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## CORRESPONDENCE

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# The Balance Sheet of the First Year of the Hitler Dictatorship!

By J. L.

"No government can maintain itself permanently by force alone," stated Hitler in his Reichstag speech on January 30. Three days later the world received the news of the brutal murder of hostages, our four brave comrades Scheer, Schoenhaar, Steinfurth, and Schwartz. A regime which endeavours to persuade the world that its rule is consolidated for centuries, which pretends to have united the whole people in a new conception of life and to have abolished all opposition, finds itself unable at the end of a year of power to maintain itself *except by the methods of the most savage civil war*. What do these fresh orgies of Nazi terror mean if not that in Germany a *latent civil war is going on*, and that the rulers are only able to suppress the growing resistance of the workers by the most brutal employment of their fascist army?

Goering's State police state openly that they regard the murdering of these four champions of the German proletariat as an act of vengeance for the shooting of a Nazi spy, who had already been exposed as such in the illegal press of the C.P.G. The police write of a "secret Communist apparatus," of the illegal district committee of Berlin-Brandenburg, which issued circulars warning the working population of Berlin against this police spy. These same police, so proud of their successes in combating the Communists, have been obliged to report from Freiburg, in Breisgau, that they were unable to arrest a single one of the revolutionary workers who distributed anti-fascist leaflets at the Nazi demonstration on January 30, and therefore seized as hostages workers who had been released from preventive custody.

But on January 30 Hitler proclaimed in his Reichstag speech: "We have *extinguished the parties*. What are the legislative

actions of centuries in comparison with this achievement?" But the admissions of the Nazi police themselves show this "achievement" to consist obviously of the fact that the Nazis have ousted their bourgeois competitors, including the social democrats, from the political stage. But they have been unable to "extinguish" the sole anti-capitalist, anti-fascist fighting Party, the sole revolutionary Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party. And no acts of violence which they may commit can prevent the growth of Communist influence among the toiling masses.

Again it is Hitler himself who confirmed, in his boastful Reichstag speech, the fact of the *effectiveness of the Communist propaganda*. He spoke of the anti-fascist newspapers published in the German language abroad, of which *millions of copies* are brought over the frontier. But not long since the State Secret Police was obliged to admit, in an official notice, that the *greater part of the Communist material* circulated does not come from abroad, but is published in Germany.

This is what the "achievement" really looks like which Hitler is always boasting about—that "victory" over Communism which he insists upon most of all, in the hope of gaining favour in the eyes of world capitalism. Let us see what the other points of his balance-sheet look like on closer inspection.

At the "historical" Reichstag session devoted to the anniversary celebration of the "national revolution," the law on the *unification of the Reich* was adopted. There exist some strange "anti-fascists" who see in this Reich reform, in the co-ordination of the powers of the Reich, an "advance" for which the German people should be thankful to national socialism. This "advance"

possesses as little positive meaning as the other "advances" characteristic of the age of the rule of financial capital. The trust is a higher form of organisation than the individual capitalist undertaking. But the rule of the capitalist trust, which strangles production, hampers technical progress, and lays idle the most important productive power of all, human labour, by causing unemployment on a scale involving millions, does not represent any social advance. It is, on the contrary, an element of the reactionary and parasitic economic system of imperialism. The centralisation of State power in the hands of a powerful fascist government naturally signifies the strengthening of the apparatus of political power of financial capital against the working people; it is an "advance" of the kind represented by the provision of armoured cars and gas bombs for the police.

The internal antagonisms in the nation are not weakened by these forcible measures, but strengthened, as is invariably the case with reactionary acts of violence. The cancellation of State power in the different provinces of Germany has been accompanied by a demagogic campaign against "monarchist" reaction. Hitler, too, participated in this campaign in a few bombastic phrases in his Reichstag speech. It has been rightly pointed out in our press that the main object of this demagogy is to distract the attention of the masses from the reactionary measures of the fascist government, especially from that culmination of all capitalist reaction, the labour law. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to deny the existence of monarchist currents. The adherents of the Hohenzollern restoration possess a firm footing in the Reichswehr and among the higher Prussian bureaucrats, including the circle around the President. The disbanding of the German national party, it need scarcely be said, did not destroy the traditional monarchism of these strata. The meaning of Hugenberg's demonstrative absence from the Reichstag session is clear. But in Prussia the monarchist movement is so unpopular among the masses, so confined to the uppermost stratum, that it represents no serious competitor to Hitler fascism, even though bankrupt social democracy has indicated, by its repeated attempts to conciliate Hindenburg and the Reichswehr, that under certain conditions it would be prepared to recognise the Hohenzollern monarchy as the "lesser evil."

The monarchist movement is a much more serious matter in Bavaria. "Crown Prince" Rupprecht has carefully avoided taking an open stand anywhere in favour of the national socialist regime. It is clear that the Catholic opposition against national socialism now growing under the pressure of the mass anti-fascist feeling—an opposition which was not broken by the disbanding of the Bavarian people's party and of the centre party, and will not be broken by the arrest of Catholic priests—will find expression in a separatist-monarchist movement in the case of a serious crisis in the fascist State. The fascist rulers have this possibility in mind when they rail against monarchism, and when they endeavour to strangle any independent tendencies in the different provinces by means of the centralisation of State power. The complete dissolution of the Steel Helmet organisation in connection with the breaking up of the Kaiser's birthday celebrations, and the final merging, even externally, of this organisation in the Storm Troops by the abolition of the field-grey uniform, was essentially a blow against that monarchism which has grouped itself more around the conservative wing of fascism, around Hugenberg and his circle.

Just as fascist terror cannot eliminate class antagonisms, but aggravates them to the point of civil war, in the same way it cannot bridge the internal antagonisms within the ruling class, but only renders them more acute as the crisis intensifies. It is a characteristic fact that the law on the unification of the Reich has assumed the character of an Enabling Act, formally, according to Hitler and his satellites, giving a free hand for the re-organisation of the Reich, but containing no concrete and final re-division or re-formation of the Reich.

The balance-sheet of economic policy in the first year of Hitler's dictatorship is as negative as that of domestic policy. It is characteristic that Hitler dealt at such length in his speech with the "achievement" of dissolving the parties and the trade unions, but skimmed rapidly over economic questions with a few general phrases. Taking as a basis the faked unemployment statistics, he ventured to make the assertion that he had already accomplished one-third of the abolition of unemployment promised in his "four-year plan." He maintained that by the winter of 1933 the number of unemployed had decreased from six to four millions. And this although the boastful assertions of Hitler and Goering

are flatly contradicted even by the official statistics, which state that the unemployed army has increased by another half-million. The Nazi statistics themselves give Hitler's statement the lie.

The Nazi statistics state that the contributions paid to the incapacity insurance fund increased from 640 million marks to 670 millions between 1930 and 1933, an increase of 4 per cent.; other statistics state that the approximately 12½ millions in employment have been added to by a further two million, or 16 per cent. Another comparison is even more striking: The contributions paid to the employee insurance fund amounted to 285 million marks in 1933, as compared with 288 millions the year before—a falling off! Is it going to be asserted that out of the alleged two million persons newly employed, none of them were employees, office workers?

The wages tax statistics, already frequently quoted, prove that the wage income of the people has not increased. But Hitler maintains that the "national income has increased this year!" The Secretary of State, Reinhardt, states that this alleged increase amounts to six millions. Since the income of the toiling masses of the workers and employees in work and the unemployed, of the small tradesmen and of the small and middle peasants, has not increased, then this statement—if not a pure invention—can only mean that in this year of growing wholesale want and poverty the income of the capitalists, the junkers and large landowners, has increased by these six millions. Will the millions of electors who voted for Hitler a year ago regard this as a favourable item on his balance-sheet?

Hitler followed up his fraudulent assertions regarding reduction of unemployment by a statement on the alleged "saving of the peasantry." In this parliament no discussion was allowed, and a "consultation" on a law was actually settled under Goering's leadership in two minutes; but if anyone had been able to ask the chancellor what were the measures by which the Nazi government has "saved" the small holders, then even this master of demagogy would have been at a loss for an answer. It is only a few weeks since the State governor of Baden, Wagner, was obliged to reply as follows to a representative of the "Voelkischer Beobachter," who questioned him as to the effect of the peasant legislation:

"On this point I regret to say that our population has not yet recognised the great importance and scope of this law. Special enlightenment will be necessary in order to make it clear to the peasants that their second and third sons too must be provided for. . . . Besides this, among us the law does not play such an important part as for instance in East Prussia for among us it is a question of small farms of 10 to at most 15 hectares." ("Voelkischer Beobachter," 24-1-34.)

This is an open admission that the Nazi legislation, with its entail-farm rights, can only benefit the large farmers if it benefits any at all, but only further increases the misery of the small holder.

Let us in conclusion take a glance at the foreign political balance-sheet of the Hitler government. Hitler and his press have proclaimed the agreement with Poland to be a tremendous success. The gentlemen are certainly not asking so much as they used to! If Stresemann or Bruening has concluded such an agreement formally recognising the Eastern frontiers of Germany and relinquishing the Corridor, the separated territory of Upper Silesia and Danzig, then the whole pack of Nazi hounds would have howled "high treason." But now these well-trained poodles of capital are delighted at the magnificent success of the "peace policy" of the "people's chancellor." This "government of the national revolution" has broken none of the fetters of Versailles; it is pleased and satisfied if it is left the possibility of terrorising and pillaging the toiling masses of Germany, of continuing its secret preparations for war, and of planning a war alliance against the Soviet Union.

Intervention against the socialist Soviet republic remains the main object of the foreign policy of national socialism. But if the improvement of relations between German and Polish fascism is weighed against the restoration of relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., then only a blind man could fail to see that in this sphere too the balance-sheet of German fascism shows a completely negative result.

The Nazi government is quite aware that it is plunging forward into ever-increasing and disastrous difficulties. But this is only the more reason for it to increase its brutal terror against the German working class and its heroic vanguard, the C.P.G. The new labour law is to pave the way for a new rationalisation offer-

side on the part of capital. In view of the increased international inflation dumping, the German bourgeoisie is of the opinion that the only way for it to maintain its competitive capacity is to exercise an even stronger pressure on wages and working conditions. Even the associations of the workers and employees which are under the direct command of the Nazis appear too dangerous to the capitalist exploiters now dubbed "leaders" by the Nazis. Therefore the next item on the agenda is the final elimination of the last remnants of legal organisations of the workers. Factory by factory the attack is to be made on the workers, in a similar manner as that attempted by Papen in 1932.

But the wage-cutting offensive of the Papen government aroused a mighty strike wave under the united front leadership of the C.P.G. and the R.T.U.O., which culminated in the Berlin traffic workers' strike in November, 1932.

Though at the present time the conditions under which the C.P.G. and the R.T.U.O. are fighting are incomparably more difficult than then, still the revolutionary mass work, which no terror can break, is creating the prerequisites for a rising wave of resistance against this fresh piratical raid of the capitalist class.

The brutal slaughter of our best fighters, the threats of death against our leaders, against Comrades Thaelmann and Dimitrov, are intended to intimidate the revolutionary movement. The experience gained in one year of heroic struggle by German Communism, against the bloodiest executioners' dictatorship ever known in the history of the world, has already shown that this hope of the fascists is vain. The German working class, backed up by the mighty aid of international proletarian solidarity, is continuing its struggle unintimidated, with growing mass power, for the release of the imprisoned anti-fascists, for the repulse of fascist terror and of the intensified capitalist offensive, for the breaking down of the pernicious social-fascist mass influence, for the creation of the united front of proletarian class struggle, for the mobilisation of the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship, and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship of the German Soviet republic.

## Politics

### The Budget of the Dollfuss Government

By Gustav (Vienna)

The Austrian budget for 1934 is the first budget, the whole of which was decreed by emergency orders. The drawing up of this budget, in spite of the absence of Parliamentary discussion, was this time a tremendously difficult task for the Dollfuss government. It was necessary by means of the budget figures to bolster up the false but nevertheless continually repeated assertion that the economic situation has been improved by the "authoritative" regime. On the other hand, it was impossible to avoid betraying to a certain extent through the budget figures the really disastrous situation.

In the budget for 1934 the government has not included in its reckoning the two factors which brought about the collapse of the budget in the previous year, namely, the falling off of revenue as a result of the economic crisis and the presents made to the financial capitalists in order to salvage their bankrupt undertakings. The government expresses the deceitful hope that in drawing up the budget they can reckon on an improvement in the economic situation in 1934.

Thus the revenue from taxation, which in 1933 remained 60 million behind the estimate, is estimated for 1934 at an almost equally high figure, namely 1,015.7 millions. It is true, here the government is carrying out a new attack on the working population by seeking to make up for the falling off in the revenue from taxes which are paid by the rich, by enormously increasing indirect taxation, mainly on articles of consumption.

The impoverishment of the Austrian masses, however, is so great and the resulting decline in consumption so enormous, that in spite of the tightening of the screw of taxation, the expected sums cannot be brought in. On the contrary, a further decline of revenue from taxation is more probable. Thus, also on the revenue side there is the danger of a budget deficit.

With regard to budget expenditure, the prospect is even more gloomy. The fascist regime has increased the subventions to finance-capital, raised the expenditure for armaments and, on the other hand, economised at the cost of the workers.

The payments in respect of the national debt amount to 240.0

million compared with 233.3 million last year, the expenditure on the police has been raised from 59 to 61 million, on the gendarmerie from 32 to 36 million, the Ministry of Justice from 55.3 to 55.4, while the expenditure on the army has been increased 13 per cent., i.e., from 82.6 to 94 million shillings. At the same time the sums to be expended for the personal maintenance of the soldiers is reduced from 52 million to 49 million, in spite of the fact that their number has been increased, whilst on the other hand the expenditure on actual armaments has been nearly doubled (42 million as against 27 million in the previous year).

There is also an increase in the expenditure on the fascist and religious propaganda apparatus. The expenditure on the Heimatsdienst, the official propaganda department of the government, is increased tenfold—from 100,000 to one million shillings. On the other hand, the expenditure on schools has been reduced.

As a result of the policy of increased subventions for the agrarian bourgeoisie, the budget of the Ministry for Agriculture is increased to 39.1 million as compared with 31.5 last year.

This year the State railways demand an increased grant from the State, namely, 119.1 million as against 101 million last year.

The government intends to meet the increased expenditure on the fascisation and tributes to finance-capital as well as the loss caused by the falling off in revenue, by ruthlessly cutting down expenditure on the social insurance. The expenditure on the social services in 1934 is to be reduced by 37 per cent. compared with the original budget estimate and by 26 per cent. compared with the corrected budget for 1933; the expenditure on unemployment insurance is to be reduced by 50 and 40 per cent. respectively.

The government promises to achieve these "economies" by reducing the unemployment figures by 65,000, which would leave 260,000 unemployed in receipt of benefit. This reduction is to be achieved in the first place by the "work provision programme." Does there, however, exist the possibility of providing work for 65,000 unemployed by means of this programme? Even if 50 per cent. of the sum earmarked for providing work is paid out in wages, the government could not provide work at trade union rates for even 25,000 workers, while no one seriously believes that private industry will be able to absorb the remaining 40,000. The government will therefore try to achieve the planned economies at the cost of other items in the social budget.

It is quite obvious that under these circumstances the expenditure on means of class repression is increased. The government is aware that it will be able to realise this budget only by means of bayonets and machine-guns.

On the expenditure side of the budget estimates one item is completely missing, namely, the expenditure for salvaging the banks, which last year was one of the causes of the collapse of the budget. It is an open secret that the two banks which received assistance last year, the Wiener Bankverein and the Escomptogesellschaft, are still in difficulties, and a third Austrian big bank is also in a precarious condition.

The government has no financial reserves of any kind. The extraordinary demands of the year 1933 have swallowed up all the reserves. In spite of every kind of manipulation the funds in the hands of the Treasury sank from 122 million in 1931 to 11.6 million in 1933. On the other hand, the short-term floating debt still amounts to 270 million shillings.

It is a task of the Communists, by organising the fight against the anti-working-class budget, against the pillaging of the masses and against the cutting down of social insurance, to lead the masses to the general fight against the fascist dictatorship.

### De Valera Helps Irish Fascism

By Sean Murray (Dublin)

The difficulties of the de Valera government are steadily accumulating both in the economic and political spheres. The government is now two years in office. In this period there has been a fall of £32 million out of a total foreign trade of over £87 million. Exports have dropped by over 50 per cent. on the figures for 1931. The British government is pressing home the economic blockade by the imposition of quota restrictions on fat cattle, on top of the already existing tariffs. The latest statement of J. H. Thomas was to the effect that his government was recovering the equivalent of the money withheld by the de Valera government, through the medium of tariffs. The British imperialists are confident that by means of these penalising measures against the Free State's trade,

they will secure a satisfactory political deal with the Irish bourgeoisie.

The grazier and other exporting interests in Ireland have taken to organising a fascist movement whose first plank is to come to terms with the British. The de Valera government has taken to jailing its own Republican supporters for opposing the fascists and urging the operation of measures against the British imperialists and their Irish friends. Increasing numbers of opponents of fascism are being sentenced by the Military Tribunal, while the fascists are openly organising under the protection of the government's police, army and courts of justice.

The labouring masses from the very outset gave unmistakable evidence that they understand the character of the O'Duffy Blue-shirt menace. In August last year the fascist march on Dublin had to be abandoned owing to the massing of the workers on the streets. The Government had not banned this demonstration, but had prohibited the wearing of blue shirts. The value of the government's "prohibitions" is illustrated by the marches of Blueshirted bodies, headed in nearly every case by mounted men, which is weekly taking place in the provincial towns, under the protection of police and troops. Tralee in the south-west is an example. Here the troops had to be called out to protect O'Duffy, while the police batoned down the demonstrating anti-fascists and arrested large numbers. The workers organised a general strike to secure the prisoners' release, which drew de Valera personally to the area, with the result that the workers were manoeuvred into calling off the strike.

The pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, in addition to organising its fascist bands, conducting a powerful agitation from its press, the parliamentary tribune, the municipal and rural councils, the courts, social gatherings and by means of public parades and meetings, is also making widespread use of economic sabotage and intimidation. The big farmers are refusing to pay rates and annuities. The result is that municipal finances are in a perilous condition. In Tipperary, where the fascists are highly organised, the rate collection is 78 per cent. in arrears. In Waterford a large number of wealthy farmers were arrested for the organisation of terrorist conspiracy to prevent rate collection. The Military Tribunal found them "not guilty." Out of a total of £3,148,955 rates to be collected, £1,900,000 was outstanding at the end of 1933, or over 60 per cent. This is J. H. Thomas speaking from behind the Irish hedges.

The de Valera government steadily pursues the aim of keeping the masses out of the fight against fascism. Its every act, both in relation to the fascists and to the anti-fascists, has been directed to this end. It secured a measure of popular approval for its introduction of the Coercion Act and the supersession of the ordinary courts, under the pretence that these were designed against the fascists. Now the anti-imperialists are crowding the jails. The political correspondent of de Valera's own newspaper got a month's imprisonment by the Tribunal for refusing to disclose the source of confidential information, and the government would not hearken to the demands of its own supporters for his release.

The government arrested O'Duffy, against whom a number of charges were preferred, including one of incitement to assassinate the President (de Valera). In less than twenty-four hours he was released by order of the Civil High Court on a writ of Habeas Corpus. This took place at the end of the year. O'Duffy is touring the country, organising his Blueshirts, while the lawyers are wearying the public over the respective rights and powers of the pro-imperialist Tribunal and the pro-imperialist civil Courts. In the hands of de Valera the fight against British imperialism is reduced to a series of judicial and parliamentary squabbles with O'Duffy and the Blueshirts.

As a result of all this there is a widespread dissatisfaction with the de Valera Government amounting in ever-growing instances to angry revolt. The changing situation is making itself felt in the relations between the government and the Irish Republican Army leadership. The I.R.A. chiefs and de Valera are no longer on speaking terms and the former are once more on the search "for a poll." The problem of pleasing the workers and avoiding antagonising the capitalists is proving difficult in the midst of such growing class antagonisms. The I.R.A. leaders are resorting to the time-honoured remedy of all "Left"-wingers: the use of radical phrases. Socialistic propaganda, left for two years in abeyance, is again pouring forth from the columns of the Republican weekly "An Phoblacht." So far has the "radicalising process" affected the Republican leaders that for the first time since Hitler came to

power in Germany, their paper in a recent issue actually mentions the event and denounces the Hitler fascists. At the same time the I.R.A. leaders take the greatest pains through organisational measures to hold in check their supporters from organising the United Front against fascism, which the Communist Party and the militant workers are now creating. "Left" Republicanism is proving itself a by no means negligible factor in hindering the rise of a consciously-led United Front mass struggle against the fascist menace.

The struggle of the Communist Party to organise the united opposition to the fascist menace is meeting with increasing support among the trade unionists and Republican workers. Events are making clear that on this path lies the only way to victory over the fascist allies of J. H. Thomas and British imperialism.

## Araki's Resignation

By J. E.

Araki is one of the most prominent representatives of the aggressive wing of Japanese imperialism. His formally voluntary resignation from the position of Minister of War, who in Japan plays a role different from the War Minister in other capitalist countries, is of the greatest significance. In the two years or so in which Araki held his position, the situation of Japanese imperialism has greatly deteriorated. Apart from other factors, the foreign policy of the Araki group placed many difficulties in the way of Japanese imperialism and rendered its situation and also its war preparations more complicated. Araki became an odious figure. He was bound to come forward very frequently both as speaker and in the press in favour of open war provocations and for the necessity of war. On the other hand, this policy compelled other countries, in particular those which are neighbours of Japan, to increase their vigilance. This circumstance is of great importance as Japanese imperialism sets its greatest hopes on sudden attacks and rapid operations. Araki had become "inconvenient" in regard to foreign countries not only for the oppositional circles but also for the military groups. He and his group apparently realised this circumstance even earlier than others, as according to the Japanese paper, "Asahi," already on January 20, he had come to an agreement with the leading military circles regarding his resignation.

Does Araki's resignation from the position of War Minister mean a change in the policy of Japan? How does the Japanese press reply to this question? The Tokyo paper, "Asahi" appraises the situation as follows:—

"The radical military group sets great hopes in Hajasi. The change in the War Ministry will in no way influence the ideas predominating in the army as well as the demands put by the army to the government. On the contrary, Hajasi will submit the demands of the army in a more concrete and more open manner."

The paper further reports that Araki enjoyed the reputation in military circles of being "very cautious" and proceeding too slowly, whilst Hajasi is a "man of firm decisions." He would adopt all the measures which in his opinion are necessary in order to overcome the "crisis of 1935-1936" in spite of the opposition which his measures might encounter outside of the army.

The paper, "Kokumin," writes in practically the same strain. It maintains that:—

"Araki's popularity had greatly diminished lately, partly because he had been War Minister for a long time, and partly owing to his hesitation in carrying out the necessary changes in the army leadership."

These extracts from the Japanese press show that it is not improbable that Araki's resignation had been decided on by his own group, the more so as Araki is not their real leader. It is also not unlikely that Araki's resignation was the outcome of the increased pressure of the impatient elements. At any rate, there is no reason to assume that Araki's resignation and Hajasi's appointment as War Minister imply a change in the main tendency of Japanese foreign policy. On the contrary, according to the above-quoted statements of the Japanese press, Hajasi's appointment must be considered as rather a negative factor in the cause of peace. Araki has resigned, but the groups which placed him in the War Ministry in the year 1931 have remained.

It seems that it is the task of Hajasi to bring about unity between the young and the old cadres. The struggle of the various

tendencies and fractions of Japanese imperialism renders it difficult to prepare for the "crisis of 1935-1936" which is now the favourite expression of the Japanese statesmen, in particular of their military experts. This crisis, i.e., war, is being feverishly prepared for by Japanese imperialism. Which war? This question is of course of the greatest importance.

"State politics is a matter for itself, but a sudden attack is always accompanied by success, even in a war on land." These words were uttered by Hirota, who participated in a discussion on war, initiated by the Japanese review, "*Hinode*," in August, 1932. What prominent place is assigned to this theory in the plans of Japanese imperialism can be seen from the interjection made by Rear-Admiral Inoue during the same discussion. "Hirota, do not blab out too much." A third participant in the discussion, Captain Taketomi, advocated a sudden attack from the air, and Captain Katokam arrived at the conclusion that "before all Vladivostok must be destroyed or occupied."

These ideas are again current among the leading Japanese military circles, which, as is known, are the most consistent representatives of the policy of sudden attack and which leave "state politics" in the hands of the diplomats. General Hajasi belongs to the first group, hence his appointment by no means indicates a saner Japanese foreign policy. Araki resigned, giving as a reason his bad state of health. But not only Araki is sick, the whole organism of Japanese imperialism is shaken with fits of fever. In such a situation one must be prepared for anything.

## Appeal to the C.P. and the Revolutionary Workers, Peasants and Intellectuals of Japan

Comrades! We send you our warmest revolutionary greetings you who have been so heroic in the struggle for freedom. We have been watching recent events in Japan with unceasing attention and eagerness. We are deeply gratified that you lost no time in smashing the schemes of the traitors, Sano and Nabeyama, renegade agents of the bourgeois-landlord, and continue to support unflinchingly the programme of the Communist Party, under the banner of the Communist International.

When Sano and Nabeyama, former members of the C.P. of Japan, turned cowardly traitors to the proletariat, becoming active disruptors of the revolutionary movement and watchdogs of the Japanese militarists and monarchists, we applauded the speedy expulsion of these provocateurs. We also ruthlessly exposed them before the Japanese workers in the U.S.A. We must drive such renegades out of the ranks of the proletariat. You must not slacken your fight against them; through this struggle you will strengthen still further our revolutionary movement in Japan.

These agents of the Mikado's government put forward the "theory" that Japanese capitalism is "young and growing," that it is "progressive." This is an attempt to stop the continued upsurge of the revolutionary movement, to aid the imperialists by disarming the workers and peasants and keeping them passive. They hope to succeed in intensifying the exploitation of the masses, extending the robber war in China and the preparations for attack upon the U.S.S.R. They seek to cover up the tremendous reaction at home, and to stem the wave of strikes by the workers and peasants which are taking the form of revolts against the government.

In the villages there is pauperism. Masses of peasants are starving, in debt to the large landowners and the bankers. Japan is menaced by economic catastrophe. It is the crucial point in the situation in the Far East, both for the imperialists of the world in their preparations for war against the Soviet Union, and for the world proletariat who, together with the Japanese workers and peasants, will defend our Workers' and Peasants' Fatherland. Industry is being mobilised in Japan, arsenals, shipyards and war enterprises are a government monopoly, wages are being cut, peasants are taxed to the bone, and soldiers are dying in Manchuria. Yet these provocateurs shout about a "progressive" war.

The Sanos and Nabeyamas have evolved from the urgent need of Japanese imperialism, driven to desperation by the crisis and fear of the revolutionary movement. We foresee the outcome of the "retrial" of the March 15th defendants, including Sano and Nabeyama, with the capitalist press hailing the supposed "turning over a new leaf." Praise and pardon are given the deserting traitors; prison and torture for the loyal working class leaders of the C.P. of Japan.

Comrades! This new anti-Communist campaign of the ruling classes in Japan will not turn the masses away from an increased

support of the C.P.J. Denunciations and storms of protest against these provocateurs are pouring in from factories, ships, mines and barracks, from cities and villages. The majority of our comrades in jail have denounced these renegades, they are carrying on a bitter struggle against the traitors and their followers, who are attempting to lead our movement into defeatism.

Comrades! We know how bitter is your struggle; how, despite years of murderous terror by the most expensive police system in the world, the C.P. lives and grows and leads the struggle for the overthrow of the monarchy; how it proves to be the only force resisting the robber war of Japanese imperialism.

The time is fast approaching for decisive battles. You are in the front line trenches of the war against imperialist war and intervention against the U.S.S.R. No provocateurs, no renegades with their denunciations and demagogy, no oppression by the enemy class can stem the revolutionary forces of the proletariat which are rising under the banner of the C.P.

We revolutionary workers, readers of the "*Rodo Shimbun*," central organ of the Japanese Bureau of the C.P.U.S.A., are conducting the same relentless struggle, side by side with the American workers, under the leadership of the American Party. We are certain you will continue to fight resolutely against all traitors, the Yamakawas, the Sanos, the Nabeyamas, the Mitamuras and all other traitors who attempt to confuse the masses and distract them from the revolutionary struggle.

We workers from across the Pacific send you our comradely greetings. We pledge that we, too, will fight hand in hand with you. And we appeal to you, under the banner of the Communist International, to continue your struggle against the counter-revolutionary activities of our enemies, to continue your courageous march onward, winning the masses of toilers to the programme of the C.P. of Japan and the C.I.

Japanese Bureau of the Central Committee Communist Party of the U.S.A. Editorial Board, *Rodo Shimbun*.

## Germany

### Four Communist Leaders Murdered!

Workers of the world! Rally to the struggle against the fascist murderers.

Workers! On Friday, the 2nd February, four of the best and bravest leaders of our Party were foully murdered at the orders of the fascist slaughterers, Hitler and Goering. Johannes Scheer, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and a close co-operator of Comrade Thaelmann, Eugen Schonhaar, one of the organisers of the illegal press of the Communist Party of Germany, Comrade Erich Steinfurth, the leader of the Berlin Red Aid, and Comrade Rudolf Schwarz.

All four of these comrades had been in the hands of their murderers for several weeks. Night after night they had been tortured and beaten into unrecognisability, but still they made no statements and gave no information. They proved themselves to be Bolsheviks. Their loyalty to the Party of the revolutionary working class movement triumphed over the atrocities and threats of death of the sadistic murder gang. The scoundrels, Hitler and Goering, have revenged themselves on helpless prisoners. The shooting a few days ago of a creature named Kattner, a corrupt and mercenary renegade, was taken as the occasion to murder our four comrades after fearful maltreatment in a wood near Berlin.

The murder of our comrades was personally ordered by Goering at Hitler's instructions. It took place a few days after the first anniversary of the fascist seizure of power, at a time when the masses are beginning to recognise more and more that fascism is unable to solve any of their vital problems and that Hitler Germany is steering straight into a catastrophe. The mass murder was ordered in view of the growing hatred of the working masses against Hitler's hunger dictatorship which, with its new "labour law" is striving to depress the standards of living of the German working class below the level of the colonial coolies, and against which the Communist Party of Germany is organising a mass strike movement. Not all the murderous fascist orgies, not all the fascist terror have succeeded in holding up the advance of the Communist Party. The Communist Party holds up the banner of the proletarian revolutionary movement. It is developing into the

only mass party of the working class. It has thrown the slogan of the Soviets into the ranks of the masses. New, unknown fighters are springing into the breaches made in its ranks by the murderous terror. The ranks of the revolutionary advance guard are filling the places of our murdered comrades. The latest mass slaughter carried out by Hitler and Goering is not a sign of the strength of their regime, on the contrary, it is a sign of its weakness and instability, its fear of the inevitability of the Communist advance and the approaching hour of vengeance for all the crimes of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the Soviet Power.

For this reason the fascist gang, which is the government in Germany, is increasing its terror against the advance guard of the revolutionary working class movement. Therefore the fascist murderers are slaughtering our leaders who have fallen into their hands. Therefore they are preparing the coming trial of Comrade Thaelmann with a view to legal murder in order to dispose of the leader of the German working class. Therefore they have once again dragged Dimitrov and his two heroic companions, Popov and Tanev, to Berlin, where their foul murder is being planned.

The fascist murderers are being encouraged in their plans by the anti-Communist campaign of incitement carried on by the social democracy and the Second International which still consider their main task to be the slandering of the Communist Party and by striving to re-establish their bankrupt organisation to maintain the split in the ranks of the proletariat.

Workers of Germany and of the world! Four of our best comrades have been murdered. The lives of Thaelmann and Dimitrov are directly threatened. The German government is a band of murderers. The fascist bankrupts are unleashing a new wave of terror throughout Germany. Increase your deadly hatred against these murderers. Never forget for one minute that the lives of our best comrades are threatened continuously so long as they remain in the hands of the fascists. Do not rest in the struggle for the release of all the proletarian political prisoners.

**The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has published the following statement:—**

**"The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. is informed of the serious loss suffered by the German Communist Party and the whole of the German proletariat, as a result of the brutal murder by the fascist government of Comrade John Scher, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, and three activists, Comrades E. Steinfurt, E. Schoenhaar, and R. Schwartz.**

**"The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. simultaneously expresses its condolences to the families of the comrades murdered at their post.**

**"Long live the cause of revolution for which these comrades fought heroically until the last minutes of their lives!**

**"For the Presidium E.C.C.I., KUUSINEN."**

Workers of the world, workers of Germany! Raise the voice of mass protest in the factories, at the labour exchanges and in the meetings of the "Labour Front." Ask the rank and file members of the fascist storm detachments whether they are in favour of the murder of the Red strike leaders against the reactionary "Labour Law" whilst the capitalist wage cutters are appointed privy councillors and given absolute power in the factories. Organise strikes and demonstrations for the release of Thaelmann, Dimitrov and all the other anti-fascist prisoners. Organise political protest strikes with the assistance of the illegal factory committees against the murderous fascist terror. Form defence groups to protect your own lives and the lives of your Communist leaders and officials. Working class women of Germany! Demonstrate in front of the murder holes of Goering! Mobilise and organise a mass storm of protest against the Brown murder pest!

Workers of the world! Give the workers of Germany your utmost support in their terrible mass struggle against German fascism. Organise international demonstrations in all countries! Organise fighting demonstrations in the factories! Dockers! Refuse to unload ships flying the swastika flag. Support actively and directly the illegal struggle of the German Communists by organising the patronage over German factories and their illegal Communist groups! Collect everywhere for the Thaelmann fight-

ing fund! Raise higher the standard of proletarian internationalism!

Comrades, fellow workers! Johannes Scheer, one of our best comrades and an intimate collaborator of Thaelmann and of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, and with him three gallant fighters for the German working class, Eugen Schönhaar, Steinfurth and Schwarz have been torn from our ranks and foully murdered. But the struggle will go on with intensified strength. The murderous terror of Hitler and Goering will not be able to hold up the advance of the Party of Lenin towards the victory of the socialist revolution in Germany.

Long live the mass heroism of the revolutionary workers of Germany! Long live the iron battalions of the revolution! Long live the German Communist Party and its leader, Thaelmann! Long live Soviet Germany!

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany  
(Section of the Communist International).**

Berlin, February 2, 1934.

## Agent Provocateur Lass Preparing for the Thaelmann Trial

We learn from trustworthy sources that a special commission of the Prussian Secret State Police and a special commission of the Hamburg Secret State Police are feverishly working in preparation for the trial of the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thaelmann, which is fixed for the month of March. A present agent of the Secret State Police, a certain August Lass (alias Helmuth) is particularly active in this work, together with a certain Alfred Kattner. Kattner was formerly an employee in the Karl Liebknecht House in Berlin. The provocateur August Lass (Helmuth) has been for a long time a bought creature of Goering, Diehls and Rosenberg. Lass was formerly active as assistant editor of the "Rote Fahne," and in the summer of 1933 as a functionary of the C.P.G. in Danzig.

This Lass has turned out to be a fascist agent-provocateur. Whilst engaged as a functionary of the C.P.G. in Danzig he attempted, on the order of the Nazis, to take advantage of the difficult conditions of illegality under which the C.P.G. was working in order to further the chauvinistic policy of war adventure pursued by Goering and Rosenberg. He endeavoured by every means to induce cadres of the Communist Party to provoke armed frontier incidents between Poland and Germany, to call forth a German-Polish conflict in order to be able again to raise the question of the Westernplatte. Strange to say, Lass, when endeavouring to carry out these war provocations, had large sums of money at his disposal. Thanks to the intervention of the Central Committee and responsible functionaries of the Communist Party of Danzig, these insane plans of Lass were brought to nought. It has already been ascertained beyond doubt that some months before these happenings the provocateur Lass had been bought and bribed by the Nazis. The national socialists intended by means of a Danzig adventure to realise their long-cherished wish to arouse a German-Polish conflict, and on the other hand, in the event of the provocation proving a failure, to represent the whole affair—as in the case of the Reichstag fire—as being the work of the Communists.

Through the medium of the State Secret Police, Lass had access to important stores of ammunition, rifles and hand grenades, which were to serve to equip the fighting groups which he wished to organise. A shock troop gathered together by him was also to fire at the Westernplatte. By means of this act of provocation the Danzig fascist authorities and the German government wished to obtain a pretext for proceeding sharply against Poland.

All these facts became known after the investigation which was immediately made by the intelligence service of the C.P.G. When Lass, owing to the resistance of the Communist Party, was unable to carry out the orders given him by the national socialists, he was arrested on suspicion of having "gone back to the Commune." After his arrest he reported fully of the resistance of the Communists to his provocative plans. He was compelled, however, at the point of the revolver, to agree again to carry out the orders given him. When, however, Lass noticed that the comrades mistrusted him and the State Secret Police wished to make further use of the provocation work of such a corrupt person, Lass received further instructions: He was to spy out and secure the arrest of functionaries of the C.P.G. in East Prussia, Danzig and

Berlin. In this manner this bought spy delivered dozens of faithful and honest class fighters into the hands of the Nazi hangmen. Shortly after his attempted provocation in Danzig, Lass was expelled from the Party and all German Communists and revolutionary workers were warned against him. A letter which Lass wrote to his wife, and which is in the possession of the C.C. of the C.P.G., shows what physical terror and threats of death the police of the Third Reich employ in order to induce their creatures to commit outrages and acts of provocation. He wrote in this letter that he "never believed it would be so hard to die." It seems, therefore, that direct threats that he would be shot or murdered drove Lass further along the path of provocation.

If, after the miserable fiasco suffered by the "witnesses" for the prosecution in the Reichstag fire trial, this political scoundrel is proceeding to gather together and coach "witnesses," one can imagine what a heap of filth, lies, and slanders will be collected in order to defame and discredit the Communist leader, Ernst Thaelmann. Under certain circumstances this creature Lass will come forward as witness against himself. After the first witness for the prosecution, Georg Schwarz, who was for years a spy and agent of the French Spy system, he will be another model example of the practice of national socialist justice.

All the workers of Germany, and also of other countries, must know what sort of tools Herr Goering and the loud-speaker of big capital, Herr Goebbels, are making use of in the Thaelmann trial. The workers must constantly bear in mind that every word uttered by these "witnesses" has been dictated beforehand in the Nazi bureaux for the purpose of discrediting the accused and fighting against the German working class and all anti-fascists.

## The Movement for the Release of the Four Acquitted Reichstag Defendants!

Stockholm, January 30.

The delegates' meeting of the metal workers' trade union at Goteborg, representing about 11,000 workers, adopted a resolution protesting against the terror of the Hitler government, and contributed 100 crowns in aid of the International Jurists' Commission in London.

A members' meeting of the C.P.S. in Stockholm, a public meeting of the Red Aid, a meeting of 500 workers in Omotsfors and another of 300 in Joenköping, a meeting of textile workers in Boros and a members' meeting of the factory workers in Skoevde sent telegrams to the German embassy, protesting against the retention of the acquitted men and demanding their release.

Three big local branches of the Stockholm metal workers, the workers employed by the Atlas-Diesel and P. A. Sjoegren works, and the plumbers' section of the trade union adopted unanimous resolutions calling upon the trade union cartel to organise a mass demonstration in support of the defendants acquitted at the Reichstag fire trial.

The plumbers' section, numbering about 2,000 members, have sent in a protest to the "Labour Government" against the disgraceful treatment accorded to two German refugees, whom the social-democratic police at Malmoe are anxious to hand over to the Hitler police. One of the refugees was severely maltreated on his arrest. He is being looked for by the Hitler authorities, and he declared to the Swedish authorities that he might as well commit suicide at once as be handed over living to his torturers.

A public demonstration of the Young Communist League at Eksjoe, attended by over 300 persons, protested energetically against the further detention of the Bulgarians and Torgler, and demanded their immediate release. Similar protests have been sent in by a strike meeting of the locksmiths at Stockholm, and by the general meeting of the metal workers at Traelleborg.

Sofia, January 30.

The pamphlet containing Dimitrov's speech before the court at Leipzig, after having been released by the public prosecutor of the district court, has been confiscated again by the police. This time the public attorney of the court of appeal has approved the confiscation. This means that the publisher of the pamphlet, Todor Genoff, editor of the newspaper "Vik," will be sent to prison.

Prague, January 31.

The workers employed at the Broschek distillery in Prague-Liben, at their general works meeting, resolved upon a protest against the continued incarceration of Comrades Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev, and the other anti-fascist fighters. These workers took over the patronage of a German refugee, and

will raise the means to aid him. Another example of solidarity with the struggling German proletariat, worthy of emulation, has been given by the unemployed of Prague-Vysocan, employed on task work. These, too, have undertaken the patronage of two German refugees, and will aid them from their scanty means.

A sharp mass protest against the continued imprisonment of Dimitrov and comrades was resolved upon by the mass demonstration of Prague workers on the anniversary of Lenin's death.

## New Elections for Changing the Constitution in Danzig

By B. L.

On January 24, last, Paul Kreft, Communist member of the Danzig parliament, and a functionary of the Red Front Fighters' League, was sentenced by the Danzig Court to two years' imprisonment for "forming armed bands." This sentence is the prelude to other measures directed towards prohibiting the Communist Party in Danzig.

The sentence was pronounced on the evening of January 24, and on the following morning of January 25 there commenced a sudden raid throughout the district of the Free State of Danzig against all persons suspected of being functionaries of the Party. At the same time a workers' library, the publishing house of "Freiheit," and the fraction rooms of the Communist deputies were searched and cleared out. The judgment, the systematic actions of the police a few hours later and the inflammatory articles which simultaneously appeared in the fascist press against the Communists reveal the intentions of the Danzig rulers: to suppress the Communist Party also in Danzig and to arrest the Communist functionaries and deputies.

The action of the fascists in Danzig against the Communist Party is intended to divert the masses from the home and foreign political bankruptcy, which is becoming more and more obvious, of the Nazi Senate in Danzig. In spite of the millions in subventions granted by the Hitler government to Danzig, the economic situation is continuing to deteriorate at a rapid pace. The measures, copied from the German Reich, for "providing work," ended in failure just as in the Reich. Unemployment is growing, misery is increasing and the middle classes in particular are becoming impoverished at a rapid rate.

Among the Storm Troops it is quite openly asserted that State President Rauschning and the Vice-President of the Senate, Greiser, have sold Danzig to Polish imperialism. The Pilsudski government is replying to the grovelling of the Danzig Nazi leaders with ever fresh kicks. The shipping turnover in Danzig harbour has fallen to a catastrophically low level; the restrictions on the export of Danzig goods to Poland have been rendered more stringent.

Only the Danzig Communists are fighting against this social and national treachery. Hence the bloody terror of the Danzig Hitler fascists is directed solely against our Party. Not a day passes without Communists being sentenced to years of imprisonment by the Danzig Nazi judges.

The undaunted courage of the Danzig Communists and their revolutionary activity are greatly disquieting the social and national traitors. They therefore wish, following the German example, to shatter the Communist Party and to carry out fresh elections. This decision was adopted at a meeting of the Nazi leaders on January 21, on the dictates of the Hitler agent for Danzig, State Councillor Forster, even against the will of the Danzig Nazi leaders, who consider election to be a risky manoeuvre for Danzig and who reckon on a greatly-increased vote for the Communists and Poles. In order to prevent this, Forster ordered the action against the Communists and proposed to pass a motion in Parliament abolishing the immunity of the Communist deputies and to arrest them immediately.

The bankrupt Nazi government of Danzig expects to gain a fresh respite by means of a bloody terror against the Danzig revolutionary working class, the arrest of the Communist functionaries (the Nazi Senate has already set up a concentration camp at the mouth of the Vistula), the suppression of the Communist Party, and fresh terror elections according to the model of the last Hitler elections in the Reich. The working class of the Free State of Danzig, supported by the solidarity of the whole of the world proletariat, by strengthening its revolutionary work, will know how to repel this fresh attack of Hitler fascism in Danzig.

## Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

# Discussion on Stalin's Report Inside and Outside the Kremlin

By L. Boross

Moscow, January 30.

The discussion on the Report of the Central Committee is invariably the most general and comprehensive part of the Party discussion. It forms a survey of the whole policy of the Party and of the whole policy of the workers' State during the whole period under review.

The first few days after the hearing of the report brought so many fundamental, theoretical and practical political questions into the discussion that it would be impossible even to enumerate them, much less to detail them, in a brief article. And Comrade Stalin's report is being discussed not only here in the great hall of the Kremlin, but everywhere in the Soviet Union, in the works and factories, on the collective and Soviet farms and on the railways, in the dining halls, the clubs, tramways—everywhere where people meet one another. It is being discussed not only in words, but in deeds, for practical steps are being taken to accomplish in each sphere of activity the tasks spoken of by Stalin, and to eliminate the errors pointed out by him and other delegates.

Every word spoken at the Party Congress arouses the tolling millions, and spurs them on to fresh efforts. There is scarcely a branch of industry, scarcely an industrial undertaking, which has not taken part in the Party discussion by increasing its performance. Every word spoken in the discussion is like a melody accompanied harmoniously by an orchestra composed of millions of hammers and wheels.

Let us take a few words at random from the discussion. On the platform stands Comrade *Makarov*, delegate from the "Stalin" smelting works in the Donetz basin. The Party Congress welcomed him warmly, for his undertaking has just gained the position of the most efficiently working smelting works in the Soviet Union. *Makarov* describes how this victory has been won. He gives two reasons: firstly, the apparatus was reorganised in accordance with the Party directives: the unwieldy bureaucratic methods were supplanted by living and concrete methods of leadership. The second factor of success was the following: "An army of 2,500 Communists, 4,500 Young Communists, and 10,000 shock brigaders, is fighting determinedly for the carrying out of the Party directives. We were successful in setting this mighty force in action, and this force secured for us the victory."

Whilst *Makarov* thus confirms by practical example the correctness of Stalin's analysis and of the tasks set by Stalin, and whilst Stalin himself designates the overcoming of the backwardness of the metal industry in the fulfilment of the Plan as one of the most important tasks, hundreds and thousands of metal workers are taking part in the discussion, and confirming the rightness of the Party line. They prove the historically unprecedented authority of the Party life by the fact that during the preparations for and the opening of the Party Congress, they increased the daily output of pig-iron by one to two thousand tons, and are now producing over 25,000 tons daily. At the time of the Sixteenth Party Congress the Magnitogorsk smelting works and the whole Ural-Kusnetz Combine were still only projects, only directives. But to-day this child of the Sixteenth Congress is already able to participate with a decisive voice in the discussions of the Seventeenth Party Congress, for its blast furnaces, though not yet all in operation according to Plan, are already producing 3,000 tons daily, which means a yearly capacity of over one million tons. The same applies to the coal industry, to the industries manufacturing articles of consumption, and to all branches of economy. And it applies again to the mines deep in the bowels of the earth, and to the stratospheric altitudes hitherto unattained, whence the participants in the second stratospheric flight have just greeted the Party Congress from the new record height of 20,000 metres.

Stalin's words are worthy of note, when he spoke of the mighty

changes which have taken place in the course of a few brief years, and asked: "Is this not a miracle? It would be a miracle if these developments had been accomplished on the basis of capitalism and of the small individual peasant farm. But it cannot be designated as a miracle when it is remembered that these achievements have been gained in our country on the basis of socialist construction."

And truly it is no miracle, for the workers know that they are working for themselves. It is, of course, natural for anyone just coming from a country where the rapid increase of production in any branch of industry is inevitably followed within a few weeks by loss of employment, of a great part of the workers engaged in this industry, to regard the enthusiasm for production in the Soviet Union as a miracle. One cannot expect workers to be enthusiastic when the increase of production benefits solely their exploiters, whilst they suffer from it. Such enthusiasm would be an unnatural miracle in countries where the profit interests of the capitalists are the criterion of the kind and quantity of the goods to be produced. But when we hear at this Congress, among the many speakers, the representative from the Usbekistan Party organisation, Comrade *Ikrarov*, who tells us that the Usbekistan workers exert themselves to the utmost to increase the crops of the various newly-introduced varieties of Southern fruits, "in order that the Soviet workers may have not only bread, butter, and meat to eat, but more fruit"; when we hear that the most important task to be accomplished by the improved trade apparatus is the improvement of supplies of industrial goods to the collective farmers; when we hear and see everywhere that the toilers are working for the toilers, and that they themselves enjoy the fruits of their labour; then it is no miracle that they are endeavouring to increase as rapidly as possible the products destined for themselves. It is not only no miracle, it is simply a matter of course.

We realise this even more when we hear *Postyshev* state in the discussion that the Soviet workers are no longer regarding these mighty achievements in the actual light of successes to the extent which they did at first, but are beginning to regard them as something natural, as something necessary, as part of the present life. *Postyshev* stated that "workers' sanatoriums and rest homes are a matter of course to us. Nobody is surprised when a worker is sent to a sanatorium; it is simply a necessity, a law, a need. Or creches? How is it possible to live without creches? In places where there are none, or they work badly, the working women protest energetically, and have the right to do so. In the field of food supplies and communal catering there are still many shady elements endeavouring to attain private advantage. But the principle of communal catering has none the less become an indissoluble part of our way of living. Theatres, cinemas, etc., are no longer a rare luxury to our workers, but a necessity. The workers not only go to the theatres, but they have an excellent knowledge of theatrical questions, of drama, of music. Compare our workers with the workers in the capitalist countries! Mighty changes have taken place in the mentality of our workers. They feel themselves to be the creators of the new life. Our workers have mastered the heights of technics. They are constructing new machines, new factories, a new agriculture. They study nature, ascend to the stratosphere, explore the Polar regions; they create art and music; they utilise everything which has been bequeathed to them by bourgeois culture, where this can form a stepping stone to progress, and they have created a culture of their own. The working class is the owner and at the same time the creator of the new world. The rural districts too are completely transformed. Thousands, millions, of men and women collective peasants and shock brigaders are organising, leading, and creating the new collective farming life. The woman collective peasant, yesterday a slave with no rights whatever, is to-day an independent woman demanding



creches, laundries, bakeries, institutions relieving her of the drudgery of housework. New claims, a new conception of life! The new human being, with a new psyche, is growing up in the new life in town and country!"

These words of Postyshev give a graphic picture of the difference in the situation and lot of the workers in the two worlds. Over yonder—in the capitalist world—I have often heard the question: "What would the revolution give me?" The worker who puts such a question generally expects a statement of exactly how much his wages would be raised after a revolution, and what he could buy with them. This question is wrong, comrade! You are measuring the ocean in a pint pot. What the revolution will give you is an entirely new conception of life and a new way of living; it will give you fresh creative powers enabling you to provide for yourself and your class many things of which you do not venture to dream. And at the same time—this is a matter of course—your income will increase from year to year, and its extent will not be determined by any exploiter, but by your own performance, so that as your abilities develop your income increases. For you it is not a matter of course that you should be sent to a sanatorium if you are ill, and your wife does not think it a matter of course that her children should be taken care of in a creche if she goes working—but, of course, she does not need that in your country, comrade, for where can she find work? To you a visit to the theatre is a very rare luxury. You do not feel yourself to be the creator of your factory; on the contrary, you curse it, for you must work there for the parasites owning it. And when it closes its gates on you you curse it even more.

But when you hear and read of the very different ways of living and ideas of life of the workers in the Soviet Union, you need not by any means confine your wishes for the future to what these workers have achieved. For in the first place they are only beginning, and in the second you will be able to attain much more, and much more rapidly, than the Russian proletariat, once you have fought for and gained your revolution. You will have before you the hard-gained example of the Russian revolution, you will not have to build up socialism in a world full of its enemies, but with the aid of a mighty socialist country, which will help you to achieve in a few months what it has taken the Soviet Union years to reach. Mighty achievements have already been gained by this country under the leadership of the Communist Party, under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Is it therefore to be wondered at that this Party possesses such authority that every word that it utters is felt to be the expression of the unanimous will of this gigantic people?

It need not be said, however, that the Bolshevik Party Congress has discussed more than the successes. Indeed, the dominant note of the discussion is criticism, strict Bolshevik self-criticism. At an important militant congress of this nature it is superfluous to speak much of what has already been achieved. The fight is not for what has been accomplished, but what remains to be done. The greater the successes, the greater the general progress, the greater become the needs of the masses, and the more sensitively do they react to any backwardness in separate branches of economy, the sharper their criticism of half-measures and deficiencies, and the more determined their struggle against the last remnants of the class enemy, against incapacity, negligence, indifference to advantages, and even content, among the workers.

Here we must reverse Postyshev's words quoted above. To us foreign workers it perhaps appears "natural" that the Soviet libraries and other cultural institutions of the Soviet Union, whose work has been severely criticised at the Congress by Comrade *Krupskaya* in her capacity of leading cultural worker, should not work without friction, since they have to meet the cultural requirements which have been aroused in 160 millions of toilers, and not merely the needs of a thin upper stratum as is the case in our countries. To us it perhaps appears "natural" that a town with 100,000 inhabitants built up in three or four years in what has hitherto been a dreary waste, cannot be provided at once with the necessary dwelling-houses, drainage, and all the conveniences which are desirable for the masses of the workers settling there—as described, for instance, by the representative of the Magnitogorsk Party organisation, *Lominadse*. But for the ruling working class and its Party this is not at all natural. Not only because they have already overcome much greater difficulties than these; not only because these and similar deficiencies throw obstacles in the way of the realisation of the classless state of society; not only because the weaknesses and shortcomings of socialist construction

furnish points d'appui for the class enemy. These form the main political motives of our self-criticism, but it has still another basis: the changing needs of the new human beings.

I can remember a conversation with an old working woman in Berlin, to whom I spoke of the tremendous tasks of socialist construction. She replied: "Why is it necessary to do all that? If the revolution will make it possible for me to have 40 marks household money every week for the family, then all my dreams are fulfilled. I need nothing more from socialism." Thus not only the lives and the needs of these wage slaves wither and wilt, but even their dreams. The only social dream left this woman was to be able to sell her labour power and to satisfy her hunger. But the Soviet workers no longer need sell their labour power. They see the better life no longer in dreams, but in reality, and they see an even better life in attainable nearness, one fighting step further. The working class of the Soviet Union feels its world-transforming powers. It feels its role as champion of the world proletariat. Therefore it does not regard the deficiencies as natural; on the contrary it finds it natural that everything standing in the way of the realisation of the classless state of society should and can be shattered and swept away. Hence the Bolshevik self-criticism exercised at the Party Congress represents an enthusiastic expression of the strength of socialism fully equal to that expressed by the magnificent successes reported at the Congress.

## Discussion on the Report of Comrade Stalin

Moscow, January 27, 1934.

To-day's session of the Seventeenth Party Congress commenced with the report of the Revision Commission, following which Comrade *Kalinin*, who occupied the chair, declared the discussion on the report of the Central Committee to be opened.

One of the first speakers in the discussion, Comrade *Possern* (Leningrad), declared that the ovation accorded Stalin and the Central Committee, which was repeated at the opening of to-day's session, expressed the opinion not only of all present, but also the view of millions and millions of workers and peasants, of clerks, experts and savants of our vast country. This universal opinion was, that the Leninist Central Committee and the leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin, by their masterly leadership of the work of construction, had brought victories to our country which are unique in history.

Comrade *Eiche*, the secretary of the West Siberian District Party Committee of the C.P.S.U., stated that at the Sixteenth Party Congress Comrade Stalin submitted to the Bolsheviks of West Siberia the task of creating the Ural-Kusnetzk Combine. To-day, where a few years ago the unbroken stillness of the Siberian primeval forest reigned, the chimneys of the huge smelting works which bear the name of Stalin are pouring forth smoke, the biggest furnaces in the world are glowing with heat. In the period between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Congress the output of the Kusnetzk coal basin had been increased threefold. New pits had commenced working and new technique had been introduced. It was not for nothing that West Siberia received the Lenin Order as the most advanced agricultural region: The area under wheat in Siberia had increased beyond all measure in the last few years; Siberia also occupies one of the first positions in the Soviet Union in regard to the income of collective peasants.

Comrade *Bykin*, a delegate from the Bashkir Republic, described how Bashkir, formerly a backward peasant colony, had changed completely and was becoming an industrial-agrarian country. To-day, nearly 80 per cent. of the population are able to read and write. Among the young generation there are none who cannot read and write.

The delegate from the Dnepropetrovsk district (the Ukraine), Comrade *Vodovosienko*, reported on the successes of the struggle in specialised agriculture: The speeches of Comrade Stalin at the January Plenum of the C.C. and at the congress of collective peasants had become the fighting programme of the masses of collective peasants, which had equipped the Party organisation with new methods of work.

Comrade *Postychev*, who was received with tempestuous applause, stated that the ten years which had elapsed since the death of Lenin had been an epoch of tremendous victories of the Party. Comrade Postychev cited the Ukraine as an example of the great strength of the leadership of the Leninist C.C. with Stalin at the head; he described the profound change of Ukrainian agriculture as the result of socialist transformation. Postychev devoted

the concluding portion of his speech to the fight conducted by the Ukrainian Bolsheviks against the counter-revolutionary groupings of the nationalist deviators, who concluded an alliance with the interventionists.

Comrade *Krupskaya*, who was given a particularly cordial reception, said that the whole country, the whole Party, the whole of the working class and the collective peasantry, waited impatiently for the Seventeenth Party Congress and the report of Comrade Stalin, recognising that this report would draw the balance of the fight for the realisation of Lenin's Testament. We had passed through a great deal in this time. Comrade *Krupskaya* then proceeded to deal with the inner-party struggles after the death of Lenin, and declared that to-day the Party was bigger and stronger than it had ever been before and than any party in the world had ever been. We had accomplished a tremendous piece of work—we had laid the foundation of socialism and thus achieved decisive victories. The tremendous ovation which the Party Congress had given Comrade Stalin was the expression of this recognition. Comrade *Krupskaya* devoted the concluding part of her speech to the problem of general compulsory school attendance.

The next speaker was Comrade *Chatayevitch* (the Ukraine). He spoke of how the period between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Congress had demanded the greatest concentration of Bolshevik will and Bolshevik energy. He spoke of the outstanding role of Comrade Stalin in carrying out the Leninist line of the Party and developing the socialist offensive, and emphasised that this great role of Stalin was particularly noticeable in the Ukraine. The essence of the change which had taken place in the Ukraine consisted of the fact that to-day the collective peasants are themselves fighting for collective farm production.

The evening session concluded with an impressive speech by Comrade *Ikramov* (Usbekistan). He referred to the rapid industrial development of Usbekistan, the industry of which had increased fourfold in the last few years, and described the extraordinary successes of Usbekistan agriculture in the fight for a good harvest and for good quality of the cotton.

Moscow, January 29, 1934.

Among the speakers at to-day's session was Comrade *Krimitsky*, who devoted nearly the half of his speech to the Political Department of the Machine and Tractor Stations. Thanks to the setting up of these Political Departments, the Party had achieved magnificent successes in the village. Their strength lay in their immediate connection with the broad masses of collective peasants and the assistance they thereby give in rendering the collective farms Bolshevik. The Political Departments have become the decisive factor in the further advance of socialist agriculture.

Comrade *Petrovsky* spoke on the work of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks. The Party, he said, was holding its Seventeenth Congress at a time of great further advance of socialist agriculture and culture. This advance was rendered possible by the fact that the Party leadership, under Stalin's guidance, had conducted an inexorable fight against the slightest attempts to deviate from the general line.

The next speaker was the Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, Comrade *Chrushtov*, who was greeted with prolonged applause. He reminded the Congress of how the Right opportunists, headed by *Uglanov*, and the Right leaders *Bukharin*, *Rykov* and *Tomsky*, endeavoured to make use of the Moscow organisation in the fight against the Central Committee. They were smashed. The Moscow organisation was never so ideologically united as it is to-day. The town of Moscow and the Moscow district have become one of the biggest industrial centres of the socialist country.

Comrade *Shdanov*, delegate from the Gorky district, spoke of the tremendous successes and achievements of the Gorky district. This district, which bears the name of the great proletarian writer, has become a big industrial district. Who in our country did not know the "Gas" car, which is manufactured in the huge Gorky motor works? But in addition to motor cars we were producing aeroplanes, lathes, locomotives, chemicals and paper.

The last speaker in the morning discussion was Comrade *Yakovlev*, who dealt with the work and tasks of the organs of the Agricultural Commissariat, which were subjected to sharp criticism in Comrade Stalin's report.

The first speaker at the evening session was Comrade *Sarkis*, a representative of the Donbas. He spoke of the results of the

transformation in the coal industry, which has just achieved a record output.

*Sarkis* was followed by *Ordshonikidse*, who devoted the greater part of his speech to the results and the perspectives of the struggle of the Party for the industrialisation of the Soviet Union. He dealt in detail with the tempo of development of the heavy industry, as well as with the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan in this sphere. *Ordshonikidse* then spoke of Stalin, as the leader of the Party, the organiser and inspirer of socialist construction.

*Ordshonikidse* was followed by *Bobrova*, a woman collective peasant. She delivered a very impressive speech, which was frequently interrupted by the applause of the delegates and guests. She told the Congress of the "sleepy heads" who ruined the collective farms, and of the influence of the big peasants. "I took in my hand as a weapon," said *Bobrova*, "the speech of Comrade Stalin at the January Plenum of the C.C." This speech acted as a tremendous stimulus to the masses of the collective peasants, she said triumphantly, amidst the loud applause of the whole Congress. The speaker then referred to the extraordinary role of Stalin in drawing the women into the work of building up the State. Shouts of applause and demonstrations of enthusiasm were called forth by the speech of this representative of the millions who in the course of socialist construction have been aroused and become the foremost fighters for the new social order, for socialism.

The last speaker was the Commissar for Supplies, Comrade *Mikoyan*. He devoted his speech to the turnover of goods and the questions of Soviet trade.

Moscow, January 31, 1934.

The speeches of the speakers in the discussion on the report of Comrade Stalin at to-day's session were permeated with joy on account of what had been achieved. The Party has subjugated petty-bourgeois anarchy to the iron will of the proletariat—this is an enormous victory. This victory clears the way for and goes hand in hand with another victory—the victory over the forces of Nature, under the ravages of which, formerly, under capitalism, hundreds of thousands of lives were destroyed.

Comrade *Shapochnikova*, a woman delegate from Leningrad, reported to the Congress on the mastering of new complicated undertakings. In many enterprises, about half of the workers have already passed through the middle school. The workers are showing by deeds what socialist competition means. In order to render socialist competition effective, in order to back up the enthusiasm for mastering the new technique by providing it with a firm scientific foundation, two-thirds of the workers in the "Swyetlana" are diligently learning technique.

Comrade *Kossior*, the Secretary of the C.P.S.U. in the Ukraine, who was given an enthusiastic reception, spoke of the joy of mastering technique which was to be met with everywhere.

However, there was no cause for triumph over the victory of mastering technique in the transport industry. The People's Commissar for Transport, Comrade *Andreyev*, who was received with prolonged applause, gave a picture of the actual situation, the shortcomings and tasks of the railways and of transport. Comrade *Andreyev* spoke of the possibilities which had not been utilised by a long way and of the reserves which had not been made use of. Transport can and must work better. The bad organisation of work is one of the main causes of the lagging behind of transport. This was seen from Comrade *Andreyev's* speech.

All the delegates emphasised in their speeches that the reorganisation of the activity of all members of the apparatus is an indispensable condition for victory. Some central apparatuses, especially the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and for Transport, are not free from bureaucratic "haughtiness." They must be reorganised, simplified, and rendered more mobile. As Comrade *Antipov* stated, as a result of reorganising and limiting the Soviet apparatus, about 700 million roubles was saved in 1933. The first Five-Year Plan was successfully carried out; the second Five-Year Plan has been successfully tackled.

All speakers in the discussion spoke of those who disturbed, who stood in the way of Bolshevik victories, who attempted to lead the Party on to the wrong path. And when, at the end of the forenoon session, one of the former leaders of Right opportunism, Comrade *Rykov*, mounted the speakers' platform, the Congress listened attentively. *Rykov* admitted having been one of the leaders of the fight against the C.C. He admitted that the path along which *Rykov*, *Bukharin* and *Tomsky* sought to entice the

Party and the country leads inevitably backwards to capitalism and that the Right deviation is the mouthpiece of the private capitalist, petty bourgeois and big peasant sections of the population. Nevertheless, Comrade Rykov spoke of all this somewhat unwillingly, without exposing his adherents. One thing clearly emerged from Rykov's speech: he admitted the complete victory of the Party over all its enemies, including the Right deviation. His speech was a splendid confirmation of the shattering of all oppositional elements by the Party, under Stalin's leadership. Vigilance must not be relaxed, and it is necessary to test the former leaders and hangers-on of the Right opposition again and again by deeds.

The first speaker in the evening session was the delegate from East Siberia, Comrade Rasumov, who in his speech pointed to the growth and development of the district, after which messages of greeting from a number of Communist brother Parties were read.

The Chairman, Comrade Postychev, called upon the President of the Revolutionary War Council of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov, to speak. The Congress accorded Comrade Voroshilov a hearty and prolonged ovation. He spoke in detail of the tasks in the sphere of transport, agriculture, and especially of cattle-breeding. The Congress listened with strained attention to the speech of the leader of the armed forces dealing with the safety and defence of the Soviet frontiers, the technical reconstruction of the Red Army, on its readiness at any moment to drive out any "hogs who come thrusting their snouts into the Soviet garden."

The conclusion of Voroshilov's speech, in which he referred to the gigantic forces of the working class and collective peasantry, which stand firmly round the Leninist Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, called forth a tremendous ovation, the delegates rising from their seats. The ovation grew into a perfect tornado of applause as Comrade Stalin took his place among the members of the Presidium.

Among the speakers at to-day's session were Comrades Preobrashensky and Tomsky. The former Trotskyist, Preobrashensky, told the Congress of his active fight, extending over a number of years, against the Party. Preobrashensky dealt in his speech with the different stages of his fight against the Party in the ranks of the Trotskyists and declared: "I am ashamed to speak of this time." In conclusion he sincerely acknowledged his guilt to the Party, although he believed there was no great merit in having taken this step so late. He is now prepared to devote the whole of his energies to the solution of the sublime tasks now confronting the Party—to the building up of the classless society.

Comrade Shvernik then took the floor. In reply to the speech of Preobrashensky, he pointed out that it was impossible for Preobrashensky to have combated the class enemy, as he maintained, because he himself was its representative and spokesman. Shvernik then spoke of the growth of the working class and the trade union organisations of the Soviet Union and their huge successes in raising the material and cultural standard of living of the working people. The Soviet worker, declared Comrade Shvernik, faces the future with confidence. The number of workers in the Soviet Union had doubled in the last five years and the wages fund had increased threefold. In 1933 about five million roubles had been expended on social insurance of the workers and employees. 13,700,000 roubles had been expended on the cultural requirements of the working people.

The next speaker after Shvernik was the representative of the Urals, Kabakov. He, too, dealt at the commencement of his speech with the statements of Preobrashensky, which he described as the spinelessness of a rotten intellectual. Kabakov told the Congress of the changes which had taken place in the Urals in the last few years. The socialist Urals embodied in the most magnificent manner the general line of the Party laid down by Stalin. A whole number of centres of industry had arisen in the Urals: Swerdlovsk, Perm, Cheliabinsk, Tagil, Magnitogorsk, etc. In the last three and a half years alone 200 new undertakings had commenced operations and 23 new branches of industry created. At the time of the Sixteenth Party Congress there was only one technical institute in the Urals, whilst to-day there are twenty such institutes. These facts alone illustrate in the most striking manner the socialist advance of the Urals.

The next speaker after Kabakov was Tomsky. His speech, which was devoted to analysing the line of the Right opposition, was constantly interrupted by the delegates. Tomsky recognised that the platform of the Right constituted an anti-Leninist, re-

formist platform, the realisation of which would only have brought grist to the mill of the class enemy and brought about the victory of the class enemy. Tomsky said that the Right opposition had formally kept "within the bounds of Party legality," but at the same time declared that the bounds of the Party had proved too narrow for the Right opposition, and that this is what had caused him to attack Stalin, who embodies the unity of the Party.

The delegates demanded of Tomsky that he speak of his connections with the Eismont-Smirnov counter-revolutionary group. "We bear the full responsibility for this group," declared Tomsky. "In particular my close relations with Smirnov gave the counter-revolutionary group the possibility of hiding behind my name." In conclusion, Tomsky assured the Congress of his readiness to fight right up to the end for the general line of the Party.

The last speaker in the discussion was Comrade Kirov. He spoke of the great Leninist Party and its splendid victories, which it had achieved under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee with the greatest leader of our time, Comrade Stalin, at the head. "In the light of these results," said Kirov, "the leaders of the various oppositions who have come forward here cut pitiable figures. In the decisive fight of the working class our oppositionals had remained in the rear. The Party, with Stalin at the head, successfully carried on the fight for the building of socialism in our country. We have listened to Comrade Bukharin's speech. He sings as if nothing had happened. He sings according to the notes, but he lacks the voice. With regard to Comrades Rykov and Tomsky, who have spoken here, they cannot even sing according to the notes. I quite realise that it is hard for them to take their places in our ranks all at once. Our Congress is a congress of victors." Kirov declared, amidst tremendous enthusiasm, that in the fight for the cause of Lenin and Stalin the Leningrad proletariat had not stood in the last ranks, and also in the future would be a powerful storm division which would support the Leninist C.C. with all its strength and fulfil the great task of realising the classless socialist society.

The speech of Comrade Kirov concluded the discussion on the report of the Central Committee, after which Comrade Stalin delivered his speech in reply to the discussion.

#### Report of Comrade Rudzutak

Moscow, February 1, 1934.

At to-day's session Comrade Rudzutak, Chairman of the Central Control Commission, delivered his report on the C.C.C. and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. Comrade Rudzutak devoted the first part of his report to the results of the struggle of the Party against the class enemy and its ideologists. Whilst the enemies of the working class in the capitalist countries unfurled the fighting banner against the great teachings of Marx and Lenin, and assumed that they would succeed in annihilating Marxism, the Seventeenth Party Congress of the working class in the Soviet country is drawing the balance of the victories of socialism achieved under the leadership of the Leninist Party.

Rudzutak then proceeded to deal with a number of problems raised in the report of Comrade Stalin and confirmed by means of numerous examples the absolute correctness of the principles laid down by Stalin. In characterising the work of the various branches of industry, Rudzutak called the attention of the Party before all to the shortcomings and deficiencies still existing in their work and to the problem of quality. The quality of work is decisive. Meanwhile inferior quality is no rare exception. At the same time the factories and workshops, collective farms and transport furnish numerous examples of splendid, precise work. Rudzutak then quoted a whole number of such examples. Comrade Rudzutak subjected the work of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and the work of its provincial bodies in the sphere of cattle breeding to a sharp criticism.

In the second part of his report, Rudzutak spoke of the result of the Party purging which had been concluded in ten districts of the Soviet Union. The purging has rid the Party of opportunists, hypocrites and alien class elements who had crept into the Party, and from undisciplined elements; in short, of all elements which hampered socialist construction. As a result of the purging there is to be recorded a raising of the ideological and political level and a strengthening of the connections of the Party with the masses. Up to January, 1934, 1,149,850 members and candidates of the Party had been examined. Of these, 17 per cent. were expelled, 6 per cent. transferred to the position of can-

didates or registered as sympathisers. The greater part of those expelled had joined the Party only in the last three or four years.

In the concluding part of his report Rudzutak dealt with the necessity of reorganising the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The C.C.C. and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, he said, is fighting in the foremost ranks of the banner-bearers of socialism. They have honourably fulfilled their tasks. The situation has now changed, the conditions and the methods of work are different, and therefore the Party must adjust the control organs to the Party and Soviet line. Rudzutak concluded his report amidst tempestuous applause by expressing the firm assurance that the proletariat, which to-day, under the banner of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, had been victorious on one-sixth of the globe, would to-morrow achieve victory throughout the whole world.

The first speaker in the discussion on Comrade Rudzutak's report was Comrade Maria Uljanova (Lenin's sister), who was greeted with prolonged applause. We owe our brilliant achievements, she said, in the first place to the circumstance that the Party has been led during the last ten years by Lenin's best comrade-in-arms, Comrade Stalin. Comrade Uljanova then pointed out that the Bolsheviks do not allow themselves to become giddy from success and to become arrogant as a result of their achievements. Numerous defects and shortcomings still existed. In order to overcome them successfully it was necessary to reorganise the Party and Soviet control bodies in such a manner as is outlined in the theses of Comrade Kaganovitch.

The next speaker was Comrade Yaroslavsky, who was greeted with applause. At this Party Congress, he said, everybody felt very strongly the closeness of the ultimate victory of Communism. If we looked back on the path traversed by the Party in the thirty years of its existence we are filled with great happiness, and everybody realised that we had achieved our victories only because we followed unswervingly the line pointed out by Lenin, because the Party maintained unity in its ranks, shattered all opportunists and conducted an irreconcilable struggle against them. Yaroslavsky then dealt with the struggle which the C.C.C. has waged against the Trotskyists, Right opportunists, conciliators and all anti-Party groups. He then referred to the question of reorganising the Party and Soviet control apparatus and the results of the Party purging. He emphasised as one of the great achievements of the Party the increase of the workers in the Party.

After the discussion the Party Congress adopted the following resolution:—

"Having heard the report of Comrade Rudzutak, the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. fully approves the work of the Central Control Commission and of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection."

#### Report of Comrade Manuilski

At the morning session of February 2, the Congress heard the report of the C.P.S.U. delegation to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Klavdia Nikolaeva, who opened the meeting, gave the floor to Comrade Manuilski, whose appearance the delegates to the Congress greeted by rising and applauding warmly.

The prognosis given by Comrade Stalin at the Sixteenth Congress, said Manuilski, which represented a detailed analysis of the contemporary condition of world capitalism, has been confirmed during the past years by the whole process of world development. The world is approaching its second round of revolutions and wars. Five years of economic crisis has shaken the world system of capitalism, deepened its general crisis, created conditions for the growth of the general crisis into a revolutionary crisis. During these five years the political and economic might of the Soviet Union has grown. The Soviets of China are gaining strength.

A monstrous and hopeless poverty is spreading throughout the countries of capital. Millions of workers have been left destitute as a result of the crisis and of rationalisation measures. The right to work has become a privilege which the fascists are utilising to split the working class.

Dwelling upon the sharpening of imperialist contradictions, Manuilski pointed out that these contradictions have reached a point where the question of dividing up the world has become even more acute than in 1914. A new imperialist war has become the order of the day. Preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. are forging rapidly ahead. Only the fear on the part of the bour-

geoisie of a proletarian revolution checks its aspirations toward reducing the period of these preparations.

The elements of revolutionary crisis are growing everywhere, although unequally. The strength of the proletarian revolution is growing, although in the great majority of countries it is still unprepared for an immediate revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The heavy thunderclouds are rent by fiery lightning flashes, heralding the coming revolutions—mass workers' strikes, peasant uprisings, army mutinies. The feverish preparation by the world bourgeoisie for a new imperialist war, its trend toward fascism, or in other words toward direct and open terrorist dictatorship, display the weakness of the bourgeoisie, which is already finding itself incapable of governing by "normal," "democratic" methods.

Manuilski dwelt in particular detail on the reactionary role of the German fascists and the Japanese militarists, who are dreaming of a crusade against world Bolshevism. A military attack on the U.S.S.R., emphasised Manuilski, will unloose the forces of the World Proletarian Revolution and hasten the inevitable downfall of the capitalist system.

Manuilski went on to reveal the unheard-of treachery of German social democracy and the entire Second International, whose whole policy paved the way for bloody fascist dictatorship.

"The Second International," resumed Manuilski, "is the chief buttress of world reaction. It is now playing the same role in the deception of the masses by the bourgeoisie, as was formerly played by the Church."

Amid general laughter, Manuilski quoted aloud the latest "discovery" made by social democratic theoreticians, displaying their colossal ideological muddle-headedness. Among these new "formulations," which mask a direct treachery to the interests of the proletariat, were, "We are for socialism, but without the proletarian revolution," and "We are in favour of the proletarian revolution but without a proletarian dictatorship."

Going over to an appraisal of the work of the Comintern for the period under review, Manuilski emphasised with particular force the fact that those successes which a number of sections have to their credit have been achieved because the Comintern follows the path that Lenin led, and which is being led by the wise teacher, the leader of the working class throughout the whole world, Comrade Stalin. (Stormy applause.)

In the first place the Communist Parties themselves have grown considerably during the past years. The greatest achievement in this respect has been attained by the Chinese Communist Party, whose membership for the year 1933 alone rose by 120,000.

The Chinese Communist Party is undoubtedly one of the best militant detachments of the Communist International.

The next militant detachment of the Comintern, continued Manuilski, one which has made great strides during the past period is the heroic Communist Party of Germany (thunderous applause). Notwithstanding the fact that it has been driven underground, notwithstanding the frightful fascist terror, the German Communist Party is working heroically, as on the battle front, in true Bolshevik manner.

The German Communist Party has almost 100,000 members among whom are some of the best German proletarians who have experienced the heavy burden of the fascist regime (stormy applause). "Those who have joined the German Party during the past year," said Manuilski, "were true heroes, the most valuable of the German working class. They represent true proletarian gold!" (Stormy applause.) The heroic German Communist Party working under the severe and dangerous conditions of underground activities, with its best representatives, including Comrade Thaelmann, languishing in fascist prisons (deafening applause, all rise to their feet)—under these conditions the German Party is forging new forces, hardened in the fierce struggle with fascism.

The whole world admired the heroic behaviour of Georg Dimitrov at the Leipzig trial (all the delegates rise and applaud), where he revealed to the working class of the whole world the filthy blood-besmirched face of German fascism.

During these years we also have a growth of the Communist ranks in other sections of the Communist International: in France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and so on.

Manuilski further characterised in detail the heroic work of the Communist Party of Japan, which is carrying on a stubborn struggle against intervention in China. The Japanese Party serves as an example of correct organisation and widespread mass Bol-

shevik struggle against imperialist war and their own bourgeoisie.

The Communist Parties of the Third International have learnt from their great teachers, Lenin and Stalin, to fight uncompromisingly against all deviations. In the fight on two fronts the Communist International has achieved a close welding of its ranks which cannot be shaken by any power on earth to-day. (Long applause.)

The Communists of all countries are learning from Stalin to fight and to conquer, to look ahead vigilantly, to accumulate strength and deal decisive blows to the class enemy. The Communists of the brotherly Communist Parties know that the cause of Lenin—the cause of the world proletarian revolution—is in safe hands. (The Congress rises to its feet and gives a warm ovation to Stalin.)

Under the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin we will conquer throughout the world. (Cries of "Hurrah". The Congress rises to its feet.)

The evening session, which was held under the chairmanship of Comrade Postyshev, developed into an impressive demonstration of international proletarian solidarity. One after another, the representatives of Communist brother Parties mounted the platform: Comrades Wan-Min (China), Okano (Japan), Heckert (Germany), Dolorez (Spain), Belevski (Poland), Rust (England). They all emphasised the tremendous role the leading Party of the Comintern, the C.P.S.U., as the shock brigade of world Bolshevism, and the leader of world proletariat, Comrade Stalin, are playing in the Communist world movement.

Comrades Bela Kun, Knorin and Losovsky then spoke in the discussion on the report of Comrade Manuilsky. Comrade Popov, in the name of the Moscow, Leningrad and Ukrainian delegations, brought in a resolution on the report of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in which the political line and the practical work of the delegation are fully approved of. The resolution was adopted unanimously amidst the stormy applause of the whole Congress.

#### The Composition of the Seventeenth Party Congress—Report of the Credentials Committee

The Party statutes provide that at the Party Congress, every delegate representing 1,500 Party members has a decisive vote, and every delegate representing 3,000 candidates has an advisory vote. The Credentials Commission confirmed 1,225 mandates with decisive votes and 736 mandates with advisory votes. Thus there are present at the Party Congress 1,961 delegates representing 1,872,488 Party members and 935,298 candidates; 598 delegates, or 48.5 per cent. of the delegates with decisive votes, are attending the Party Congress for the first time. This figure shows that the Party has promoted a tremendously large stratum of active Party members into leading political positions. This development is specially characteristic of the Party organisations of Moscow and Leningrad, the delegations of which show the highest percentage of delegates who are attending the Party Congress for the first time, viz., Moscow 51.2 per cent. and Leningrad 59.3 per cent.; 80 per cent. of the Party delegates with decisive votes joined the Party during the years of illegality and civil war, i.e., before 1920; 75 per cent. of the delegates with decisive votes have participated in civil war. It is characteristic that the Party members who joined before 1920 constitute only 10 per cent. of the membership, whilst at the Party Congress their percentage is 80. The main bulk of the Party Congress delegates are workers, who constitute 60 per cent. of the delegates with decisive votes, whilst the peasants are represented by 8 per cent. The number of agricultural worker delegates is particularly great; also the number of delegates who have passed through high or secondary schools has grown since the Sixteenth Party Congress. Whilst at the Sixteenth Party Congress 4.4 per cent. of the delegates with decisive votes had attended high schools, this percentage has grown to 10 at the Seventeenth Party Congress; 15.7 per cent. of the delegates to the Sixteenth Party Congress had been trained in secondary schools, whilst at the Seventeenth Party Congress this percentage had increased to 30 per cent. Among the delegates with decisive votes there are 265, i.e., 21.6 per cent., with Party-political training, 37 of them had passed through the Institute of Red Professors, and 118 had attended higher courses of Marxism. At the Sixteenth Party Congress only 179 delegates, or 14 per cent., of the Party Congress delegates had a complete political training.

The Party Congress approved the report of the Credentials Commission.

## The White Terror

### The Process in Luck

By R. Seldt

On February 5, 1934, a trial will begin in Luck which has not its equal in the history of Polish class-justice. Fifty-seven workers and peasants will be in the dock charged with "membership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and the maintenance of connections with other persons with a view to severing the south-western districts from Poland and securing their annexation by the Soviet Union," and further with "attempts to overthrow the existing State power in Poland and to replace it by a Communist Soviet power."

The process is the result of the tremendous events of 1930 in Western Ukraine. In 1930 the whole of the toiling population of Western Ukraine took up the struggle against Polish capitalism and imperialism. Great mass demonstrations were carried out by the landworkers who also fought bitterly against wage cuts. During the struggle against the attempts of the authorities to recover overdue taxes by violence numerous granaries belonging to rich agrarians went up in flames. The rapidly increasing number of these fires threw the Polish authorities into a panic. As the local authorities were absolutely helpless in face of the situation, punitive expeditions were sent into the affected districts composed of the most reliable military detachments. These punitive expeditions had orders to restore "law and order" at all costs. A bloody orgy of repression began in Western Ukraine and it would be difficult to find its equal in the history of Europe. Without even having been previously examined, men, women and even children were fearfully beaten by the representatives of "civilised Poland." Limbs and ribs were broken, skulls broken. The peasants were compelled to lick the boots of the invading Uhlans and to beat each other for the amusement of the conquerors.

Mass arrests of revolutionary workers and peasants took place throughout Western Ukraine. From all over the country the "ringleaders" were brought together in the building of the "Defensive" (the Polish political police) and there subjected to fearful tortures. Neither the attempts of the Polish authorities to hush up the brutalities nor the howls of the social-fascists about the fate of the Brest prisoners were able to prevent the agonised groans and screams of the Luck martyrs from being heard outside Poland. The international protest movement which was organised took on widespread forms. The proofs were so indisputable that even the bourgeois and social-democratic newspapers were compelled to admit the prisoners had been tortured by the police, and the Polish authorities were compelled to institute a farcical inquiry against the notorious Police Commissar Zarembo, known as the hangman of Volhynia. The end of the comedy was that Zarembo was sent to take charge of another police prison.

The happenings in Luck were by no means isolated examples. Luck opened up the stage of bloody punitive expeditions in the history of the working-class and peasant movement of Poland and since then these expeditions have become a normal phenomenon. Now, three and a half years after their arrest, 57 workers and peasants are to be brought to trial. After numerous postponements the trial has been fixed to begin on February 5. This process is the final link in a chain of trials in connection with the events of 1930 during the course of which 300 workers and peasants arrested at that time have been tried. All the previous trials (in Lemberg, Tarnopol and Przemyśl) ended with terms of hard labour up to 16 years for each prisoner. A number of prominent leaders of the toilers of Western Ukraine are amongst the accused in the coming trial in Luck, including the chairman of the suppressed national-revolutionary workers' and peasants' party of Western Ukraine (Selrob), *Durdello*, who was formerly a member of the Seym. One of the other prisoners arrested at the time was *Steyan Boiko*, but he has since been murdered whilst in prison awaiting trial because he refused to make the statements desired of him.

Polish fascism will, of course, do its utmost to prevent the question of the fearful tortures to which the prisoners have been subjected while in the hands of the police from being brought up in court. In connection with this process the attention of the workers of the world must be directed to the happenings in Western Ukraine, the military field of operations of the Polish and

the international bourgeoisie for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The leader of the Polish hangmen, Pilsudsky, must be deprived of his trump card, his hope that he can intimidate the workers and peasants of Western Ukraina and thus create for the bourgeois a secure and peaceful hinterland for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

However, the revolutionary movement which Pilsudsky had hoped to drown in blood in 1930 has rapidly recovered and extended to still further masses of the workers and peasants. In 1933 revolutionary actions against forced auctions and punitive expeditions embraced tens of thousands of workers and peasants, and in a number of districts there were even new armed revolts. The revolutionary organisations of Poland are carrying on a mass campaign of protest against the bestial tortures which are being perpetrated in the prisons of Polish fascism and for the release of the Luck martyrs. International proletarian solidarity must come to the assistance of the workers and peasants of Poland in their struggle against the white terror and for the release of the prisoners of Luck and all other political prisoners. The struggle for the release of the tortured workers and peasants of Luck must develop into a struggle against the system of police tortures, punitive expeditions, the brutal fascist prison regime and the exceptional courts.

## The Lives of the Condemned Rumanian Railway Workers in Danger

By V. Gradinaru

The appeal proceedings filed by the Rumanian railway workers convicted in connection with the revolutionary struggles in February, 1933, will begin on the 7th February before the Supreme Court of Appeal after having been postponed on several occasions. The Tatarescu government has chosen its moment well to dispose of the appeal of the railwaymen. Martial law and strict censorship have been established in almost all proletarian centres. The bourgeois and social-democratic press has been instructed by the government to ignore the appeal proceedings and the agitation amongst the working masses, and in particular amongst the railwaymen, for the release of their leaders who have been sentenced to a total of 500 years' hard labour.

The government has taken the severest measures in order to silence the courageous fighters who defended themselves like real revolutionaries before the court martial which sentenced them. Shortly before the appeal proceedings were to begin, Comrades Konstantin Doncea and Georg Petrescu, who were sentenced to hard labour for life, Comrades Gheorghiu, Vassil Stoica and G. Vasilache, who were sentenced to from 15 years' to 20 years' hard labour each, were taken in the night out of their cells and terribly beaten up and then, without the least reason being given, transferred to the prison of Vacaresti, where the torturers wished to impress on them how they should behave themselves when they came before the high Commissioner.

A second group of the convicted railwaymen were taken in the night to the prison of Doftana. On the way they were terribly maltreated. In the prison of Doftana they were stripped naked and again terribly beaten. They were then chained hand and foot and flung into the notorious "H" cells, whose floors are covered with water to prevent the prisoners lying down. Comrades Eskenazi, Melcar and Magyar were put to the torture.

In Temesvar the textile workers of the factory "Industria Lanel" and the railwaymen of the town will go on strike and carry on intensive agitation for the release of their arrested comrades on the 7th February, the day of the beginning of the appeal proceedings.

The Siguranza has arrested eight workers, including Wurmbrand, who was one of the accused at the trial of the railwaymen. Even the bourgeois press was compelled (on account of the new wave of excitement amongst the workers) to publish the news of the arrests and to admit that the arrested workers had been maltreated by the police. The newspapers report that the eight arrested workers are to come up for trial before a court martial in Temesvar. It must not be forgotten that a few months ago the Siguranza in Temesvar murdered the Communist worker Encel, and that the Siguranza Inspector Gritti, who committed the murder, is the man in charge of the torture and maltreatment of prisoners in the cellars of the Siguranza in Temesvar. The life of Comrade Wurmbrand and the lives of the seven other workers arrested with him are in terrible danger.

Despite a fierce wave of terror, the Rumanian bourgeoisie is not able to crush the new strike movement which is sweeping through the country and strike is following strike in rapid succession.

In Brasov the metal workers of the "Schiel" factory are on strike, as are also the 3,000 workers of the "Scherg" works, to secure wage increases and for the recognition of the factory councils. Five hundred working girls in the local chocolate factory have also gone on strike to secure the reinstatement of a dismissed girl. They have occupied the factory.

In the districts Giuc, Trei-Scaune, and Odorhei the poor peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have organised mass marches into the nearby forests, where they have cut down sufficient timber to serve them as fuel throughout the winter, although this is strictly prohibited.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that in the Sibiu district, where the German nationalists have considerable influence, the workers have taken up the struggle for their economic and political demands, under the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions.

All the strikes which have taken place during the past few weeks in Bucharest (match factory "Schmidt"), in Comanesti (the local mines), Brasov, Sibiu, Temesvar, etc., have all been of an offensive nature. The revolutionary trade unions have linked up the economic struggles of the workers with the fight for the release of the imprisoned railwaymen. On account of these struggles the Tatarescu government has taken the severest measures in order to prevent demonstrations on the 7th February.

All the mass organisations of the Rumanian working class, with the Communist Party at the head, have put forward the slogan of meetings, demonstrations and political mass strikes on the 7th February, and this slogan has been taken up by the working masses with tremendous enthusiasm.

The treatment accorded to proletarian political prisoners has become still worse. In Yassy, an important railway centre, 40 revolutionary workers are being held in the prison of Galata, which is one of the worst in Rumania. These proletarian political prisoners have protested energetically against being treated as common criminals. The Siguranza has begun proceedings for "mutiny" against the prisoners on account of this protest, and the trial will take place in a day or so before a court martial in Yassy. Amongst the accused is Dr. Abramovici, who was tortured continually for six months in the headquarters of the Siguranza in order to compel him to "confess" to having conducted espionage.

Over 50 revolutionary proletarian political prisoners are being held in Galata. In order to intimidate them the hangman has been sent to the prison from Doftana. In Satu-Maru a new process for "mutiny" is being prepared against the proletarian political prisoners.

The Central Committee of the Red Aid of Rumania has issued an appeal to the working masses against the brutal regime of physical destruction instituted against the proletarian political prisoners, workers, peasants, and intellectuals, in the prisons of Rumania. The appeal calls on the workers to carry on a struggle for the release of the convicted railwaymen and to hold meetings, demonstrations and strikes on the 7th February.

The Central Committee of the Red Aid of Rumania has sent a united front offer to the social-democratic party and to the reformist trade union organisations. The leaders of the social-democratic party and of the reformist trade unions have cynically rejected this offer and have issued instructions to the workers in their organisations not to take part in any meetings, demonstrations or strikes on the 7th February organised by the Red Aid, and have threatened with expulsion any workers who defy these instructions.

However, the appeal of the revolutionary organisations for the release of the railwaymen and all other proletarian political prisoners has met with a great response amongst the masses of the workers and amongst numerous intellectuals. Organised and unorganised workers, social democrats and members of the reformist and revolutionary trade unions are joining with their Communist fellow-workers in the organisation of mass action on the 7th February to save the imprisoned railwaymen.

The international proletariat must support the workers of Rumania, who are fighting on an important sector of the international class struggle, as Rumania is a next-door neighbour of the Soviet Union.

## Increase the Campaign against the New Death Sentences on Soldiers and Sailors in Bulgaria!

By Alex.

On January 25 there commenced before the Military Court in Sofia a monster trial of 69 accused: 12 workers and peasants, 15 soldiers, 20 sailors, as well as 20 petty officers and officers of the navy. The Public Prosecutor has demanded the death sentence for 20 of the accused. Up to now the bourgeois press and the authorities have not allowed any details of this trial to leak out.

In the course of hardly a year over a dozen political trials of soldiers and fighters against war have taken place in Bulgaria. Of the 278 accused (188 soldiers and 90 civilians) 55 were sentenced to death. Prison sentences amounting in all to 805 years and fines totalling 4,637,000 leva were imposed. Several of the accused were murdered before the trial.

These figures speak for themselves. In Bulgaria there is scarcely a garrison town in which wholesale arrests of soldiers and recruits are not carried out, in which monster trials before the Military Court have not taken place. These trials, with their numerous death sentences, are nothing else but judicial murders. The accused workers and soldiers are arrested simply on account of anti-war and revolutionary propaganda, for painting anti-war slogans and slogans calling for the defence of the Soviet Union on the walls of the barracks, for hoisting the red flag, distributing appeals against war and the newspaper "Red Soldier," etc. In addition, the soldiers and workers are tried for founding anti-militarist cells in the army. The statements extorted from the accused by means of torture, and which they retract at the trial, the statements of police agents and spies and also the "confessions" of people who have been murdered or have "disappeared without leaving a trace" are regarded as valid "evidence" against the accused. A further example of the arbitrary manner in which the Military Courts proceed against the revolutionary soldiers. In a trial of soldiers in Shumia, 16 soldiers were condemned to death. On appeal, however, the Court of Appeal decided that instead of 16 only seven should be sentenced to death. It is characteristic that among those sentenced to death are also the accused who have "disappeared without leaving a trace"; that is to say, have been done to death during the preliminary examination, and the four accused (a soldier, a student and two women students) who were "missing" at the trial. They were sentenced to death "in contumacia," in order thus to legalise their murder after the event.

The overwhelming majority of the soldiers have borne themselves bravely and courageously before the Military Court. This arouses the fear and fury of the military authorities and the rulers of Bulgaria. This brave attitude, on the other hand, calls forth sympathy and enthusiasm among the working population and the soldiers. The soldier named **Velev**, one of the accused in the trial in Plovdiv (his "crime" consisted in his having hoisted a red flag in the barrack yard), refused to petition the king for pardon. In spite of cruel torture in the barrack cells, he declared that he preferred to die rather than to request pardon of the hangman of the people.

The mass trials of soldiers and workers are closely connected with the extremely acute economic and political crisis in Bulgaria. The discontent of the workers is increasing and a wave of strikes is sweeping the country. The wholesale ruin of the peasantry creates the prerequisites for peasant revolts. The revolutionary upsurge in the factories and also in the rural districts is spreading to the soldiers and sailors.

The protest movement is growing and has recently undergone a tremendously rapid development in connection with the campaign for the release of Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov, and Tanev (protest strikes, demonstrations, in which it came to bloody collisions with the police). Committees for the rescue of the soldiers condemned to death have been set up in a number of towns, such as Plovdiv and Sofia. The international campaign to save the three Bulgarians who have been acquitted in Leipzig must be linked up with the campaign for the rescue of the revolutionary soldiers and sailors in Bulgaria who are facing trial or have already been sentenced to death. Mass protest resolutions must be sent to the Military Court in Sofia and also to the Bulgarian government in order to enforce the cessation of all trials of soldiers and the immediate release of all accused revolutionary workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors and to prevent the carrying out of the death sentences already pronounced.

## Scottsboro Again Re-Echoes over the World

By Frank Walter (New York)

On June 22, 1933, Judge Horton, who presided at the second Scottsboro trial (in Decatur, Alabama, April, 1933), wrote in his "opinion":—

"the testimony of the prosecutrix (Victoria Price, the prostitute who accused the boys of rape—F.W.) in this case is not only uncorroborated, but it also bears on its face indications of improbability and is contradicted by other evidence, and in addition thereto the evidence greatly preponderates in favour of the defendant."

This judge, who is no whit better than the whole tribe of southern white landlords, wrote these lines in deadly fear of the aroused mass anger. Thus for the first time in the Scottsboro case, out of their own mouths, came the white lynchers' admission of the truth of the charges made by the I.L.D.U.S.A. Section that the Scottsboro boys were framed-up.

Seven months later, at the end of the third trial, another lynch judge sentenced Haywood Patterson, one of the nine Scottsboro boys:—

"I order the warden to put you to death by causing a current of electricity to pass through your body; the current to continue until you are dead."

This was the third time in three years that this 20-year-old working-class youth had listened to these very same words, though coming from different mouths. With these words the white southern plantation owners once again threw a challenge to the world toilers whose thunderous protests, organised and led by the I.L.D., wrested the innocent boys' lives out of the lynchers' clutches. This challenge did not come as a surprise. The November Scottsboro death sentence was ushered in under a reign of the most bestial lynch terror against Negroes, in which the "democracy" of U.S.A. capitalism vied for the first honours in medieval fiendishness with the fascism of German capitalism.

In this lynch orgy all traces were erased between the "representatives of law and order" and the lynch mobs—government officials were either themselves the leaders of the lynch mobs (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Princess Anne, Maryland) or they formed an integral part of the mob. All the lynchings that occurred during the period approaching the trial, including the lynching of a Negro in Decatur, almost on the eve of the trial, were carried out as a part of a plan to terrorise and demoralise the Negro people, isolate them from the white toilers and "end once and for all" the Scottsboro case by a "lynch party" before or during the trial.

The white landlords made little efforts to conceal their plan. Their servants, the State officials, lodged the seven boys, who faced retrial, in the ramshackle jail at Decatur, a week before the actual trial was to begin, and flatly refused military protection to the boys, who every moment faced the danger of mob lynching.

In the effort to cripple the I.L.D.'s legal defence, every known threat was made against the I.L.D. attorneys, including open and hidden death threats in lynch newspapers. Only the mass anger of the white and Negro masses aroused by the I.L.D. from every corner of the land, compelled the lynchers to beat a temporary retreat. On the night before the trial "special messengers" visited homes of lynchers in Decatur to advise them that the planned massacre of the defendants and their counsel was "called off."

The latest stage of Scottsboro had its world repercussions, as the former stages did. This was made possible by the vigilance of the I.L.D. There were mass protests from toilers and intellectuals, prior to the trial, which served notice upon the American lynchers that the world masses are backing the I.L.D.'s fight for the innocent boys' freedom. These protests were intensified tenfold with the announcement of the new brazen verdict against Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris. The revolutionary Cuban workers smashed the windows of the Havana offices of an American-owned steamship line, in militant demands for the Scottsboro boys' release. Rumanian workers smashed through the fascist government restrictions and openly demonstrated for the Scottsboro boys—linking this fight with their struggle to free the imprisoned Rumanian railroad workers. In nearly all capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial lands the oppressed toilers and peasants made the Scottsboro issue a part of their everyday struggle against capitalist terror, unbridled fascism and imperialist oppression. In the course of the world-wide campaign to free Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev, the I.L.D. Sections also exposed the Scottsboro frame-up,

manufactured by the "democratic" U.S.A. ruling class, as one on a par with the Reichstag fire frame-up, fabricated by the German ruling class through its bloody fascist crew.

The cases of Patterson and Norris will soon again come before the same lynch judge who sentenced them to die. The I.L.D., through its attorneys, is throwing into his face the exposure of his lynch behaviour during the last trials and is demanding a new trial, with Negroes on the jury. If denied this, the appeal will be made to the Alabama State Supreme Court, where the top-notch lynchers of the bloody State of Alabama sit in judgment. This court—and as is very probable the U.S. Supreme Court—will not escape the particular issues raised by the I.L.D. in the historic Scottsboro case—the right of the Negroes to sit on juries and the enforcement of the daily violated fundamental constitutional rights of the cruelly-oppressed Negro people in the U.S.A.

The toilers of the world and their organisations, and every person possessing the least sense of elementary human justice, must give all possible support to the I.L.D. in its long and bitter battle to compel American capitalism to release from its clutches the nine suffering Negro youths, whose only "crime" is that they are working-class children and that their skin is black.

## In the International

### The Second Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland

The Second Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland was held in January last. The chief item on the agenda was: The present situation in Poland, and the work of the Communists in the reformist trade unions. Following the political report of Comrade Lenski there took place a detailed discussion which expressed the complete unanimity of the C.C. on all the fundamental political and tactical questions.

The Plenum expressed agreement with the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and pledged all Party organisations to apply these decisions in the daily work of the Party.

The Plenum recorded that the change which has taken place in the international situation of Poland and in the foreign policy of the Pilsudski government was due to the collapse of the Versailles system. The signing by Polish fascism of the Eastern Pact with the Soviet Union was the outcome of the intensified Polish-German antagonism and the fear of the Polish bourgeoisie of a revision of Poland's Western frontiers. The C.C., however, emphasised that the peace manoeuvres of the Pilsudski government in regard to the Soviet Union which aim at strengthening the position of Poland as against Germany, are taking place simultaneously with fresh attempts to bring about an anti-Soviet agreement with the Hitler government. (Polish-Danzig agreement, trade negotiations). The strained Polish-German relations on the one hand, and the anti-Soviet campaign of the Polish bourgeois and social fascist press on the other hand, are enhancing the chauvinist incitement by means of which the Polish bourgeoisie is seeking to break up the revolutionary front of the masses.

The C.C. therefore considered the most important task of the C.P. of Poland at the present moment was the linking up of the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle against chauvinism, against nationalism in all its forms, against the anti-semitic pogrom-incitement and against all forms of nationalist ideology (defence of the fatherland).

The Plenum confirmed the correctness of the slogan of the right of Upper Silesia and of the Polish corridor to self-determination, and emphasised that this slogan can be realised only in the revolutionary struggle against Polish imperialism which occupied these districts by means of force, as well as against German imperialism, which wishes forcibly to annex them.

The whole Plenum of the C.C. referred again and again to the big struggles which had developed during the last few months in town and country, and which are symptomatic of the further revolutionary upsurge. The strike struggles and the peasants' revolts in the year 1933 have confirmed the correctness of the perspective put forward by the Sixth Party Congress of the C.P. of Poland and of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., according to which Poland is immediately approaching a revolutionary crisis.

In this situation the Second Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland laid down as the starting point for the whole activity of the Party and its tactics:

"To expound the problem of power in a systematic and concrete manner to the masses, and the ways and means leading to the seizure of power, and to lead the masses into the immediate struggle for power. This means imparting such a political character to our daily work, to all economic struggles and to the whole of our work in the mass organisations of the workers and peasants, that the masses are plainly shown that a permanent improvement of their situation, a way out of the present crisis is impossible without revolution, without the armed revolt of the workers, peasants and soldiers. This means raising the whole of our work to such a political level that the masses will see in the Party not only the leader of their daily struggles, but also the force which is proceeding to the seizure of power and is capable of achieving this."

The Plenum expressly pointed out the necessity of co-ordinating the struggles of the workers with those of the peasants and of the oppressed nationalities, before all by extending the political mass strike and mass demonstrations. The Plenum emphasised that the recent class struggles of the proletariat lacked a broad wave of strikes and political mass strikes immediately directed against the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski.

"The Party must reply to every attack of fascism, to every expression of fascist terror with all forms of the political struggle which correspond to the mood of the masses (mass meetings, street demonstrations, short protest strikes, etc.). By this means the Party must persistently move in the direction of the general protest strike by carrying out at present a mass action for the propaganda of a one-day general strike against the fascist compulsory arbitration law and the liquidation of social insurance. By this means the Party must lead the masses towards the revolutionary general strike."

The Plenum made a decided turn in regard to the trade union work of the Party:

"The winning of the decisive majority of the proletariat," declares the Plenum, "is impossible without a persistent struggle for the masses organised in the reformist, christian, nationalist and openly fascist trade unions. The Party organisations must send much greater forces into the trade unions, in particular into the reformist trade unions, in order to create a mass position and to develop a broad struggle for every elected position, for the capture of whole lower trade union organisations."

The Plenum linked up the turn in trade union work with the launching of a broad ideological and political offensive against social fascism. The Plenum considered that the tempo of disintegration of the social fascist parties is much too slow and does not correspond to the whole situation of Poland. This is due in the main to the inadequate and not sufficiently concrete exposure of the cunning manoeuvres of the social fascists, before all in regard to the most important question of power.

The Plenum devoted particular attention to the situation in the occupied Ukrainian and White Russian districts. The national emancipation movement in these districts is characterised by a growing militancy of the peasant masses against national oppression and the Polish occupation. This movement has a predominantly spontaneous character. The Plenum called attention to the necessity for the Communist Parties of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia to launch a broad offensive against Ukrainian and White Russian nationalism, to expose the nationalist organisations as agencies of Polish and German imperialism, and to strengthen the confidence of the broad masses in the national policy of the Soviet Republics. The C.P. of the Western Ukraine must sharply combat every nationalist and national-opportunist deviation in its ranks. In the first place the counter-revolutionary, nationalist ideology of Vassilkov as well as the national-opportunist views of Skripnik, to which some of the Party activists succumbed, must be energetically overcome.

In regard to organisational questions, the Second Plenum worked out concrete instructions for raising the political level of the Party cadres, improving the methods of work, increasing the fight against provocation, gossiping and organisational light-mindedness.

The Second Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland will undoubtedly help to strengthen the active and leading role of the Party not only in the economic, but also in the political struggles which are at present sweeping more and more over the whole of Poland and are immediately directed against the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski.



## India

# A Few Facts of History

The events of the past months bring out clearly that the revolutionary camp in India continues to gain strength. The assertions that all is "quiet" do not conform with reality. It is enough to point to the peasants' uprising in the *Alwar* State affecting more than 80,000 peasants, and the growing strike wave, to prove that it is not quiet. This compels us again to consider the reasons why the organisation of the Communist Party proceeds so slowly, and why the proletariat is so slow in winning the hegemony in the mass, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement.

We are compelled to say that the development of the Communist Party lags behind the spontaneous development of the proletarian movement and the growth of the working-class consciousness.

In their open letter to the Indian Communists, the Central Committees of the Chinese, British and German Communist Parties pointed out at the beginning of 1932, that "the organisation of a mass all-Indian Communist Party" lagged behind, whereas the "objective conditions and the growth of class consciousness of the proletariat" provided the conditions for the solution of the problem of the organisation of a Communist Party and added that in the future everything depends "on the endeavours, the energy, the unselfish struggle and the correct policy of the Indian Communists."

The growth in the labour movement has brought some growth of the Communist ranks. The number of local party organisations has increased, their influence in the trade unions has somewhat increased; in some trade unions the Communists have consolidated their influence, forcing the reformists out. The Communists are leading some strikes and, in a number of cases, the national reformists, under the pressure of the masses, were compelled to adopt their slogans, for example, the slogan of general strike of the textile workers.

The students, dissatisfied with the National Congress and its "left" wing, are being increasingly drawn towards Communism. In *Calcutta*, the students have for the first time organised May Day meetings and have demonstrated on the streets together with the demonstrations of the revolutionary workers.

The same developments are to be seen in *Punjab* and other provinces. Under the influence of the revolutionary developments and owing to the pressure of the international Communist movement among the Communists of India the desire grows to solidify their ranks, to put an end to fractional strife and to create a united Party. (See the leaflet of the *Calcutta* Committee of the Communist Party published in March, 1933.)

There are a number of things which testify to the fact that the turning point in the development of the Indian Communist movement soon will be reached—when a united, powerful Communist Party will emerge in spite of the disorganising activities of the national reformists and provocative work of police agents.

We can easily understand that the conception of renegade Roy and his group that there is no prospect for the rapid formation of a mass "Communist Party," that the workers must support a national revolutionary (!) party, a petty-bourgeois party within which the revolutionary proletariat would play the role of the left flank, is particularly harmful.

In the article "On the Tenth Anniversary of the 'Pravda'" Lenin wrote about India and China:

"But India and China are seething. That is more than seven hundred million persons. . . . There 1905 is approaching irrepressibly and with ever increasing rapidity, with that essential and tremendous difference that in 1905 the revolution in Russia could still be isolated (at least at the beginning), i.e., not drawing other countries into the revolution immediately. But the growing revolutions in India and China already are and were drawn into the revolutionary struggle, into the revolutionary movement, into the international revolution." (Vol. XXVII, p. 293.)

Comrade Stalin, developing this idea, outlined the basic lines which the Communists of India must follow if the revolution is to be victorious. In his speech in 1925, explaining the reformist

nature of the Indian bourgeoisie, Comrade Stalin pointed out what must constitute the basic link in the policy of the Communists:

"The revolution cannot be victorious unless this alliance is broken (of imperialism and the reformist bourgeoisie—Ed.). If we are to break it we must concentrate our attack upon the reformist section of the native bourgeoisie, must expose its treachery, must withdraw the toiling masses from its influence, and must systematically prepare the way for the leadership of the proletariat. In other words, the proletariat of such lands as India must be trained to become the leader in the movement for national emancipation whilst the bourgeoisie and its spokesman must gradually be dislodged from the leadership. The aim, therefore, must be to create a revolutionary, anti-imperialist coalition, and to ensure that within this coalition the role of leader shall be played by the proletariat. . . ."

"But the advanced Communist elements will need to insist upon the independence of the Communist Party in such lands, for the proletariat cannot be prepared for its task as leader, nor can the proletarian leadership be realised by any other than the Communist Party." ("Questions of Leninism," p. 279, Stalin.)

The Indian revolution can be victorious only under the leadership of the proletariat with an independent Communist Party at the head. The formation of such a Communist Party is the basic task, the task of primary importance. But this, unfortunately, the Indian Marxists did not grasp in time, chiefly due to Roy's Menshevik policy.

The labour movement in India is characterised by a zigzag course that coincided with the periods of the upsurge of the revolutionary emancipatory movement.

The first significant step taken by the Indian proletariat dates back as far as 1907-1908 when the first upsurge of the mass movement took place. There was an uprising of the peasants in Punjab and under its influence the toilers of Ravalpindi destroyed the government institutions. At the same time the railway workers declared a "sympathy strike" and stopped the movement of trains on a number of lines. The political strike of the Bombay workers in the summer of 1908, as a protest against the arrest of Tilak, the leader of the national movement, was even bigger. Almost four-fifths of all the Bombay workers participated in the strike. Lenin wrote about this period that "the proletariat of India has already attained the stage of conscious political mass struggle, and since this is so, the song of the British-Russian systems has been sung!" Thus the first appearance of the Indian proletariat on the arena of the mass movement was linked up with the struggle for the independence of the country.

The second stage (1919-1922) of the labour movement again coincided with the second tremendous upsurge of the national emancipatory movement. The differentiation of class forces already began to develop: the struggle of two currents—revolutionary and reformist—took place, and this process, which ran like a red line throughout the history of the national movement from the beginning of the twentieth century up to 1919-1922, brought the beginning of the spontaneous crystallisation of the proletarian camp.

The national-reformist camp of the reformist bourgeoisie was able, however, to retain the dominant positions in the people's movement. However, the spontaneous process of class differentiation manifested itself in a number of strikes, political as well, street clashes, which greatly frightened the Indian bourgeoisie.

The working class during 1919-1922 has developed an energetic strike struggle the like of which had not been seen before. In 1921, 535,000 workers went out on strike; in 1922, 435,000 workers struck, and these figures are far from being complete. Trade unions began to spring up. In the Bombay Presidency alone twenty-two trade unions, numbering 51,472 members, were organised.

The proletariat took a most active part in the struggle for independence. The workers, the city poor and the students com-

prised the most active section of the city demonstrations. The working class not only showed great activity in the struggle for independence, but outstepped the limits of the campaign of "civil disobedience" set out by the Congress.

"We could—said *Gandhi*—ignore Malabar (the uprising of the peasantry.—Ed.); we could also ignore Malagaon. But it is impossible to ignore Bombay." ("Young India.")

Thus in the movement of 1919-1922 which developed under the influence of the October Revolution, we saw the beginning of the process of the formation of the working class into an independent class force, conditions for the formation of a Communist Party have been created.

The third stage of the labour movement was linked up with a new wave, a new upsurge of the independence movement of 1928-1929 which assumed an all-Indian character in 1930. In 1928-1929 there was a tremendous strike wave. In 1928 507,000 workers went out on strike; in 1929, 532,000.

Mass red trade unions sprang up; the destruction of the influence of the Joshi-Giri group, which represents the interests of the British capital, began. Political organisations, newspapers, appeared. A broad strata of workers-activists, who developed through their experience in the labour movement grew up. Wide masses were reached by political agitation. The workers advanced to the vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement. Together with the students they constituted the main contingent of the demonstrations and meetings against the Simon-Whitley Commissions. There took place a number of independent political and anti-imperialist working-class demonstrations under their own slogans (Bombay February demonstration of 1928, etc.). The Indian bourgeoisie began to lose its influence, the old forms of its leadership proved inadequate. The growth of the class consciousness and organisation of the working class was illustrated by the fact that the second Bombay textile strike of 1929 began in an organised way at 12 m. at the call of the Girni Kamgar Union, a call printed in the form of a leaflet, literally a day before the strike. Therefore, this statement of the Open Letter of the three Communist Parties to the Indian Communists that the "working class, beginning with 1928, has aroused the peasantry and the city petty bourgeoisie to a struggle against British imperialism through its mass activity, exerting influence on the development of the national movement of 1930-1931," is completely correct.

In the course of the last fifteen years the working class has accumulated tremendous experience in the class struggle and has, in practice, verified the position of the different classes and political parties. But the proletariat of India has not yet been able to grasp, absorb and utilise to the full extent its experience—because for that the Communist Party is needed. However, this experience is rich and varied enough to ensure the *rapid* creation of a strong Communist Party and transformation of the working class into the *conscious* fighter and leader of the masses. For that is needed the creation of a cadre of active Communists, who could guarantee the development of a Communist movement. In other words, the actual course of the labour movement proves that we can and must solve the task set by the Communist International, the task of organising a Communist Party, and thus of paving the way for the winning of the hegemony by the proletariat.

At the same time we see that the bourgeoisie is drawing further away from the struggle for independence and the defence of the people's interests, and is coming closer to imperialism, to fight against the national revolution. The experience of 1919-1922, the practice of the Swarajist party, the manoeuvres of the National Congress in 1928-1933, the agreement in Karachi, *Gandhi's* participation in the Round Table Conference, and so on, all prove this in a most clear way.

India can be emancipated and the landlord money-lending system of exploitation can be destroyed only through the people's revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat. And therefore it is not without reason that the imperialist and the national-reformist camp have done and are doing practically everything they can in order to delay the process of the transformation of the working class into an independent political force.

What is it that kept the proletariat from turning into an independent leading class force?

The main difficulty was the existence of the widespread illusions of an all-national united front, which actually meant the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, to its leader-

ship. India is a colony of British imperialism and the absolute rule of British imperialism impudently trampled on the elementary rights of the masses. The Indian bourgeoisie, whose policy amounted to liberal-passive opposition and efforts to make an agreement with British capitalism, this Indian bourgeoisie proved capable to exploit for its own ends the sacred hatred of the people against the British oppressors. At the same time, the bourgeoisie of India fought against the revolution and were ready to drown the uprising of the toiling masses in blood. But the toiling masses saw but one aspect of this policy—the "opposition" activity of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie at the same time covered itself up with the National Congress, designating it to the masses as an all-national, non-class organisation.

Thus the national issue, the hatred of the toiling masses for British imperialism was at the beginning of the mass independence movement successfully used by the bourgeoisie (which as a matter of fact sabotaged the struggle for independence) to consolidate its position. This was done under the pretext of united front against imperialism. As the struggle for freedom developed, national reformism tried to disorganise this struggle, to lead the toiling masses off the revolutionary path, and direct it into reformist, *Gandhi* channels of passive non-violence, Round Table Conference, etc. The national bourgeoisie, up to a certain stage of the development of class differentiation, was able to exploit the burning desire of the masses for national independence, to consolidate its positions, posing itself as a "fighter for freedom."

It was much more difficult to expose the reformist role of the Indian bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie of any other country because of the fact that British imperialism appeared before the masses as direct violator; even during strikes on mills that belong to the Indian capitalists, it was the English police that openly enforced the repressive measures. And the Indian bourgeoisie covered up its hatred of the people's revolution by its liberal opposition to the imperialists.

The Indian bourgeoisie has its own "martyrs"—national reformist leaders, *Gandhi*, *Nehru*, and others who are sometimes even put into prison. Besides, unlike China or countries which have their puppet national government (such as Egypt), the complicated situation in India allowed the bourgeoisie greater manoeuvring possibilities. Under these conditions it was more difficult for the proletariat to see the treacherous role of the national reformists, to separate itself and become an independent class force. And this in its turn made the struggle against national reformism more difficult. However, the experience of the class struggle and the independence movement has furnished sufficient material for the toiling masses to begin to realise that the Indian bourgeoisie, national reformism, does not fight for independence but betrays the struggle for independence. The national issue at the present time continues to develop and intensify the mass movement, but at the same time, in contrast to the old times when it was used by the bourgeoisie to consolidate its position, it (the national issue) begins to weaken the forces of national reformism; it begins to help the proletariat to turn into an independent class force, leading the masses, it helps to spread the influence of Communism. It does so because it becomes clear to the masses that the only force which fights to the finish for independence, which is able to organise the scattered masses of the peasants to fight for independence, land, bread and power is the working class headed by the Communist Party. But the absence of a Communist Party made and makes the exposure of liberal-reformist currents more difficult, it makes more difficult the destruction of the illusions of the united all-national front, and the supposed non-class character of the Indian National Congress, etc., it helps the bourgeoisie to spread illusions of all-inclusive national front and fool the masses, and it makes the transformation of the proletariat into the leader of the masses more difficult.

Thus the first difficulty is the difficulty of tearing the proletariat away from the bourgeoisie and of turning it into an independent class force in the conditions when the country is a slave colony of British imperialism and when the proletariat has as an opponent such a shrewd liberal "oppositional" bourgeoisie (particularly its "left"-national reformist wing). This difficult situation is aggravated by the peculiarity of the organisational structure of the National Congress, which combines the maximum centralisation "on the top," which secures the leadership in the hands of the bourgeoisie with considerable amorphousness, so far as the influence of rank and file is concerned, below. Such struc-

ture has helped to spread the illusions of an alleged all-national non-class nature of the National Congress. To sum up, we must clearly understand the role and importance of the struggle for independence for the rapid formation of the mass Communist Party.

The second factor which hampered to no small extent the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the Indian proletariat is the considerable political isolation of backward, semi-feudal India. The crux of the matter is not only that the British enslavers have set up police barriers which prevent revolutionary literature from coming into the country, but that in the country exists unbelievable poverty, that feudal relics and traditions and backwardness play a great role, that the country is greatly divided and provincialism still is an important factor, and all this is utilised to keep the country away from the outside world. All this as well as the great distances and the expensiveness of travelling have been a great obstacle to intercourse between the revolutionaries of India and the Marxists in the West.

"Marxism—wrote Lenin—the only revolutionary theory, has been attained by dint of fifty years of work and sacrifice, through the greatest revolutionary heroism, the most incredible energy, by unselfish pursuit, training, education, practical tests, disappointments, check-up and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the emigration forced by the tsar, revolutionary Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, came into the possession of rich international connections, and of an excellent grasp of the forms and theories of the revolutionary movement such as no other country had." (Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disease.")

In India the revolutionary proletariat, for the last fifteen years, had tested through its own experience the Gandhist national-reformist bourgeois theories and petty bourgeois (including terrorist) theories, and has seen them put into practice.

Revolutionary India is beginning to see with increasing clarity the anti-revolutionary, anti-people's nature of the national-reformists' policy. We see a quest is developing for new theories; there is a growing spontaneous move to socialism, to Bolshevism. A number of revolutionary groups are already calling themselves Bolshevik. Revolutionary India is summing up its past experience and is trying to learn and apply the experience of revolutionary Marxism.

The differentiation of social classes, the bankruptcy of the terrorists and the national-reformists on one side and the experience of the U.S.S.R. where Marxism has been tested successfully and applied in practice and the Soviet Republic of China on the other side, are increasingly attracting the attention and the interest of the Indian proletariat in Marxism-Leninism, are stimulating a great demand for Marxist teachings. However, even now, for a number of reasons, including those of organisational, technical nature, Marxism (in the form of literature as well) is being far too inadequately broadcast. The problem of applying the Bolshevik experience of the international labour movement and of extensively broadcasting Marxism-Leninism has not yet been solved, and this explains, to a large degree, why the process of the organisation of a Communist Party is so slow.

The third factor which hindered the formation of the proletariat into an independent class force was the activities of the bourgeoisie who penetrated the growing mass labour movement and the anti-imperialist movement, spreading the illusions of a united all-national front, in order to seize the leadership over the working class.

The bourgeoisie seized the initiative in the organisation of trade unions. Its task was to prevent the formation of strong, mass, independent, class trade unions. It tried to turn the trade unions from militant organs of class struggle, into a sort of lawyers' offices. The trade unions they created were nothing else but bureaucratic top-narrow organisations where lawyers or other liberal intellectuals were at the head. During strike conflicts these so-called leaders acted as mediators and always brought the conflicts to an end by making a compromise, a compromise to the advantage of the capitalists. These liberal leaders carry on a policy of subordinating the working class to the interests and the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

Gandhi wrote in 1920:—

"The time has passed when all kinds of attempts were made to exploit the proletariat as a pawn in the name of various interests. The situation demands the thorough con-

sideration of those who engage in politics. The proletariat needs friends. It cannot remain without leadership. *What type of people will give this leadership, will solve the problem of the proletariat?* . . . Strikes, the cessation of work, hartals, are, without doubt, marvellous things, but it is easy to exploit them harmfully. . . . We must organise strong trade unions and by no means must the workers strike without the consent of the trade unions." (Young India, p. 730.)

The meaning of this statement is clear, but Gandhi frankly explains further on:—

"We need not be very wise to understand that it is most dangerous to exploit the proletariat politically so long as the workers do not understand the political conditions of the country and are not ready to work in the name of the common welfare." ("Young India," p. 737.)

i.e., we, the bourgeoisie, must understand that there is a danger that the workers will refuse to subordinate themselves to the leadership of a national reformism and might accept the revolutionary methods of fight for independence.

The imperialists, too, took to the organisation of trade unions. They tried to seize the initiative in organising the trade unions—i.e., to disorganise the ranks of the proletariat. Hence two groups of enemies of the working class sprang up within the trade union movement—the *Joshi-Shiva-Rao* group, the agents of British imperialism, i.e., who represent the interests of British capital, and the national-reformist group, *Mehta-Lajpatrai-Ruikar-Atue-Kandalkar* (subsequently *Roy-Kandalkar*)—the agents of the Indian bourgeoisie. The vanguard strata of the working class got a good lesson of the class struggle before it began to understand the true policy of these anti-working-class groups. However, in the period of 1919-1927 both of these groups met no opposition on the part of the revolutionary elements. They came forward as the only claimants to the role of the leaders of the proletariat, thus they had a clear field to hinder the transformation of the proletariat into an independent class force.

The fourth cause of the delay of conversion of the proletariat into an independent class force can be explained by its very structure. The Indian proletariat is a young proletariat with but few workers of the second generation. During the investigation made by the Department of Labour of the conditions of 1,848 Bombay textile workers (1927-1928) it was shown that

37.81%	had worked for less than five years
23.37%	" " from 5 to 10 "
15.78%	" " " 10 " 15 "
9.13%	" " " 15 " 20 "
14.06%	" " for more than 20 "

A group of old workers is growing up, but there are still few workers of the second generation. The majority are connected with the village. The election investigation carried on in Bombay proved that 63 per cent. of the workers from Konkan sent a considerable proportion of their wages to the village. (A single worker sends, approximately, 36 per cent. of his wages.) The greatest number of the workers work in the light industries.

The fluctuation of labour made the organisation of the proletarian ranks more difficult although this also had its positive aspect—the political development of the village, the consolidation of our contacts with it. However, all this explains in part the lack of organisational experience and ability to organise (which is rapidly developing in recent days). The strength of backward traditions and the petty bourgeois psychology and semi-feudal relationships and habits of the village life among the many Indian workers—all played its role. Bourgeois leaders have used all these circumstances to strengthen their influence and keep the workers in submission. Besides, national reformism has exploited the fact that many languages are spoken (for example, the population of Calcutta speaks in Hindi, Tamil, Punjabi, Bengali, etc.), that illiteracy is great, that religious and caste traditions, superstitions and feudal relics exist (some aspects of the jobbers' system, etc.). National reformism used this state of oppression, poverty and downtrodden submissiveness of the people in its attempt to retard the process of class awakening of the proletariat and its becoming an independent class force.

However, this situation in the proletarian movement considerably changed, the process of the consolidation of the working-class ranks, the growth of its consciousness and formation of class trade unions and Communist groups has taken place. It meant that the position of national reformism began to weaken. The absence of a

united Communist Party, or at least, of strong Communist groups, hampered this process and gave a chance to the national reformists (particularly the "lefts") to carry on their disruptive work, without a serious resistance on the Communist side.

The *fifth* circumstance, though not much discussed in our press, is the Menshevik, anti-revolutionary policy and activity of Roy and his followers. Roy's Menshevik policy and his treacherous, anti-revolutionary policy played an extremely harmful role. It demoralised the ranks of the working class on the very basic question—on the question of the hegemony of the proletariat and the formation of a Communist Party.

Instead of fighting consistently for the hegemony of the proletariat, for the transformation of the working class into an independent force and organising a Communist Party, Roy and his present followers adhered from the very beginning to a policy which led the working class into the national-reformist camp, led to the subordination of the proletariat to the leadership of the bourgeoisie; it brought an actual refusal to organise a Communist Party and to fight for the proletarian leadership in the anti-imperialist movement. Roy does not believe that the democratic revolution will grow later into a socialist one, he did not believe that the working class will and can be the leader of the national revolution, he assumed that a period of capitalist development was inevitable.

Appearing in 1919-27 before the Indian revolutionists as the only interpreter (but, in fact, perverter) of revolutionary Marxism, Roy asserted that the basic task and the basic condition for the victory of the Indian revolution lay in the transformation of the Swarajist party into a revolutionary (!) left party. This he proposed to do by drawing the workers into it, and giving this party the leadership of the Indian revolution. Roy proposed to turn the semi-liberal Swarajist party into the leader of the revolution. The result was complete confusion among those groups which had not understood the essence of Roy-ism, and led to a refusal to organise a Communist Party and as a matter of fact led to a systematic adaptation to "left" national reformism:

Roy and his adherents are carrying out this policy to this very day. At first Roy tried to follow the Comintern—representing the anti-imperialist elements of the national-revolutionary camp. However, in the course of the development of the class struggle in India as well as in the rest of the world (particularly in China) a process of class differentiation took place. The separation of the working class from bourgeois national-reformism began. The vanguard elements of the working-class movement began to see more and more clearly that the organisation of a Communist Party and the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat was a necessary condition for the victory of the Indian revolution. They saw that there cannot be an alliance with the national reformists.

*Class differentiation* and the growing crystallisation of the proletariat as an independent class force brought Roy's retreat into the camp of national reformism. Those upper groups of the petty bourgeois and the bourgeois intellectuals who defended the interests of capitalism went along with him. These people are ready to speak aloud about removing feudal relics which are an obstacle to the well-ordered bourgeois development of India. They are even ready to put their ideas in a socialist garb—but none the less they consistently fight against the proletariat, against the revolutionary methods of struggle, against the revolution.

Roy has asserted from the very beginning that the British bourgeoisie has finished with feudalism in India and was following, in recent years, the policy of the industrialisation of India. He thus gave arguments in favour of the policy of collaboration with imperialism, inspiring belief in the possibility of the "emancipation" of India through negotiations, reforms and the Constitutional Assembly. Roy and his followers thought from the very beginning, and still think, that it is necessary to organise a left party (actually a bourgeois party) which all classes would join and which would lead the national movement. According to Roy, the task of this party would be to replace the old leaders of the National Congress—the adherents of the Gandhist philosophy. Roy proposed, as we have already said, to turn the Swarajist semi-liberal party into the leader of the proletarian masses. This idea is set forth by him in the book "Future Indian Policy"; Talking of a left party, Roy actually fought against the organisation of a revolutionary alliance of the proletariat, the peasantry, the city poor and the revolutionary elements of the intellectuals, an alliance in which the proletariat would have the leadership.

This idea went through a long process of transformation, although the essence remained. The followers of Roy propose sometimes Workers' and Peasants' Party, sometimes revolutionary working-class party, but at the same time develop and support the old idea. This Mr. Karnik, one of Roy's followers, reiterated quite recently. He wrote:

"A party of the revolutionary radicals voicing the demands of the inarticulate masses must come forth. The task before this party is to champion the interests of the masses by voicing their demands and starting country-wide organisation. ("The Maharashtra," October 1, 1933.) This is Royism in open.

Roy's supporters try in every way, by their anti-revolutionary policy, to consolidate the influence of the National Congress, spreading the idea of its supposedly non-class nature. They "criticise" Gandhism only for the unsuitability of its "ethical doctrines," for the unreality of its principles and assert that the misfortune lies in the wrong "ethical" principles of the present leadership of the National Congress, on the altar of which the National Congress sacrifices the interests of the people. One of Roy's followers, Mr. Karnik, wrote that "Gandhism represents nothing but petty bourgeois humanitarianism, hopelessly bewildered in the meshes of the staggering forces of human progress." ("The Maharashtra," October 15, 1933.) Gandhism is petty bourgeois, that is the idea of Roy's followers, who try under this cloak to justify their disruptive work in the revolutionary movement. Fighting against the hegemony of the proletariat and the formation of a Communist Party, Roy and his supporters embarked on the policy of splitting the trade unions and combining with the Joshi-Shiva-Rao group, which had implanted the principle of economism in the labour movement, the principles of subordination to the imperialist rule, to the policy of class collaboration and participation in the Round Table Conferences. Roy and his supporters came out *against* the slogan of a general strike and throughout 1930-1932 disrupted preparations and mobilisation of the workers for the railway strike in spite of the fact that the vote taken by the reformists proved that 90 per cent. of the railway workers came out in favour of the strike. Roy and his supporters opposed the movement for the non-payment of taxes, rent and debts, calling it "untimely" in spite of the fact that there had been a number of peasant uprisings which brought millions of the peasants into movement in spite of the fact that in a number of provinces the spontaneous refusal of the peasants to pay rent and taxes had forced the government to reduce temporarily the land tax by 50 per cent. They called it "untimely" in spite of the fact that hundreds of punitive expeditions were sent throughout the villages of Bengal, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency, etc.

Roy's supporters, calling themselves "rational communists," took a quasi-neutral position in regard to the "reforms" prepared by the Round Table Conference, reforms which strengthened the entire system of colonial and feudal oppression. The newspaper "Advocate" (February 5, 1933) wrote:

"The radical leaders of the trade unions, whether they be socialists or rational communists (excluding the Stalinites) are concerned with seeing to it that the new democratic (?—Ed.) institutions of the State do not remain in the monopoly of capitalism, but are used, as far as possible, for the benefit of the toilers. . . . They must be seized and used for the benefit of labour."

The British Constitution, granted to India, consolidates the positions of the feudal princes, landlords, *retains* and strengthens the power of the imperialists and just throws some crumbs to the Indian bourgeoisie. This constitution is based on the preservation of the caste system, accentuating religious differences, unheard-of slavery and exploitation. And this slave constitution, it appears, Roy's supporters regard as a "new democratic institution"! This constitution may be criticised, but it must be immediately adopted and used. We must, they say, adapt ourselves to it, and not put the whole energy and attention of the masses to organise mass movements, to organise resistance against the constitution—this is the essence of the policy of national reformism. It is not without reason that the "rational communists" attack the Communist Party of India with such vehemence. It is not without reason that they fight against the Third International which calls for a consistent revolutionary struggle against imperialism and its liberal lackeys.

That is why the Roy followers spread mistrust in the revolutionary ability of the working class and demand to limit the

political struggle of the workers, and propose to wait with the struggle for independence. That is why Mr. Karnik, for instance, wrote "The workers . . . are not able to grasp big political issues." They have to be explained what independence means, etc. ("Maharatta," October 15, 1933.) Workers are not ready yet to fight for independence; is it not a clear lie, is it not a classic expression of mistrust in the working class and expression of the policy of agents of the national reformism?

The "rational communists" are the consistent agents of the reformist Indian bourgeoisie which is an enemy of the Indian revolution. The policy of the "rational communists" was still more clearly formulated in the same newspaper ("Advocate"):

"As we have already said, the basic political ideal of our trade union movement is indissolubly bound up with the struggle of India for independence. The Second International has done very little to this day to raise its voice in protest against the oppression of our country. And just as the Third International is completely subordinate to the nationalist interests of Russia, so the Second International has not yet risen above purely European perspectives." ("Advocate," February 19, 1933, p. 2.)

Roy's supporters are fighting against the hegemony of the proletariat in the Indian revolution, hiding behind a "criticism" of the Second International. They are fighting against the Comintern, trying to disrupt the alliance of the international revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed colonial toiling masses, i.e., they are actually carrying through the policy of the British imperialists.

In general it is typical for national reformism to do everything possible to break up the alliance of the colonial peoples with the world proletariat against imperialism, they do everything possible to prevent the toiling masses to understand that the only way to get independence is through joint struggle with the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world.

Lenin has long ago shown (in "Imperialism" and other works) that the methods typical for imperialism are methods of domination, violence, directed to establishing monopoly over the backward and weaker countries. A handful of imperialist countries have divided the whole world among themselves and are exploiting it. The seizure of Manchuria confirms Lenin's prognosis that imperialism tries to turn semi-colonies into colonies, to maintain its monopoly on the land and, using it, to appropriate these countries and using State power, to fence themselves off by tariffs, army, etc., from their competitors. The Ottawa Conference clearly proved that the British imperialist countries taking advantage of their monopoly over vast territories, are trying, by applying their State power, to get an upper hand over their competitors. British imperialism, introducing preferential tariffs and the new draft constitution, is trying to weaken in India the positions of the U.S.A., Japan, Belgium, and other competitors, to strengthen its hold over the Indian capital and thus to strengthen the economic and political domination of British imperialism.

Lenin long ago pointed out, and events have since confirmed, that the emancipation of the colonial countries is inconceivable by way of reforms, agreements, negotiations. In the epoch of imperialism the enslavement of the oppressed and backward peoples is constantly increasing. The only way to get rid of this oppression—is through a revolution, a worker-peasant revolution under the leadership of the Communists, a revolution in alliance with the international proletariat.

It is precisely against this policy that national reformism and, together with it, the Roy group, is fighting. A detailed analysis of Royism does not fall within the scope of this article. But sufficient has been said to declare that the Roy group is not only the most harmful, anti-revolutionary, national-reformist group (whose specific role is to carry on disruptive work among the vanguard of the proletariat), but that the policy and the activity of this group has assumed a very demoralising influence. This past and present activity of the Roy group became a most important reason of the delay of the formation of Communist groups and the mass Communist Party of India, and thus delayed the transformation of the proletariat into an independent class force.

The sixth cause of the lagging behind of the formation of the Communist Party was closely connected with what has been said above. The fact is that the young Indian revolutionary Marxist movement did not believe that there exists the basis for a struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat. In 1927-1929, they fought

against national reformism, but showed a lack of confidence in the powers of the proletariat, not realising that the question of hegemony had become the question of the day. They limited themselves to economic struggles alone and to work in the trade unions and thus, except for occasional campaigns, they under-estimated the political struggle and the need of political organisations. They did not strive energetically for the transformation of the proletariat into an independent political force, they did not try energetically enough to build a mass political party of the proletariat—the Communist Party. This in its turn kept the revolutionary Marxists from breaking completely with national reformism, although at the same time it did not keep them away from falling frequently into sectarianism. And therefore, they were unable to fight as they should have for the transformation of the proletariat into the leading force, into the leader of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, able to draw all the democratic forces to its side.

All the reasons which have been given above, tended to delay, with different force at different times, the process of the formation of the Communist Party of India and the transformation of the proletariat into an independent class force, into the leader of the masses. Unless we correctly illuminate these causes, we cannot arrive at the path for the rapid and successful organisation of the Communist Party.

(To be concluded.)

## The Negro Movement

### The National Recovery Act Lynch Drive Calls for Mass Resistance

By B. D. Amis

The "New Deal" to the Negro masses was the same old deal in disguise. N.R.A. became the symbol, "Negro Repressive Act"—"No Rights At All." In the industries that predominantly employ Negro workers, the N.R.A. operated in a repressive manner. Wage rates were generally omitted from the codes of "fair" labour competition in these industries. In the textile code the Negro unskilled labourer is classified as a cleaner or outside worker, thereby being excluded from the minimum wage provisions. According to an article in the September issue of the magazine, "Opportunity," three million Negro workers (domestics, personal servants, farm labourers, unskilled workers, etc.) are excluded entirely from the N.R.A. codes. In the codes that provide a minimum wage for Negroes, the differential is from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. less. In the lumber code there is a wide disparity in the rates of wages paid to the Northern white lumber worker and those paid to the Negro lumber worker of the South. Frances Parkins, Secretary of Labour, admitting the open discriminatory practices of the N.R.A., states: "The low rates of twenty-five cents and twenty-seven cents per hour for the two Southern districts are presumably based on the predominance of Negro labour in those districts." To overcome such flagrant disparity, she gives the solution that the Negro must have "increased wages that will not unfairly compete with the wages of the white labourer." This common practice of the Federal government amongst the Negro employees was the result of a strike in August of all the Negro workers of the Federal Barge Line, operated by the War Department. This strike in East St. Louis and St. Louis was against rotten working conditions of 12-15 hours per day, for which the men received pay for two hours' work. The N.R.A. Labour Board refused to give a hearing to the men; but the officials called the police who, through intimidation methods, tried to break the strike. During the application of the codes in the South, especially where there were wage increases, rather than give these increases to the Negro worker, the employer discharged him for the white worker.

The illusions in the "New Deal" among the Negro and white toilers were being shaken as the programme became a reality. Employment ceased; wages were cut; lay-offs set in; continued poverty and misery looked into the faces of the workers. Consequently there developed on the background of rapidly worsening conditions of the toilers a movement against the N.R.A. and its codes of "fair" competition for labour. This movement gained in momentum, as it swept every part of the country.

Naturally such wide disaffection took its sharpest form among the most exploited. To repel this deepening mass upsurge of Negro and white, which defied the dictates of the American Federation of

Labour officialdom and the government to harness it, the State and the employers, throwing caution to the winds, but under a well-prepared barrage of demagoguery, let loose sharp and intensified repressive measures against the toilers.

The Negro masses felt the full strength of the hammer blows of the growing reaction of the N.R.A. They did not only receive wage-cuts and were thrown out of jobs, but were attacked on every front. Lynchings increased in number and savageness. Every forty were lynched during the first year of the N.R.A. The Blue Eagle, emblem of the N.R.A., in a new wave of lynchings set out to crush with flame and torch, rope and gun, every bit of militant resistance of the Negro masses. Lynchings, legal and extra-legal, received the sanction of employers and high State officials. They became holidays "in highly-cultured America" that recalled all the barbarous acts of the blackest days of the medieval period committed in the name of religion.

It was in this whipped-up lynch atmosphere that the lynch trials were set for the Scottsboro boys, and the legal lynching of Euel Lee took place. "Liberal" America, with Roosevelt at the helm of the "New Deal" ship, was determined to make the black man pay with his life for the misgivings of the N.R.A.

But the workers did not submit to this sharper terror easily. Under militant leadership, protests and struggles developed. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights issued a call for a nation-wide drive against lynchings and Negro oppression. The first united front regional conference against lynching was held in Baltimore, Maryland.

Baltimore is the home of the "liberal" democratic governor, Ritchie, an ardent supporter of the N.R.A. It is close to the Eastern shore where George Armwood was lynched and burned to a char by the elite citizens. These same people threatened to lynch the attorney of the International Labour Defence, Bernard Ades, who very courageously defended Euel Lee. At the same time they asked to be allowed to supplant the courts, which in their opinion, were altogether too slow in legally lynching Lee. Ritchie openly stated that the mass resistance organised by the I.L.D., preventing the courts from rapidly carrying out the execution of Lee, was responsible for the mob heaping its hatred and vengeance in barbaric fashion on Armwood. Therefore "justice" must be served—Lee must hang by his neck—there can be no further stay or reprieve of the sentence.

It was in such a setting that the public hearing and investigation of lynchings and Negro oppression and the anti-lynch conference were called. The purpose of the public hearing and inquiry was: (1) to collect factual material and documentary evidence of the flagrant discriminatory practices against the Negroes; (2) to show the economic cause for the super-exploitation and oppression of the Negroes; (3) to assemble eye-witnesses to the Eastern shore lynchings and take their affidavits; (4) to receive investigators' reports on the new stages in the Scottsboro and Tuscaloosa cases; (5) to gather all of the available material and evidence to take before the President of the U.S.A. for the purpose of forcing the adoption of the Bill of Civil Rights presented to Congress by the Scottsboro marchers; (6) to publish from the collected material and evidence a book similar to the Brown Book of the Hitler terror in Germany, with a similar title to "The Black Book of American Imperialism"; (7) to show the revolutionary way out.

The conference which immediately followed the hearing had its aim: (1) to launch a nation-wide drive against lynching under the leadership of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the International Labour Defence, building up the broadest kind of united front of joint actions; (2) to bring to the fore the programme of the L.S.N.R. in the struggle against national oppression; (3) to build the L.S.N.R. into a powerful mass organisation; (4) to forge a mighty weapon out of the "liberator" which should become the outspoken mouthpiece of the L.S.N.R. and the Negro people; (5) to show that only through revolutionary fight, only through the right of self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt could real freedom be achieved.

This immediate plan of action caused no little worry to the imperialists and their agents. They were aware of the deep dissatisfaction to the N.R.A. penetrating the Negro masses, especially discontent with the unequal wages established by the codes. They had before them the excellent response of the Negro class organisations. Therefore, these oppressors of the Negro people determined to defeat and sabotage the plan of action and attempt to smash the expanding influence of the Communist programme of liberation over the Negro people.

To accomplish such a slimy task, without creating consternation among the Negro people and white workers, the ruling class tried to proceed along concealed lines, using the "friends" of the Negroes to complete their deception. The arch supporter of Jim-Crowism in Maryland and the hangman of Euel Lee, Governor Ritchie became the chief sponsor of a toothless anti-lynching Bill. Around the Governor and the Bill were grouped those betrayers of the struggle for Negro liberation, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the Urban League; the white chauvinist apologists, the Socialist Party of Maryland. Previously the socialists had made a sham of asking that Ritchie should be impeached for his laxness in the Armwood lynching. But they withdrew from this position to support the lynchers of the Negro people. An attempt was made to draw the Negro masses into this false struggle. Extensive preparations were made to hold a mass meeting on the anti-lynching Bill to be presented to the Maryland legislature. After issuing thousands of leaflets, utilising the press and pulpit, and conducting a campaign of shameful slander and lies against the L.S.N.R. and the I.L.D., the true defenders of the rights of the Negro people, the meeting was held. But only 125 people responded to their frenzied efforts.

In contrast to this, the L.S.N.R. and the I.L.D., with considerable help from the Communist Party, mobilised the trade unions, certain locals of the A.F. of L., Negro organisations, unemployed organisations, and individuals for a united front and a minimum programme of action. At the same time the treacherous acts of the Negro misleaders and their white liberal friends were exposed. The response was good. The public inquiry in the New Albert Hall drew a capacity crowd of 2,000 paid admissions. To the conference over 700 delegates were elected from New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C. and the Eastern shore. Steel workers, dock workers, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, sincere intellectuals, professionals, members from N.A.A.C.P. locals, Negro lodges and churches were delegates.

The revolutionary programme of the L.S.N.R., the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes in the North and for self-determination of the Negro majority in the Black Belt, was accepted as the only way to beat back the attacks of the white ruling class by the overwhelming majority of the delegates. The speeches of rank and file workers told of their willingness to join a fighting united front, rejecting the legal pussy-footing programme of the reformists. These workers gave the assurance of carrying the L.S.N.R. plan of action back to their organisations to help build up the drive against Negro oppression.

At the inquiry a large tribunal of judges, composed of workers, intellectuals and professionals was elected. Eyewitnesses from the Eastern shore spoke. Evidence was introduced by investigators from Tuscaloosa and Scottsboro cases. Before the eyes of an aroused working class and Negro people were unfolded the atrocities of American imperialism and its "New Deal" for the Negro masses. The indictment of guilty for the long history of subjugation and humiliation, for the brutal oppression of a whole nation and for the new wave of lynching was thrust into the face of the white ruling class. The conference and the hearing threw out the challenge to mobilise mass resistance; to fight against Negro oppression.

Outstanding among the shortcomings were: (1) an under-estimation of the tremendous response, in spite of poor preparations, to the hearing and the conference which called for revolutionary struggle against Negro persecution; (2) insufficient work done by the Communist workers, especially in the New York district, to penetrate A.F. of L. locals, working-class organisations and new Negro organisations; (3) failure to answer the question of delegates concretely how they can work alone after returning home to carry out the fight against Negro oppression; (4) lack of preparations and popularising of the Liberator and the pamphlet containing the programme and manifesto of the L.S.N.R.

These mistakes must be corrected in the conference which are to be held in Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, etc.

American imperialism and its new disguise the "New Deal," the N.R.A., shall not go unchallenged in its grinding under its iron heel of oppression the Negro nation. It shall be met with stubborn resistance and working-class determination in battle, with mass mobilisation of the Negro people and white workers, fighting for land, equality and freedom for a nation of 12,000,000 Negroes under the yoke of American imperialism.

# The Decisions of the XIII. Plenum and their Concrete Application

## War, Fascism and the Policy of the Soviet Union

By L. Magyar

The international situation bears every sign that we are on the eve of a new world war. The economic war is already in full swing. Industry and agriculture are being adapted in most capitalist countries to the requirements of a new war. War production is being carried on at full pressure. The competition in armaments has assumed enormous proportions. Hitler's Germany is already providing itself with raw materials in case of war, and in 1933 increased its imports of raw materials important for war by six times. The United States, England, Japan, France, and Italy are also making feverish efforts to increase their stores in case of war. The Geneva Disarmament Conference is already a putrid corpse. Japan and Germany have already left the League of Nations. Italy is contemplating the same step. In the Far East, the predatory war of the military clique of Japan against the Chinese people has already been raging for two years. The future seats of war may already be traced on the map of Europe: Danzig, Austria, the Polish Corridor, Upper Silesia, Saar, Eupen-Malmedy, Dalmatia and Istria, Memel, Macedonia.

The world economic crisis has tremendously intensified all imperialist antagonisms. The Versailles division of the world, and the Washington agreements regulating the division of the territory on the Pacific Ocean, are profoundly shaken, as profoundly shaken as world capitalism itself. The question of the capitalist redivision of the world is on the order of the day.

The fascist military clique in Japan is conquering one position after another in the government. Its openly admitted programme is that of counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, in order to be in a better position to fight in the imperialist struggle for power against the United States.

The seizure of power by the national socialists has transformed Europe into a powder barrel. The foreign political programme of Hitler fascism consists of counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, in order to be in a better position to fight in the imperialist struggle for power against French imperialism.

Fascism is not only the extremest party of civil war against the proletariat in its own country. It is at the same time the extremest party of imperialist war, whereby it must be emphasised that not all extreme war parties are already coming forward as openly fascist parties. The English diehards do not confess openly to fascism. But they are the extreme party of counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. The international situation of the British empire is such that from the standpoint of British imperialism the best war would be a war against the Soviet Union.

The most immediate danger of an imperialist war, and of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, lies in the fact that in a number of imperialist countries the extreme war parties are already in power, and are about to seize power in a number of other countries. The realist, proletarian, Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union has to take this fact into account. But at the same time it must take into account the fact that the extreme war parties are not yet in power in all countries.

"There are war parties in all imperialist countries, war parties which maintain that force must be applied at once, regardless of consequences." This is what Lenin taught us. And he taught us that the task of the policy of the Soviet power is to combat the extreme war parties, so that peace may be maintained as long as possible for the work of socialist construction.

Imperialist antagonisms are becoming increasingly acute. In Europe, German fascism is the greatest war-monger. The pacifist phrases mouthed by the Hitler bandits are intended to gain time, in order to be the better able to arm for war. In spite of all the "mediation" of British imperialism, in spite of all the "peace" asseverations of the Hitler executioners, war threatens between Germany and France. In the Pacific, war is maturing between the United States and Japan. Tension is at its greatest strain

between Italy and France. England and the United States are preparing for the decisive imperialist battle in the Atlantic and the Pacific.

This is one tendency in world politics, a tendency ranging the imperialist powers against one another. The realistic, proletarian, Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union has to take this tendency into account.

But there is also another tendency, the tendency of the formation of blocs by the imperialist states against the Soviet Union. For a long time French imperialism with its vassal states was the leading organiser of the anti-Soviet bloc. At the present time French imperialism has been forced to relinquish this role, for it must first wage a fight to a finish with German and Italian imperialism. And here the French bourgeoisie is not quite unanimous. Among the radicals, Daladier is in favour of an understanding with Germany, Herriot is opposed to such an understanding. Among the Right, Ibarnegarey is in favour of an understanding with Germany, Marin is opposed to it. The Japanese military clique takes the lead in the endeavour to initiate the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. But even in the camp of Japanese imperialism there are elements inclined, for tactical, military, or economic considerations, to postpone the war with the Soviet Union. Hitler Germany would like to sell its national socialist serfs to the English bourgeoisie for the purpose of war on the Soviet Union. And British imperialism is endeavouring to delay the outbreak of war among the imperialists, and to switch the antagonisms between the imperialists on to the line of an anti-Soviet war.

Every Bolshevik knows that sooner or later the imperialist world will make an attack on the first, and at present the only, proletarian state. But it is the duty of every Bolshevik to do his utmost to prolong the hardly won peace as long as possible, for the sake of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, to give time for the maturing of the revolutionary crisis, for the organisation of the forces of revolution, for the maturing of the national revolutionary movements in the colonies. Leninist policy calculates upon time, place, comparative forces, imperialist antagonisms.

Lenin taught us that the task of foreign policy is: (1) to strengthen the Soviet Union as the basis of the world revolution; (2) to win over the masses of the workers and peasants of the capitalist countries; (3) to gain the confidence of the small states and oppressed peoples; (4) to gain where possible the sympathies of the petty bourgeois masses and the intelligentsia; (5) to utilise the imperialist antagonisms in the interest of socialist construction.

Lenin's best disciple, Comrade Stalin, leads the foreign policy of the Soviet Union on the lines thus inherited from Lenin. This policy has achieved huge successes and has secured the prolongation of the term of peace. These successes have been made possible by the fact that the economic, political, and military strengthening of the Soviet Union is such that an attack on the Soviet state would represent the greatest danger to the aggressor. The Red Army is a convincing argument for the peace policy of the Soviet Union. These successes have been made possible by the fact that the policy of the Soviet Union has combated the extreme war parties in the capitalist countries, and has rendered their criminal activities more difficult; by the fact that the policy of the Soviet Union has taken into account that the extreme war parties have not yet gained the upper hand in all countries, and that the tendency to form blocs against the Soviet Union is hampered by the antagonisms in the camp of the imperialist powers, and even by their struggle for the League of Nations; and by the fact that the peace policy of the Soviet Union has gained for it not only the support of the working class and the working peasantry, but at the same time the confidence of the small states and oppressed peoples, and even the sympathies of certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie. We are well aware that the League of

Nations is an instrument of imperialist policy. But a situation has arisen in which precisely this imperialist group which at the present moment, for various reasons of imperialist policy, is not in favour of immediately letting loose the dogs of war, has decisive influence in the League of Nations. A realistic proletarian policy must take even this circumstance into account, in order to render more difficult the criminal activities of the war-mongers.

The Hitler bandits are speculating that Japan's counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union will set the war machine going in Europe. They are speculating that the war cries of German fascism against the Soviet Union will secure German fascism the support of the whole world bourgeoisie. This speculation will prove false. German fascism is preparing for war, hoping to overcome its difficulties at home by adventures abroad. The policy pursued by German fascism is driving German capitalism to disaster.

## The Struggle of the C.P. of Germany for Winning the Social Democratic Workers

By A. Karolski

The point of departure of the appraisal of the Thirteenth Plenum of the crisis of social democracy, the crisis of the Second International, is the bankruptcy of German social democracy, whose policy has led to the victory of fascism in Germany. "The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has unmasked German social democracy before the whole world," state the theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The S.P.G. sabotaged the struggle of the C.P. of Germany against the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. The S.P.G. is continuing its counter-revolutionary role during the fascist dictatorship. By increasing the split of the proletariat, by savage incitement against the C.P.G. and the Soviet Union, by spreading pessimism and promoting the passivity of the masses, it remains the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie also during the fascist dictatorship.

The crisis of the S.P.G. is also expressed in the *theoretical confusion* of the various platforms, discussion drafts, the formation of groups, fractions and cliques which are striving to overcome the deep crisis of the party by means of fresh manoeuvres and to prevent the masses from going over to the C.P.G. The large-scale "self-criticism" of all S.P. fractions which Miles, Irlen and others exercise in the new "Vorwaerts" and in other publications cannot conceal the fact that all these groups are unanimous in their struggle against Communism, against the proletarian dictatorship, for the restoration of bourgeois democracy, although, of course, they wish to apply different methods.

This must be kept in mind in the struggle to win the social-democratic workers. It would be erroneous to assume that the social-democratic workers have approached nearer to us thanks only to the organisational collapse of the legal apparatus of the S.P.G. *It is not the terror but the profound ideological transformation of the social-democratic masses in regard to the fundamental questions of the proletarian struggle which is bringing them nearer to us.* The bankruptcy of the slogans of peaceful growth into socialism, democracy, non-violence, these are the questions and problems which for decades prevented the social-democratic workers from coming nearer to the Communist camp. The policy of the S.P.G. has greatly contributed to the acceleration of the process of disillusionment among the social-democratic workers.

It would be a mistake, however, to maintain that this process will take place automatically. On the contrary, it depends upon our activity whether the attempts of the various "Left" politicians will divert this big radicalisation process into social-fascist channels will succeed or not. The social-democratic workers will be won not merely by abstract discussions, but in the day-to-day struggle against the fascist dictatorship. In the fire of the struggle the remnants of social-fascist ideology among the masses will be exterminated.

The Open Letter of the C.C. of the C.P.G. to the social-democratic workers was the basis, the platform, on which our cadres have waged the struggle to win the social-democratic workers. The heroic struggle of the German Communists against the murder-regime has brought thousands and thousands of the social-democratic workers into our ranks.

But can we be satisfied with these first successes in this sphere?

By no means. In view of the unprecedentedly deep crisis of the S.P.G. our successes in the sphere of winning the social-democratic workers have been very unsatisfactory up to now. This cannot be attributed entirely to the inadequate activity of our cadres. Political factors play a part here. There is not sufficient clearness in our ranks regarding the S.P.G., and sometimes the "Left" manoeuvres of the resurrected S.P.G. groups have an effect. The conditions of illegality, where the terror also hits the cadres of the S.P.G., sometimes results in our comrades not waging a sufficiently offensive struggle against the restoration of the S.P.G. There is to be noticed of late an increased activity of the social-fascist Right and Left bureaucrats in order to check the process of this offensive struggle. The activity of the S.P.G. is expressed, on the one hand, in a *direct collaboration of a part of the reformist cadres* which the fascists have still retained in the trade unions and in the co-operatives. To give only one example: *Singer*, a social-democratic bureaucrat, at a trade union meeting in Hagen (Lower Rhine), delivered a speech calling upon the workers to support the fascist commissars, arguing that "social reforms can be more easily carried through now than in former times." This plain and open support of fascism is, on the other hand, supplemented by "Left" demagogues, who attempt to twist our slogan and propaganda for the establishment of illegal independent class trade unions in the direction of setting up illegal social-fascist trade unions under the leadership of S.P. bureaucrats.

Unfortunately, it must be stated that our comrades sometimes fall into the trap owing to an erroneous application of united front tactics.

The bureaucrats have sometimes succeeded by means of radical phrases in inducing our comrades to take part in negotiations (Solingen, etc.) and to divert them from the struggle for winning the social-democratic workers. At these negotiations there was revealed the real aim of the "Left" demagogues. They were prepared to issue a joint appeal with us, in which the leaders of the type of Leipart and Loebe are condemned, but they peremptorily demanded of our comrades that they should disband the Red Trade Union Opposition and the red unions. That is what they are aiming at. *We are to destroy the existing revolutionary organisations, which have not capitulated to fascism like the A.D.G.B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions) and have continued their courageous struggle against fascism and the capitalist offensive, and replace them by newly-established, social-fascist organisations, the leadership of which is to remain in their hands!*

The Communists are acting in the spirit of the Comintern when they make a distinction between the social-democratic leaders and workers. But it would be deliberate assistance of social fascism to draw from this the conclusion that we have to weaker even for a moment our struggle against the social-democratic party. No amnesty for the S.P.G. as social-fascist party; no concessions in principle to the vacillating social-democratic workers. We have to help them in a comradely manner, in the daily struggles to find the way to us. The fear of the social-democratic workers who are approaching us, who sometimes appear in our cells, must be overcome.

The Communists must ruthlessly expose the counter-revolutionary meaning of the social-fascist slogan: Collect all forces and let us wait; the Communists shall shed their blood, then we shall come in. We have to explain to the social-democratic workers that should the C.P.G. "come in" it would mean a worse repetition of the policy conducted by it since 1918. *The Communists and the whole German working class are confronted with the big task of preventing the rise in Germany of a second party which can only be a Left wing of the bourgeois camp, whilst the C.P.G. has to secure its revolutionary monopoly position as a result of its heroic struggles.*

We have not to wait, but to utilise every weakness of the fascist dictatorship in the struggle against wage cuts, against increase of prices, for unemployment benefit, against the driving out of the masses from the trade unions, against collaboration with the employers in the fascist organisations. But the Communists will also draw the conclusion from this wish of the enemy and will learn not to take up the decisive fight isolated as the advance-guard, but in every small action to gather round them the broadest sections of non-party, christian and social-democratic workers. It is only in the course of the mass struggles against terror, arrests, for the release of the revolutionary victims that anti-fascist defence



units will be set up in the factories, the residential districts and the fascist mass organisations.

It is the task of our comrades to explain to the social-democratic workers the counter-revolutionary meaning of the social-democratic theory of the "epoch of fascism," which implies that the working class has been driven for a long time to a defensive position (Otto Bauer). In particular, it is necessary to combat very sharply the attempts of the S.P.G. to interpret the symptoms of stagnation of the crisis in various countries and in various branches of industry as meaning a return of prosperity and a "renaissance of capitalism." As against this we must point to the intensification of all capitalist contradictions, the political effects of the shaking of the capitalist system, and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

Trotsky, who in his hatred against the proletarian dictatorship is calling for an armed intervention against the Soviet Union and, on the other hand, propagates a block with the social fascists for winning back bourgeois democracy; Trotsky, who keeps the masses away from revolutionary struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, Trotsky and his followers who have become the counter-revolutionary advance-guard of the bourgeoisie, must be combated more than hitherto and exposed and isolated like the plague from the proletariat. There are confusionists and opportunists who, like Sauerland, wish to "discuss matters with Trotsky." He declares in the "Gegenangriff" (Counter-attack): "Not a single revolution has broken out in a period of economic revival." This is the manner in which a semi-Trotskyist "combats" a whole Trotskyist.

The various counter-revolutionary sectarian groups (Trotskyists, Brandlerists, socialist labour party), which have no following among the masses, are attempting to make capital out of the victory of fascism for a "boom period" for themselves and to carry disintegration into the ranks of the C.P.G. The fact that the C.P.G. is firmly welded and consolidated round its Bolshevik Central Committee, and without the least sign of a crisis, is of great historical importance. The unanimous repulse which the Neumann-Remmele group experienced from the whole Party on account of its anti-party attitude is without precedent in the history of the C.P.G. The more sharply therefore must all the attempts of the small sectarian groups to make inroads into the C.P.G. be repelled and "united front negotiations" with such sectarian groups must cease once and for all.

The theses of the Thirteenth Plenum sharply raise the question of the fight for power, of the mobilisation of the masses for the struggle for Soviet Germany. This can only be achieved in ruthless struggle against the social democracy and against opportunism in our own ranks. The social-democratic workers are beginning to realise—and this is one of the most important phenomena of the year 1933—the enormous importance of the Leninist conception of the problem of force. It is our task to convert the weapons which the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum have given us into practical weapons for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the rule of the bourgeoisie and its main social support, social democracy.

## There is Only One Way Out of the Crisis

By Oldner and Haken

More than a year ago the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. recorded that the relative stabilisation of capitalism had come to an end and that we were passing to a fresh cycle of revolutions and wars. The events which have taken place since clearly show that the Comintern correctly appraised the situation.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which took place a few months ago, was able to characterise the present situation just as clearly on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis.

The Plenum recorded that there is already to be observed such a tension of the inner class contradictions in the capitalist countries and also of the international antagonisms that the capitalist world is **closely approaching a fresh cycle of revolutions and wars.** The bourgeoisie is endeavouring with all its forces to overcome the economic crisis, but all its measures prove impotent to cure the sickness of capitalism, on the contrary, all these measures only intensify the general crisis of capitalism and are resulting in a further shaking of the whole capitalist system.

Hence the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. correctly recorded that

"the foundations of capitalism are already being destroyed as

a result of its profound, insoluble contradictions. The world economic crisis is most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, and sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment, a turn which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis."

Of course, in the present conditions the unevenness and the spasmodic character of the development is still more striking, but there can be no doubt that the theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. apply to a full extent also to Czechoslovakia. Also in Czechoslovakia, where the economic crisis has set in later than in the neighbouring countries (Germany, Austria, Poland), the difficulties of the bourgeoisie are no less. The political elements of the crisis are coming more and more to the forefront. This is due, apart from the intensification of class antagonisms, to an enhancement of the national contradictions in the German-speaking districts, in Carpatho-Ukraine, among the Slovaks and Hungarians.

The crisis of the Versailles system and the revisionist tendencies have helped to accentuate the national contradictions in Czechoslovakia. The Czech bourgeoisie, which forms part of the anti-revisionist camp, is waging a fight for its own existence as a State.

This situation compels the bourgeoisie to increase armaments at a feverish rate for imperialist ends and to adopt measures of a military character, such as the recently passed emergency decrees, which are directed both against the working class and the oppressed nationalities. The Czech bourgeoisie is endeavouring to overcome the crisis with the aid of the social fascists.

For this purpose the bourgeoisie adopted various measures at the cost of the toiling population, but each measure has led to a further disorganisation of the State budget, to a further accentuation of the agrarian crisis, to further intensification of the contradictions between capital and labour, between Czech imperialism and the oppressed nations, between industrial and agrarian capital, i.e., to an intensification of all the main antagonisms of capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia correctly stated some months ago:—

"The imperialistic and class rule of the Czech bourgeoisie is shaken. The masses of impoverished and starving proletarians are being revolutionised. The rural districts are seething with the indignation of the peasants who have been reduced to beggary. In the German, Slovak, Hungarian and Ukrainian districts the situation is extremely tense. The oppressed nations are offering resistance to the imperialistic predominance of the Czech bourgeoisie. The development of the situation and of the class struggle is creating also in Czechoslovakia the pre-conditions for the revolutionary crisis and sets the Communist Party the main task of preparing the masses for the approaching fight for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In these circumstances it is clear that the bourgeoisie can no longer go on ruling in the old way. The bourgeoisie is compelled to throw overboard the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy and to proceed to the open terrorist dictatorship and unbounded chauvinism, to the immediate preparation for imperialist war.

Owing to the existence of a strong labour movement and a big Communist Party, owing to the national-revolutionary movement, particularly in Carpatho-Ukraine, owing to the sharp competitive struggle between Czech finance-capital and the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations for the larger share of the profits, owing to the sharp antagonism between industrial and agrarian capital—the Czech bourgeoisie cannot set up such a uniform fascist mass party as, for instance, the Hitler party did in Germany. Taking into account the particular requirements of Czech imperialism, the necessary mass basis for realising the fascist dictatorship is furnished by the social democracy and the Czech national socialists. It is these parties which not only pave the way for the fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia, but help to realise it with their own hands.

But the international antagonisms are no less acute. Czechoslovakia is the product of the Versailles system, which is experiencing a serious crisis. The revision of the frontiers, the question of imperialist war in Central Europe, is on the order of the day. This perspective of an approaching war is impelling the bour-

geists to "secure the hinterland" by means of realising the fascist dictatorship.

The slogans under which the fascist dictatorship is realised also corresponds to these inner and foreign political interests of Czech imperialism. The most important is the slogan of "defence of democracy." This slogan is intended to enable the social democrats to deceive the masses, and to realise the fascist dictatorship with their help in the name of "democracy." On the other hand, this slogan corresponds to the war interests of Czech imperialism, as the coming war is to be waged by the "democratic States" of France and Czechoslovakia against the "dictatorship States," i.e., against Germany, Hungary, Italy and, of course, against the Soviet Union.

**Realisation of the fascist dictatorship and preparation for imperialist war—this is the main line of the whole policy of Czech imperialism; and if we examine the speeches and decisions of the congress of the Czech social democrats which was held some weeks ago, we are able to record that they are completely in accordance with this line.**

Hence the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is perfectly justified in its appeal to all Communists to conduct an intensified struggle against the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie, against the social fascists. For in spite of the profound shaking of the capitalist system, its overthrow will not come about automatically; the capitalist system must be overthrown by the proletariat and the other toilers under the leadership of the Communist Party. But the greatest hindrance on this path is social democracy, just as it was in the struggle against the setting up of the fascist dictatorship. For the establishment of the fascist dictatorship is not inevitable; the fascist dictatorship can be prevented, but this depends on the forces of the militant proletariat which are being paralysed by the disintegrating influence of social democracy.

Hence the opportunist deviations in the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, the main bearer of which was the renegade and deserter, Guttman, and which aimed at weakening the struggle against social democracy and advocated a compromise with the social democratic ideology, have caused great harm to the Party and rendered it more difficult for the social democratic workers to find the way to the Communist Party.

Therefore, the struggle against the opportunist deviations, and before all against the platform of the renegade, Guttman, who is already on the other side of the barricade, is one of the most important tasks set by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The theses of the Thirteenth Plenum state with regard to this matter:—

"The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls on all sections of the Comintern ruthlessly to root out opportunism in all its forms, and above all, 'Right' opportunism (Guttman, Remmele, Neumann, the defeatists in other countries in their estimate of the prospects of the German revolution), without which the Communist Parties will not be able to lead the working masses up to the victorious struggles for the Soviet Power."

This is the main task to-day. Capitalism cannot be cured. Its continued existence means tremendous suffering and privations for the proletariat and all other toilers. There is only one way out of this situation for the toilers, the way which the Russian workers and peasants pursued in October, 1917. The toilers are realising to-day whither the path indicated by the social democrats leads, whither the policy which the social democrats carried out leads. But the toilers are also realising to-day, from the living example of the Soviet Union, what the Soviet system has brought the toilers. Two systems, the capitalist and the socialist system, also show two different results of the policy pursued in the last 15 years.

In Czechoslovakia growing misery, increasing hunger, increasing exploitation. Capitalist Czechoslovakia driving to bankruptcy—in the Soviet Union, a daily rising standard of living for the toilers.

Which path must the toilers choose? The path of the social fascists, which is leading to the realisation of the fascist dictatorship, or the path indicated by the Communists, which is leading to the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet Power? There can be only one choice for the toilers.

## The XIII Plenum and the Tasks of the C.P. of Austria

By Alexander Schoenau

Austria is undoubtedly approaching critical and decisive days. Since March 4, the day on which the dictatorship was set up, fascism has been steadily extending its terroristic system and working with persistence and confidence to abolish the political and social rights of the working class. It is now preparing new and still more important measures.

Although the tendency to ease the Austro-German tension continues to exist, and although the willingness of the Austrian government to come to an agreement with fascist Germany has again been made clear by important declarations on the part of Dollfuss concerning the harmony of interests between Austria and Germany in the question of securing equal treatment and equal rights from the Versailles powers, the Austrian national socialists are continuing their systematic and wide-scale agitation and their terroristic outrages as a protest against the demand of Dollfuss that the liquidation of the Austrian national socialist party must be a preliminary condition of any solution of the Austro-German conflict.

This campaign on the part of the Austrian national socialists adds to the already existing insecurity and weakness of the Austrian fascist system. This weakness, which is intensified by the economic crisis which continues to exist with undiminished vigour, despite all the attempts à la Hitler to persuade the Austrian people that things are improving, by the increasing radicalisation of the proletariat and by the general spread of discontent with the fascist system among large sections of the Austrian population, complicates and obstructs the tactics of Dollfuss fascism in its attempts to create a political monopoly in Austria.

Only recently there has been an intensification of the existing friction in the camp of Dollfuss fascism, and this antagonism has received its special tone on account of the reflection of the foreign political difficulties. The question of the dissolution of the trade unions and the dissolution of the social democratic party, and in particular the question of appointing a government commissar for the town of Vienna have once again come into the foreground. For the moment there is no unanimity in the camp of Dollfuss fascism on these questions, and the disagreement on the question of dissolving all parties, including the Christian social party which is continually strengthened by the Heimwehr, is greater than ever.

The Austrian social democracy is exploiting these differences in the fascism camp, and Otto Bauer is once again peddling his old social-fascist theory of the necessity and the possibility of an alliance between the working class and the "democratic" sections of fascism with a view to securing the establishment of a "democratic workers' and peasants' government" on a fascist basis.

The thorough analysis of fascism in its various forms and in the various countries made by the Thirteenth Plenary Session makes it possible for the Communist Party of Austria to deal capably with the complicated phenomena in the development of Austrian fascism caused by the close inter-relation of internal and external political factors, to present the proletariat with a clear and definite attitude to all these questions, and to counter the various manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie and above all of the social democracy designed to cause confusion in the ranks of the masses.

In this way the Communist Party of Austria will be able to demonstrate to the working masses the social-fascist character of the latest social-democratic manoeuvre, and prove to them that in all fundamental questions Austro-Marxism has gone over to the position of fascism and adopted the "authoritarian system," which is the formula adopted in Austria. The social-democratic party of Austria is prepared to agree to an "authoritarian government" being given "extraordinary powers," it hampers the development of effective resistance on the part of the working masses against fascism by its "Left" wing manoeuvres, it is adopting fascist arguments to an increasing extent, and it is already conducting a discussion with the representatives of fascism exclusively on the basis of the establishment of the fascist corporative State. The establishment of the corporative State is no longer a question between the Austrian S.D.P. and fascism, but merely the outward forms which this new system is to take on. The social democratic party is developing its treacherous policy and has introduced a new formula in its struggle for the "lesser evil" of the moment. It is arguing in favour of a corporative State

in the basis of the Papal encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" as against the fascist system of corporations. It is "allied" with Pius XI. against Starhemberg and the favourite son of Pius, little Dollfuss!

In view of this situation the Communist Party must fight more energetically than ever to expose this policy of miserable treachery and to show that the differences of opinion between the fascists and the social democrats have as little to do with the class struggle as have the differences of opinion between the bourgeois groups themselves, and that this latest manoeuvre of the social democracy is nothing but an attempt to hoodwink the radical masses of the workers who are prepared to wage a determined class struggle against fascism, but who are not prepared to rally around Papal encyclicals. It must show that the differences between the fascists and the social democrats are similar to the differences between the peasant leader Reither and the rich landowner Starhemberg in that the latter reflect in a deliberately distorted form the ferment which is proceeding amongst the masses of the peasantry. All groups, including the social democracy, are in fundamental agreement about one thing, namely, the necessity of continuing the development towards fascism. The policy of the social democratic party of Austria corroborates the statement of the Thirteenth Plenary Session that the German social democratic party is the model example for all the parties of the Second International.

The situation is favourable to the Communist Party. The crisis within the social democratic party is intensifying and the groups of the so-called "Left-wing radical workers' opposition" have already begun to issue a newspaper of their own. On the basis of historic facts the Communist Party will be able to expose the whole policy of the social-democratic party to the working masses. To-day the Austrian S.D.P. has developed so far that it is already defending the clerical social positions. This fact not only corroborates the statement of the Thirteenth Plenary Session concerning the process of decline going on within the Second International, but it also shows, as Otto Bauer admits himself, that it is the logical development of the earlier policy of the social democracy, that it is no more than a particularly interesting stage in his "Way to Socialism," sketched out by him as early as 1919.

In 1919 Otto Bauer praised the introduction of the factory councils as "the participation of the representatives of the working class in the government of the factories," as the transformation of the absolutism of the employers in the factories into what he termed a "constitutional monarchy" on the way to socialism. To-day Otto Bauer appeals for a struggle for the "restoration of democracy and the establishment of a corporative economic democracy." In 1919 Otto Bauer secured "functional democracy," or, in other words, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in its "democratic" garb, and to-day with fascist arguments he works to secure the development of fascism, "which has grown from out the body of bourgeois democracy." (Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenary Session.)

During the last few days the possibility of radical measures on the part of the Dollfuss government against the social-democratic stronghold in the Vienna Town Council has increased considerably. The Communist Party must therefore stress with still greater energy that it alone is the real defender of all these so-called democratic positions. Just like the German S.D.P., the Austrian social democracy will abandon its own "democratic" positions at the critical moment and despite all its general strike manoeuvres, or perhaps in the middle of a general strike, although years it has declared these positions to be "islands of socialism." The Communist Party declares to the working class that it is only possible to defend these positions in a revolutionary struggle against the whole Dollfuss fascist system. The pact and capitulation policy of the Austrian S.D.P. must logically lead to the abandonment of these "democratic" positions.

However the Communist Party must not let itself be led into the favourite social-democratic trap of setting up some particular "casus belli." It must declare unambiguously that in the present situation no particular features couched in any particular form can be the sole occasion for the opening of a counter-offensive by the proletariat against fascism. The "four points" put forward by Otto Bauer certainly facilitate the establishment of a complete fascist political monopoly, but this does not mean that the monopoly must develop in just this fashion. On the contrary, it may be assumed that these "four points" were drawn up by the social democracy in order that the proletariat should fix its gaze on them to the exclusion of all else and wait in a sort of hypnotic trance

for the arrival of the "casus belli," whilst in the meantime fascism continues its social-political offensive to weaken the fighting energies of the working class and continually perfects its preparations for the establishment of its political monopoly.

The demand of the Thirteenth Plenary Session that the struggle against the social democracy should be intensified therefore applies with particular force to the situation in which the Austrian C.P. finds itself. The "establishment of a united front with the social-democratic workers" has become the central task of the Party, because it is the lever for the organisation of the mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship and for the declaration of a general strike. Great masses of workers are already prepared to join in the general strike, but they are not yet convinced that such a strike could only be conducted successfully against the social democracy and under the leadership of the Communist Party, and that the Communist Party must become the leader of the working class against the attacks of fascism, in the defence of the trade unions, of the working-class press, of the working-class buildings, clubs, etc., and of the right to strike, to organise and to meet.

The decision of the Thirteenth Plenum concerning the necessity for "an all day and every day struggle to expose chauvinism" must assist in securing the speediest possible rectification of the considerable weaknesses of the Austrian C.P. on this field. The C.P. still does not oppose the national socialist mass propaganda of nationalism with sufficient energy. The Party organisations are still disposed to treat the black-yellow chauvinist agitation as something more amusing than dangerous. The struggle against fascist ideology is of great importance and must therefore be intensified, for the Party must under no circumstances confine its activities to fighting against fascist measures. Is there not a great danger that our enlightenment work concerning the danger of Austria being lined up in imperialist groupings and its becoming a second Belgium will remain an empty phrase if a situation continues to exist in which the weakest organisations of the Party are to be found just in those districts which have the most important war factories? Ineffective work against national chauvinism and against the militarist ideology coupled with organisational weakness just in those districts which are of primary importance for war production and the transport of war materials represent a danger which the Austrian C.P. must overcome as speedily as possible by energetic and concentrated work.

The thesis adopted by the Thirteenth Plenum points out:

"Fascism is trying to secure a mass basis for monopolist capital among the petty-bourgeoisie, appealing to the peasantry, artisans, office employees and civil servants who have been thrown out of their normal course of life, and particularly to the declassed elements in the big cities, and it is also trying to penetrate into the working class."

An examination of the work of the Austrian C.P. reveals the fact that since its prohibition the work of the Party amongst just these elements has become considerably weaker or even temporarily non-existent. A systematic organisation of the work amongst the masses of the peasantry who are vacillating between Hitler and Dollfuss fascism therefore becomes all the more necessary. The work amongst the unemployed—hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers in Austria are in danger of becoming declassed—has been very sadly neglected, and it must be taken up anew immediately. Further, the great weaknesses of the Young Communist League must be rectified.

The social democracy calls upon the working masses to "come to an understanding with the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasants in the struggle for democracy"; in other words, to work for the formation of a bloc between the Austrian S.D.P. and the "democratic" section of fascism. This would mean an understanding on the basis of a constitutional establishment of the fascist dictatorship, should that be possible.

The Austrian C.P. must oppose this social-fascist perspective of Austro-Marxism with a revolutionary mass struggle of all sections of the oppressed masses under the leadership of the proletariat for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, for a revolutionary fraternisation of the oppressed masses in town and country, and for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet power.

In this connection the Austrian C.P. draws up a balance of the events since 1918 and proves to the working masses that the failure to follow a Bolshevik path has led inevitably to a system of brutal and overt dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The Austrian

C.P. points out to the working class where it would be to-day had it not followed the false path of Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler. However, the preliminary condition for the realisation of the revolutionary perspective put before the masses by the Communist Party is a fundamental increase of the work of the Party amongst those sections which belong to-day to an increasing degree to the field of fascist influence.

And, finally, a passage from the thesis of the Plenum must be kept steadily before the eyes of all the members and officials of the Austrian C.P. with all possible emphasis, namely:—

"Only the concentration of all the efforts of the Party organisations on forming underground factory nuclei and intensifying the work of the Communist fractions in all the mass organisations, can ensure contacts with the masses and also the maximum of secrecy and efficiency."

The greatest weaknesses of the Party lie precisely on these fields, and in this connection there is the greatest danger that in the event of a further intensification of the fascist terror the Party may be torn away from the decisive sections of the proletariat. All those tendencies which still exist in the Party to the effect that the necessary secrecy can be guaranteed by isolation from the masses and that this secrecy demands the abandonment of the utilisation of all legal possibilities must be overcome.

In the same way a thorough reorganisation of the trade union work of the Party in all its sections must be undertaken. All tendencies to oppose the revolutionary trade union movement to the trade unions and the resulting great neglect of the work in the reformist trade unions, the isolation of the revolutionary trade union movement from the masses of the workers in the reformist trade unions and in the factories, and, finally, the isolation of the revolutionary trade union movement from the Party itself, must be overcome. Absolutely new relations between the Party organisations and the revolutionary trade union movement must be established.

In this way the Austrian C.P. must proceed with all seriousness to carry out the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum and to ensure that all the members of the Party and the masses of the workers in general become thoroughly acquainted with the decisions of this most important session.

## Book Review

### The War for the Land in Ireland\*

By J. Shields (London)

Written by a member of the Young Irish Communist Party, this is a book which strikingly portrays the course of the Irish land struggle during the past two hundred years, and analyses it from the revolutionary working class standpoint.

With keen Marxist penetration and accuracy, Brian O'Neill traces the struggles of the Irish peasant masses right from the end of the Cromwellian settlement up until the present moment. Throughout the pages of the book he gives a gripping account of the age-long fight of the Irish countryside against rack-renting landlordism and the tyrannical domination exercised over the Irish people by the merciless bloodsucking British bourgeoisie.

The despotic yoke of British capitalist might has wrought almost indescribable havoc and ruin upon generation after generation of the Irish people. The record of Britain's reign, as O'Neill impressively demonstrates, has been written over Ireland in figures of appalling mass impoverishment, famine upon famine, wholesale eviction of the poor peasantry from the land, and the widespread use of unbridled terrorism against the Irish masses.

\* "The War for the Land in Ireland," by Brian O'Neill, with an introduction by Peadar O'Donnell. London: Martin Lawrence, Ltd. Cloth covers, 6s.; paper covers, 2s. 6d.

This book shows the monstrous character of the early exploitation of Ireland by the English landlords, gives details of the enormous sums of plunder which were extracted to fill the pockets of the latter, and presents a graphic picture of the deliberate ruination of Irish agriculture by the British ruling class.

As Frederick Engels states in his book, "Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844,"

"the rapid extension of English industry could not have taken place if England had not possessed in the numerous and impoverished population of Ireland a reserve at command."

Brian O'Neill makes clear how this reserve was created by the hounding of the Irish peasantry from the land and the terrible ravages of the great Hunger, for which the British bourgeoisie were criminally responsible.

He shows how time and again the masses of Ireland have risen in open revolt, and deals at length with the many heroic struggles which they have waged for their emancipation.

The history of Ireland, as this book demonstrates, is rich in revolutionary struggle. But it is also characterised by a long record of betrayal of that struggle at the hands of petty-bourgeois and capitalist leadership, whose vacillations, compromises with the enemy, and outright acts of treachery have time and time again robbed the struggling Irish masses of success.

This is fully outlined by the author in describing the early and later land struggles from the time of the Ribbonmen, the Land Leaguers, etc., up to the present period when the British imperialist economic blockade of the Irish Free State is operating in full blast. The figures of such courageous fighters as Mitchell, Davitt, Laker, are sketched in bold relief, and here also is set forth the defeatist role of Parnell, the stifling activities undertaken by the leaders of Sinn Fein, and the reactionary onslaughts of the Catholic clergy.

Drawing the lesson from the failure of the struggle in the past, Brian O'Neill shows that only under the leadership of the Irish proletariat, led by its own Communist Party, can the fight for national and social emancipation be successfully carried through to a finish.

He examines in detail the situation of Ireland in relation to the world agrarian crisis, and deals very effectively with the question of the revolutionary way out.

The brilliant achievements of the Russian workers and peasants are illustrated, and the triumphant progress of socialist agriculture, which the October Revolution of 1917 under Bolshevik leadership made possible, is presented as a glaring contrast to the chaos and ruination of agriculture under capitalism.

At the end of the book there is attached that part of the famous speech of Comrade Stalin, which was delivered in January, 1933, to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, wherein the achievements of the first Five-Year Plan in the field of agriculture are recorded.

The appendix also contains a number of useful informative tables concerning the number and size of Irish land holdings, details of livestock, agricultural labourers' wages, etc.

It is a book which, as Peadar O'Donnell, the well-known Irish Republican Army leader states in his introduction, "will rain sparks" in Ireland.

And it will serve to further emphasise to the working class of Britain the need for still greater solidarity with and support of the struggle of the Irish masses against our common enemy, if the stranglehold of British imperialism upon both British and Irish workers is to be smashed.

For it is a fact which is inescapable, that the holding down of Ireland has not only meant the terrible ravaging and oppression of the Irish people but it has been the means of enabling the British bourgeoisie to rivet tighter the chains of wage slavery and capitalist exploitation upon the limbs of the British workers themselves.

Success in carrying forward the struggle for complete Irish independence is a vital issue for the working class of Britain if they, too, hope to achieve their emancipation.

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