrusted to French, Belgian and other foreign experts. The establishment of the fifth battery of coke ovens has already commenced.

The progress of the work in the Eastern part of the Ural-Kusnetzk combine has rendered necessary the employment of strong cadres of coke workers, who are well trained for this kind of work.

Anniversary of the Founding of the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations—Their Leading Role in Socialist Agriculture

The 11th January was the first anniversary of the founding of the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations at the collective and Soviet farms. These departments were formed in January, 1933, on the decision of the Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and of the C.C.C., on Stalin's suggestion. By the end of 1933, 1,275 of these political departments had been called into existence. About 15,000 tested Bolsheviks are working in these departments, appointed for this work by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

The experiment of the Political Departments has fully justified itself. The Political Departments have become the centre around which the best representatives of the collective village concentrate. The Political Departments have performed invaluable service in the struggle against the last remnants of kulakdom. Under their leadership the struggle has been furthered against negligence and carelessness in collective farm work. The Party, aided by the

Political Departments, has gained enormous successes in the rural districts. In 1933 our country was able to harvest record crops. The Political Departments must continue their work as the shock brigades of the Party in the rural districts.

Preparations for the Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The whole Party is engaged in the preparations for the Seventeenth Party Congress. Town, district and provincial conferences of the C.P.S.U. are taking place everywhere. Attention is centred round the theses on the reports of Comrades Molotov and Kuybishev. These theses are eagerly discussed not only at the Party Conferences but also at factory meetings and among the peasants of the collective farms, and everywhere they meet with unanimous approval.

The factory Party conferences in the big factories in Leningrad have been concluded. They have shown that the Leningrad Bolsheviks are marching in firm ranks to the Party Congress. The Party conferences examined the situation in the Leningrad factories, the political maturity, the technical training and the cultural progress achieved by the proletariat.

But also in the districts far removed from the centre the preparations for the Party Congress are being carried out with no less enthusiasm. At the beginning of January, Party conferences took place in the Far North. These conferences in the northern region pointed out the way which led to the more rapid agricultural development of the district, as a result of which the area under cultivation has increased by 53 per cent. as compared with last year.

The Party conferences in Western Siberia reveal a great activity of the members, who enthusiastically record the achievements of socialist construction. During the period of the first Five-Year Plan, the industrial giants of the Stalinsk smelting works and the combine of Kemerovo were established and Kusbas has become the second coal basis of the Soviet Union.

The People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry has organised in connection with the Seventeenth Party Congress a big exhibition in the Moscow Polytechnical Museum, showing the achievements of heavy industry. The exhibition shows the struggle of a backward country for modern technique, and numerous documents prove the successes of this struggle. A great number of models, statistical data, drawings, diagrams, photos, etc., show the development leading to the establishment of the giants of heavy industry. Particular sections of the exhibition are devoted to Magnitogorsk, Dneprostroy, Kusbas, the chemical industry, etc.

Soviet Agriculture in 1934

The Bolsheviks have issued the slogans: In 1934 our harvest must yield even more. This year agriculture will be supplied with 1.6 million horse-power additional tractor power, besides new agricultural machinery and implements to the value of 475 million roubles. The capacity of the tractors controlled by the Machine and Tractor Stations will then amount to 2.8 million h.p. The M.T.S. will till 44½ million hectares of the 68.6 million hectares to be sown in the spring by the collective farms. There exist all the necessary prerequisites in order that the 1934 harvest shall exceed the record harvest of 1933.

A Great Victory of Soviet Medical Science

The All-Ukrainian Bacteriological Research Institute has successfully concluded the experimental work for testing a newly-discovered serum against spotted fever. A commission, consisting of the greatest specialists, has examined and applied this serum for several months. The results are very gratifying. The Ukrainian Commissariat for Sanitary Questions states in its report that this discovery is of international importance, and will open a new epoch in the struggle against infectious diseases.

Inventions

Engineers of the Moscow City Construction Trust have constructed a new machine for the mechanised laying out of parks, open spaces and grass plots. The machine will work on the high roads, where it can move very quickly. It is capable of digging in a few minutes a trench for the planting of large trees, such as would take a large number of workers many hours to dig. By this means the struggle for the improvement of the sanitary conditions of the towns will be greatly assisted by the rapid planting of trees and the laying out of lawns. The Moscow factory, "Proletarian Work," has been entrusted with the manufacture of these machines, which are to be delivered by May 1.

A new kind of snow plough has been constructed in Leningrad. These ploughs will be attached to motor lorries and used in the

streets. In addition, special snow combines have been invented which sweep, shovel up and carry away the snow.

The All-Union competition for the best wireless set was participated in by 50 competitors. The first prize for the best loud speaker was awarded to the acoustic department of the Central Radio Laboratory. The first prize for the best wireless receiving set was not awarded to anyone. The competition has furnished a number of valuable improvements in various parts of wireless sets, which will be applied in the mass production of sets.

Organisational Questions

The Work of the Communist Parties among Working Women after the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in September, 1932, recorded the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism and the transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars, and emphasised most sharply the necessity to increase the work of the sections of the C.I. in preparing the proletariat for carrying out the proletarian revolution.

In view of the tremendous importance of the proletarian women and the toiling women in this struggle, the Twelfth Plenum pointed out in the resolution on the international situation and the tasks of the sections of the Comintern that:—

“It is necessary definitely to put a stop to the underestimation of work among the women proletarian masses; this work is to be regarded as a particularly important task at the present time. It is necessary to mobilise the working women by means of delegate meetings, looking on this task as general Party work.”

The mistakes made in the work among women in previous years were of course connected with an underestimation of this work as a component and important part of Party work. It was necessary to put an end to them so as to ensure the transition to the correct methods of this work.

The fact that a number of Communist Parties, including the C.P.G., have gone underground, as well as the increase of the terror against other Parties, has made it essential to seek for methods of adapting Party work to the new conditions. These same causes compel us carefully to examine the question of the forms and methods of Party influence on the working women and the toiling women.

It must be pointed out that in a number of Communist Parties there has been observable during the last year a certain improvement in the work among women. But this is not the case in all Parties, and the essence of this improvement often consists only of the fact that the Parties have better understood and estimated the meaning of work among women. But, in practice, they have done and are doing too little. The clearest example of this is the C.P. of France.

The investigation of the work of the C.P. of France among women which was carried out in March, 1933, six months after the Twelfth Plenum, showed that in actual practice systematic work among women was carried out chiefly along the lines of the women's mass organisation, “The Fraternal Union of Toiling Women against Poverty and War.” Work among the toiling women in mass organisations is undoubtedly a very important task of the Party, and from this point of view we cannot say anything against the existence of the “Fraternal Union.” But, unfortunately, the Party entrusted the whole of its work among women to this Union, so that the Union replaced the Party and isolated the women in an independent women's organisation. In nearly all economic and political struggles this organisation took the place of the Party, not making any efforts to popularise the Party and to prepare active women workers for joining the Party. In the practice of the lower Party organisations, the Fraternal Union became an aim in itself, while the work of the Party among women had an auxiliary nature with regard to it. At the same time, the women's departments had a somewhat independent existence, were separated from general Party work and did not receive sufficient Party guidance. In some places the women's departments simply did not exist, and all the work was entrusted to this “Union.” As the result of such a state of

affairs, the directives on delegate meetings as the basic form of work among working women were not carried out.

It should be pointed out that the C.P. of Germany, after the Twelfth Plenum and after the resolution of the E.C.C.I. on the work of the C.P.G. among women, paid a great deal of attention to the matter of improving women's work. Instead of the campaign-form of work which existed in the past, consisting of conferences and congresses led by specially formed committees of toiling women, which threatened to become women's “independent” organisations, the Party began to carry out every-day women's work by the factory cells, to work at the labour exchanges and also to organise delegate meetings. However, this change did not reach the lower organisations to a sufficient degree before the Party went underground, and the underestimation of the work continued to exist in practice. The women's departments continued to be split away from the rest of Party work. Therefore, there were frequent cases in factories with 80 per cent. of women workers where the proportion of working women in the cells and T.U. Opposition groups was very small, while the work among the overwhelming masses of the workers (the women) was only carried on by the women's organiser and the few women in the cell.

With a view to overcoming the splitting of women's work from the rest of Party work, and to ensure the necessary guidance in conditions of illegality, the C.C. acted correctly in liquidating the women's departments and making the Party committees as a whole lead this work and be responsible for it. At the present time there are a number of examples of cells becoming more interested in women's work and carrying it on by joint efforts, e.g., organising group meetings of women in private houses, rallying together the activists, giving them work to distribute illegal literature, etc. It should also be pointed out that women Communists are drawn into Party work and have responsible Party duties to a much greater degree than previously.

The C.P.G. liquidated the women's departments in order to strengthen the work among women. But such liquidation must not be considered as compulsory for all countries and in all conditions. This is shown by the experience of other illegal parties.

In Poland there are not only central women's departments and district women's departments in the chief workers' centres, but experience has shown that work is not carried on among women in places where these women's departments do not exist. This again is connected with the fact that the district committees as a whole do not occupy themselves with this work. It is also partly explained by the fact that the C.P. of Poland has concentrated the work among women in a few districts, looking on them as points of support for the work among working women, toiling women and workers' wives.

The C.P. of Poland has not yet succeeded in bringing about real delegate meetings, but it has taken very important steps along this path. The most widely spread form of the work consists of the so-called gatherings, which in reality are an embryonic form of delegate meetings. These gatherings are held systematically, and in some of the factories they are attended by 200 to 300 women in the course of the month. The main shortcoming of these gatherings is the fluctuation of their membership, and this is the chief feature distinguishing them from delegate meetings, which work with the delegates for a longer period, prepare the women delegates for membership of the R.T.U.O. and other revolutionary mass organisations and win the best of them for joining the Party.

However, the Communist Party of Poland does not limit itself entirely to this form of work. In view of the necessity of drawing the women into all struggles and into all organisations formed for this purpose, the women's departments see that women get on to the factory committees (the so-called workers' delegations), on to the unemployed committees, etc. In addition, the working women and the workers' wives are drawn into various organisations, such as T.U. groups, locals of the Friends of the U.S.S.R., I.L.D. groups, committees of struggle against the eviction of workers and unemployed from their houses, committees for holding school campaigns, circles for reading literature, sewing circles, etc. The work among the peasant women is still feebly developed, although here and there attempts have been made to organise gatherings of peasant women and women farm labourers.

In another country where the C.P. is illegal—in Bulgaria—there are also women's departments. It is true that the confu

sion on the question as to their function has not yet been removed. In practice this leads to the women's departments being changed from departments of the Party committee into a separate women's organisation, carrying on work in its own name. In the lower organisations, the work among women in many cases has not yet become the work of the organisation as a whole. However, there is some progress to be observed. In connection with the March 8 campaign in 1933 the first steps were taken to concentrate the work among the working women in the factories, circles of working women were organised in a few factories, educational women's sections were formed in the mass organisations, the first steps were taken to strengthen the working women's commissions in the trade unions and to form commissions of working women in the T.U. groups at the factories. At the same time, the question of delegate meetings was raised merely as a matter for discussion, and Bulgaria has not even the embryonic form which exists in Poland.

Finally, the third big illegal Party—the C.P. of Kuomintang China—has also maintained its women's departments as a component part of the apparatus, making one of the members of the Politburo responsible for women's work. The women's department of the C.C. consists of three persons. The head of the women's department, the secretary (who is also editor of the newspaper for working women and the inspector and instructor of the women's department of the C.C.) directs the work of the Party among the working women, in the trade unions and in the mass organisations, by regular meetings of activists, who include representatives of the Y.C.L., a representative of the women's commission in the Red trade unions, a representative of the I.L.D., etc. In Shanghai, in the combined provincial and district committee, the women's department consists of three persons. The same is true of other big centres. Most of the heads of women's departments are members of Party committees. The instructors of the Party committees also serve the women's departments. And only in Shanghai there is a special instructor on women's work.

The experience with regard to the women's departments has shown that here and there up to the present time there is still a lack of clearness in the understanding of the organisational and political tasks of the women's departments, which in essence are not women's organisations under the Party committee, but only parts of the Party apparatus. Bolsheviks have always fought against the isolation of female workers from the male workers who are struggling for their class interests. The women's department is the part of the Party apparatus by means of which it becomes easier for the C.P. to attract the women workers into the proletarian class struggle. They are necessary to the extent that the backwardness of the proletarian women, at a definite stage, needs special supplementary forms of work in order to draw them into the general organisations of the working class. Thus the women's departments must only explain, adapt, and bring to the level of understanding of the toiling masses of women all those tasks which face the Party as a whole. All the questions which are being raised by life and work and which are of importance in principle must be put before the Party leaders by the women's departments. The Party committees must decide on them and give directives.

Therefore the most essential thing in regard to the existence of the women's departments is the condition of the whole work of the Party and of the Party itself. For example, it was decided in Great Britain to liquidate the women's department, but this took place because all departments in general were liquidated in the C.P.G.B. with the aim of bringing the Party leaders nearer to the lower Party organisations, with the aim of strengthening the collective work of the committees and removing the isolation of the various branches of work from each other. On the other hand, in revolutionary Spain, where the Party previously paid little attention to women's work, the interests of Party work required the formation of a special women's organiser in the C.C. and the formation of special women's departments.

It follows from all this that in countries where the women's departments are a component part of the Party apparatus and where the Party committees take the responsibility for their work, in countries where they are not separated from the Party, are not converted into scattered independent women's organisations, but are only a special form of approach to the toiling women, as, for

example, in Poland, the existence of such departments is justified and advisable.

What conclusions could we draw from this? Firstly, and chiefly, that the work among women must be carried on by the whole Party and by every Party organisation as a whole; secondly, the Party as such must be responsible for it; thirdly, a suitable and convenient form of this work may be women's departments in the Party apparatus existing either as departments or as sub-departments of the organisation departments; fourthly, in places where the women's departments show a tendency towards isolation, or where an inattentive attitude to them cuts them off from Party work, they should be liquidated, because an organisational form of Party work which turns into its opposite has a disorganising and harmful effect.

The second lesson drawn by us from the experience of the work of the Parties is that the task of making the factories the main basis for developing women's work is not being fulfilled, or is only being fulfilled to an inadequate extent. The best form of work in the factories among working women is the delegate meeting. But in a number of Parties there does not yet exist a full realisation that the delegate meeting is an organisation through which the Party can penetrate into the broad masses of women. The task of the delegate meetings is not merely to spread culture. It is to raise the political and social activity of the working women so that, through individual women delegates who are connected with the women working in a factory, it will be possible to rouse the masses for the struggle against the employers, to bring to the masses the slogans of the Communist Party. The delegate meeting trains women activists. It must be remembered that without such activists it is impossible to bring about the contacts of the Party with the broad masses of women workers.

Delegate meetings continuing for six months or more give a thorough education to a working woman, enabling her to work practically in some sphere or other. Delegate meetings in a developed form have been built up only in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. The work of the C.P.s in other countries can and must be constructed after this type. Of course this does not mean that a fetish must be made of this form and other forms abandoned, or that the Party and the working women who are attracted to it should be exposed to the blows of the terror in countries where the conditions are objectively unfavourable to such a wide form of work among women.

The peculiarity of delegate meetings is that they put a certain obligation on those who participate in them, in a way making them into representatives of whole groups of women workers. The principle that the delegates must be elected is a correct principle. But, again, this principle cannot always and everywhere be observed.

Though it is possible to elect delegates at group meetings, shift meetings, etc., of the women workers in countries where the C.P. is legal, nevertheless in countries where the Party is illegal elections can be omitted, replacing them by the selection of the most active and authoritative working women who have contact with the masses by the women's departments. But in these countries the principle of the permanent work of the delegate meetings, or rather of these groups of activists selected by the women's departments, must be observed.

Take a practical example. The Party selects a number of suitable working women in some factory. It organises for them, for example, an educational circle. In another place it organises the working women into another form, in a third place into a third form, each according to local conditions. All these forms can give the Party the possibility of permanent influence over the best and most active working women.

The training of activists is achieved only by lengthy and systematic work and not by agitation at one or two big meetings for various campaigns, or even at many such meetings. This cannot be questioned. But it does not mean that we can do away entirely with such agitational meetings or other forms of work, such as circles formed around a newspaper (in Spain, women's work is now beginning on this line), conferences, gatherings, etc. These forms and methods of work are also needed. In particular, they are needed to influence the masses of working women, who are not yet activists and are not drawn into the delegate meetings.

We emphasise once more that the factory must be all the time in the foreground of all our work.

It may be pointed out that in a number of countries, especially in Germany, the labour service camps and the existing unemployed camps are taking on tremendous importance. It is clear that the Party organisations must also organise Communist cells in the women's camps. The lack of experience of mass work in such women's labour camps does not yet enable us to deal with this question. Evidently the forms and methods of mass work in the women's camps will differ very little from the Party work in the men's camps.

Book Review

Labour and Steel in the U.S.A.

By Hy. Kravif (New York)

Labour and Steel, by Horace B. Davis, a new book on one of the most important of the basic industries in the world's richest capitalist country, has recently been published. (International Publishers, New York City, \$1.) This book is the latest in the Labour and Industry series prepared under the direction of Labour Research Association.

Labour and Steel, like the studies on the coal, textile, automobile and lumber industries, which have already been issued in the series, stands out among the working-class literature of the United States. The author has presented an authentic picture of steel, and for the first time from the worker's viewpoint.

One of the chief grievances of steel workers is the occupational hazard on the job. Davis writes that 242 iron and steel workers were killed by accidents in the iron and steel industry in 1930, for example. The same year 1,193 were permanently disabled and 21,410 were temporarily disabled, making a total of 22,845 casualties. Pneumonia and other diseases constitute still another threat to the life of a steel worker.

"Speed-up is the first great obstacle to accident reduction," states the author. A study "prepared by experts for the insurance business in 1929 shows that the expectation of death is above average for all the principal occupations in iron and steel, except machinists; for labourers—the most important occupation numerically—it is more than twice the average" as compared with that for other industrial workers generally.

Injured workers are often robbed by the companies of compensation due to them under State compensation laws. Furthermore, the doctors in the company towns are, like politics, education and other spheres of life, usually controlled by the company. They, too, abuse the workers. The "safety" plans employed allegedly in the interest of steel mill employees are made "to pay" by the employers.

Davis reports: "It is said that the U.S. Steel Corporation spent 9,763,063 dollars in safety work in ten years and showed an actual saving of 14,609,920 dollars."

The other steel exploiters follow the lead of U.S. Steel Corporation, the steel giant dominated by the most powerful of the finance capitalists, Morgan. During the crisis years, for example, U.S. Steel has slashed wages several times. And, "When the U.S. Steel Corporation directors decided to cut wages 10 per cent. as of October 1, 1931, they were decreeing a reduction of about this amount for perhaps two million wage earners, not more than half of whom were in the light and heavy steel industry combined."

What have been the "high" wages boasted of by the capitalists in the United States? Government statistics show that the hourly entrance wage rate for adult unskilled male labour in the iron and steel industry was 42 cents in 1926. On July 1, 1933, the

rate stood at only 31 cents an hour, which compared with a rate of 38 cents, the weighted average for all industries.

The author gives a vivid description of the "Feudal Domain of Steel," showing the miserable housing conditions; company towns; welfare schemes; terror; company unions; spy systems, black-listing, control of government, and other tricks used by the employers to enslave steel workers and to keep them divided. Thus, they have tried to create divisions between foreign-born and native-born, between Negroes and whites, and between various groups of foreign-born. All these tactics, of course, are aimed at keeping the workers from organising. For organisation of the steel workers means less profits for the steel barons.

Original calculations on the basis of available government statistics led Davis to conclude that 55 per cent. of the steel workers available for work in April, 1933, were unemployed. Out of 505,000 available for work at the time, only 223,250 were employed—including those on part time—living on charity pittance and doles handed out by the steel employers. The "relief" committees in the steel towns are, of course, also under the thumb of the companies.

Yet the profits of the steel giants have been stupendous. The U.S. Steel Corporation alone had "total earnings" in the period 1901-31 inclusive equivalent to 621.20 dollars per employee per year, or about 12 dollars per employee per week. "The returns to U.S. Steel security-holders have been at the rate of 19,138 dollars (12,436 dollars in cash, the rest in equities) for every worker steadily employed on the average over the 31-year period."

The author has delved into the profits of leading companies and shows the real investment as compared with the nominal investment. And he has found that the average "total income as per cent. of real investment" for three leading companies during the 31 years between 1901 and 1931 have been as follows: Bethlehem Steel Corporation, 8.89 per cent.; Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., 19.86 per cent., and Inland Steel Co., 20.49 per cent.

The World War profits of these companies have been fabulous. U.S. Steel Corporation was said to have realised a 50 per cent profit on its war contracts; Bethlehem Steel Corporation, 21 per cent. And such men as Charles M. Schwab of Bethlehem, and other steel magnates of like calibre, served as patriotic "dollar-a-year men" or held official government positions. They reaped millions while steel and other workers were being slaughtered on the battlefields.

Among the most fruitful chapters in the book, however, are those dealing with the history of steel workers' organisation and struggle. But Davis has done more than mere description. He has analysed failures and successes as, for example, in the great steel strike of 1919, led by William Z. Foster.

Davis has likewise taken up the position of the reformist steel union leaders in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of the American Federation of Labour. The president of this union, M. F. Tighe, wrote in 1931 that "you can readily see under such conditions how useless it would be to attempt to unloose the hog-tied workers of this corporation, especially under present industrial conditions." But, in 1933, members of Tighe's own union, as well as of the revolutionary industrial union, gave the lie to such a statement. They showed their willingness to become "unloosed" and carried on struggles against the National Steel Corporation, Spang, Chalfant and Co., among others, in the first major steel strikes in the United States since 1919. And Davis has covered these recent activities of the steel workers, including material on President Roosevelt's N.R.A. code for the steel industry and the code presented by the workers.

Popularly written, factual, indexed and well-documented as it is, **Labour and Steel** may be considered one of the outstanding contributions in English to the economic and political literature of the world's workers.

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