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## CORRESPONDENCE

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## The Face of France Has Changed

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The events in February have confirmed in all points the appraisal and the perspectives of the Communist International and the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P. of France; this is the first conclusion to be drawn from the discussions which were held by the Central Committee of the C.P. of France on 14th and 15th of March. These events have also fundamentally changed the political and social physiognomy of the country.

They represent one of the "violent explosions," one of the sharp turns in events to which the theses of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. refer when calling upon the Communists to prepare for them. We perceive here a striking example of the sharpening of the fundamental and insoluble contradictions of capitalism to "such a degree that any moment a turn can be expected which will mark the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis."

The Stavisky scandal was the final drop in the cup which brought the discontent, the unrest and anger, accumulated and intensified by the growth of the crisis to overflowing. The bourgeoisie has shown to all that "it is no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general," and that it is determined to pass, either by force or by the more subtle methods of fasciation, or by a combination of the two methods, to an open terrorist dictatorship.

The accelerated increase in unemployment, the financial difficulties of big industrial undertakings (alarming bankruptcies, such as that of the big firm of Citroen, which is still concealed), great unrest in the rural districts as a result of the bad sales of grain and cattle, catastrophic financial situation, development of the strike movement, which often assumes an offensive character,

international difficulties which shake French hegemony in Europe—all these factors have caused the bourgeoisie not to rest content with the illusions attached to the "Left" governments and to orientate themselves on the fasciation of the regime.

We have passed to a higher stage of the class struggle. From February 6th to 12th the Paris workers fought courageously in the streets, repulsed the fascist bands, and sometimes even overpowered the police at the cost of heroic sacrifices. The magnificent demonstration of February 9, which took place in response to the appeal of the Party, gave the signal and the example for the general strike on February 12, which assumed a purely political character in spite of Jouhaux's promises to the government. This strike embraced four million fighters, half of whom at least had demonstrated in the streets; hundreds of thousands displayed great fighting capacity as strike pickets or on the barricades.

The united front of action has been set up and consolidated among the workers of all tendencies, overcoming all the obstacles which the socialist party and the C.G.T. had attempted to place in their way. In the majority of cases our Party and the unitary trade unions have taken the initiative. In spite of the mistakes which the C.C. noted, the action was carried out almost entirely on the basis of our slogans, and in the first place the slogan of Soviets.

This is the result of the consistent application, although still inadequate, of the political united front tactic of action from below.

The revolutionary upsurge of the masses is manifested not only by these struggles, by the magnificent street demonstrations on the occasion of the funeral of the workers killed in the street fighting,

in spite of the official prohibition of the funerals, but also by the increased sympathy for our Party expressed in the great success of our meetings, the influx of letters to the Central Committee approving the policy of the Party, the recruitment of at least 3,000 new enthusiastic members by our Party (and 15,000 new members by our unitary trade unions), the growth in the circulation of "l'Humanité."

The French proletariat, thanks to its Communist Party and under the leadership of the latter, has fought a **big and victorious battle** against the bourgeoisie, has repulsed the fascist bands. To be sure, the fascist danger is by no way removed. The fascists are preparing for fresh attacks. The fascist leagues are recruiting mercenaries, equipping themselves with weapons, are attempting to set up better connections with the cadres of the army. Fascism is endeavouring to create for itself a mass basis, in the first place among the ex-soldiers: the fascist leaders intend to have programmes of "rejuvenation of the State and restoration of authority" adopted at the next National Conference of the General Federation of Ex-Servicemen, which embraces four million members.

In order to give fascism, which was shaken in February, a breathing space to regroup its ranks, the government of the National Union, headed by the adventurer Tardieu, is proceeding to the **fascisation of the regime**: greater financial and economic powers for the government, the project to increase the army of small traders, preparation for provocations, or a coup against the Communist Party, whilst at the same time stirring up the anger of the people by the endeavours to maintain the obscurity surrounding the scandals, and to unleash a permanent wave of unbridled chauvinism.

The struggle against fascism and the National Union which is being prepared must be redoubled. **This struggle must be conducted every day**, in the factories, by raising the smallest day-to-day demands together with the political slogans, by partial demands of all kinds in order to arrive at the political mass strike. The Central Committee warns the Party against any tendency towards passivity, to an exaggerated satisfaction with the successes achieved. We must realise the seriousness of the situation and the rapid development of events. **Loss of tempo** would be a serious danger for the Party. It is necessary to increase our efforts for a still larger recruitment of new members to our Party, for a firmer rooting of our organisations in the factories, for a strengthening of our leading committees, in order to ensure the safety of the Party and its functionaries, for the organisation of a self-defence of the masses.

Our Party must devote particular attention to the strata which fascism endeavours to win over by its social and national demagoguery: the youth, the ex-soldiers, the poor peasantry. In France, this latter social category will play a decisive role owing to its numerical importance and its economic and social weight: one of the greatest tasks of the Party is **to prevent the fascists from getting hold of the rural districts**. The C.C. has decided to commence a special agitation campaign in the rural districts in preparation for the National Peasant Congress on May 20, drawing into this campaign the agricultural workers and those workers who are most closely connected with the peasants: railwaymen, postal employees, teachers, etc.

It is necessary to **consolidate and extend the successes achieved in the setting up of the united front of action** by means of the greatest political clarity. The socialist party is manoeuvring desperately in order to destroy the united front of struggle; it is playing the role of a revolutionary opposition, mouthing radical phrases, and redoubling its attacks on the gigantic stream of united action of the workers in response to our slogans. But its crisis is continuing. The socialist party is regrouping its leading committees by bringing in the most outspoken advocates of collaboration with the bourgeoisie (Dormoy, Frossard, Paulin, etc.), but it is not succeeding in consolidating its position among the rank and file. The fact that at several district conferences of the socialist party, and even at the last session of its National Council, certain members raised the demand for a discussion with the Communist International on the question of unity is of great historical importance. Again, just as before the split, in spite and against the wish of the leaders of their party, the socialist workers are raising the question: **for or against Moscow.**

The moment is more favourable than ever for a bold and persistent action in order to wrest from the counter-revolutionary influence of the socialists those workers who are still in their ranks and to bring them into our Party. We have to fight on two fronts:

against the concealment of the face of our Party, the weakening of our leading role and also against sectarianism. In marching forward we shall correct the mistakes which have been revealed, and we shall advance without allowing ourselves to be held up by any formal questions.

It must be realised that now, as in all the difficult periods in the history of our Party (as in 1923 on the occasion of the war in the Ruhr district, in the year 1925 during the war in Morocco, just as in 1929 during the big government offensive, etc.), the hesitating and capitulatory elements inside the Party are becoming confused and shaky. The Right opportunist deviation which is the expression of the petty bourgeois and social democratic ideology inside the Party, was manifested before and during the February events in the attempt to revise the tactic of the united front from below, in order to replace it by a liquidatory and Brandlerist policy of a bloc with the social democracy.

The C.C. has emphatically rejected such liquidationist tendencies. It has pledged itself to exterminate Right opportunism, which constitutes the greatest danger at the present moment in our Party, by carrying out all the tasks confronting it. It realises that in order to defeat the social democracy, which is the main social support of the bourgeoisie, the Party must come forward as a uniform and homogeneous bloc, closely gathered round its central committee, in which it places the greatest confidence. The Central Committee therefore demands of all its members the strictest discipline in the application of the political line, which has just been confirmed by its last session, and, together with the workers following it, it is determined to crush ruthlessly any attempt to diminish the authority of the Party and its leadership.

There is no doubt that we are marching at the head of the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The C.C. has decided to mobilise the whole Party in order to carry out a powerful national anti-fascist demonstration on May 20 and 21, to increase the number of Fighting Committees against fascism and war, which are already now being joined by socialist branches and reformist trade unions. This campaign will be carried out in the daily actions in the works and factories, among the civil servants, in the reformist trade unions, where revolutionary oppositional groups must be organised, in the mass organisations of the ex-servicemen, the youth, the peasants, etc.

It is **only due to the Communist Party** that the first wave of fascism has been repulsed. A second onslaught is being prepared; it will also be defeated, if the economic and political struggle of the masses under our leadership will prevent the fascists from creating in France that large mass basis which they still lack and if our determined work on the basis of the united front from below, while eliminating all social democratic or Trotskyist contraband in our ranks, will smash the influence of the socialist party.

## Politics

### The New Financial Measures in Czechoslovakia

By Viktor Stern (Prague)

Following the currency law, which came into force a few weeks ago and reduced the gold content of the crown by one sixth and the gold cover of the banknotes in circulation from 35 to 25 per cent., the law on the Re-discount and Loan Bank is now being rushed through Parliament in order thereby to carry out the second stage of the new financial policy, i.e., the policy of open inflation. Following the depreciation of the crown, it is intended to carry out practical inflation by increasing the banknote circulation.

The law specifies the purpose of the Bank as follows: To grant or negotiate bills of exchange and credit, to co-operate in the regulation of the market for State securities, to participate in State credit operations and dealing in securities. Finally the Bank, when the government gives it special sanction and public interest demands it, shall carry out the winding up of banks or take part in such winding up.

These legal provisions clearly show what the government intends with this Act. The new financial institution has as its object to grant credits to banks and similar institutions on a far larger scale than purely business considerations would justify; through the medium of this bank to grant credits to other capitalists, which they otherwise would not be able to obtain; artificially to maintain the price of government securities; and

last, but not least, to render it possible to grant the State unrestricted credit without its obtaining Parliamentary sanction and without any real cover. In case of need, the bank itself shall carry out the salvage of banks by merging bankrupt banks and granting credits. Briefly stated, the purpose of the Act is to grant vast sums to the banks and the bankrupt State Treasury. Of course the task of financing the enormous armaments, which the empty State Treasury is incapable of financing, also plays a decisive role in this connection.

As far as the working masses are concerned, the most important thing will be the way in which the new bank will raise these vast sums. From the contents of the Act it is perfectly plain that this will be done by the new bank obtaining the necessary money from the Bank of Issue itself by the printing of banknotes. The capital which the bank itself has at its disposal will play only a subordinate role in this connection, as it will by no means suffice to meet the prospective arrangements. But even this method of raising capital means a robbery of the working masses. The government is placing hundreds of millions at the disposal of the bank, but has itself to borrow these sums. Further, all money institutions are obliged to place 10 per cent. of the increase of their deposits at the disposal of the new bank. This, it is true, will not amount to much, because the increase in deposits is very small, but it will at the same time jeopardise the interests of the small depositors. Still worse is the provision that all life insurance institutions must place 15 per cent. of the increases of their premium reserves in the new bank. The chief blow, however, consists in the provision that the Central Social Insurance Institution and the General Pensions Institution must deposit 10 per cent. of the increase of their funds with the bank. This involves great sums, and one can even say that it represents a robbery of all insured workers and employees, whose contributions are to be used to cover the risk of the inflationist granting of credit to shaky banks and exploiters of all kinds, and in the first place to the bankrupt State.

The Bank of Issue is to print millions of new banknotes and lend them to the banks, to the capitalists and the State without any adequate security. This, it is true, provides the opportunity for enormous profits, but at the same time involves enormous risks. For this reason the government did not wish to adopt the course of granting these credits direct through the Bank of Issue. In the Bank of Issue there is invested private, specially privileged, capital which must be sure of profit. Therefore the matter has been so arranged that the banks, the employers and the State come to the new bank, and the new bank, supported by State guarantees and the compulsory deposits in it of social insurance contributions and the money of the small depositors, grants these credits, and borrows the necessary money from the Bank of Issue. The whole risk is in this way shifted on to the tax payers, the workers and employees, and the small depositors, while the profits go to the Bank of Issue.

That the new bank is being set up solely for this purpose is to be seen from the fact that, apart from the compulsory deposits, there is no provision for the participation of private capital in the undertaking, and no distribution of profits are provided for. The new bank will not make profits, but only give presents at the cost of the general population. On the other hand, careful provision is made that the control and management of the bank shall lie entirely in the hands of finance-capital.

The new institute, however, will lead to inflation not only by receiving credits from the Bank of Issue, but it will also itself "create money." The law prescribes that it shall obtain the means for its credits not only by rediscounting but also by the emission of bonds and mortgage loans. The possibility of further extension of the note circulation is already very wide. It is true, the amount of the present banknotes in circulation, namely 5½ milliards, is less than in the years of trade prosperity, when it amounted to 7 and even to 8 milliards. If one, however, takes into account the enormous decline in the circulation of goods, then the present quantity of banknotes in circulation is very great. The present gold cover amounts to 38.3 per cent. As now only 25 per cent. will be necessary, and this gold cover, reckoned in paper, is one-fifth more in value owing to the depreciation of the crown, one can easily see that there exists the possibility for the printing of milliards of new banknotes.

This monstrous law, which is bound to lead to a rapid increase in prices, is supplemented by a number of other measures directed against the workers. Wages are now being attacked from two sides, as direct cuts are being carried out by the employers. Wage move-

ments and strikes are to be prohibited. Incredible as it may sound, it is nevertheless a fact that the social fascists, who have been the most eager in demanding the rapid carrying out of the economic plan, the depreciation of the crown and the rediscount law, represent this coming prohibition of strikes as a great achievement. They point to the continued wage reductions, which were possible thanks only to their active assistance, and declare that this law will protect the workers from further wage cuts. They do not say anything about the monstrous reduction of real wages by inflation and the fact that the capitalist arbitration courts will refuse to sanction wage increases but not wage reductions when the employers consider this necessary.

As a demagogic manoeuvre the social fascists have brought in a Bill for the introduction of the 40-hour week. The 40-hour week, according to the social fascist model, will only serve the capitalists, as if it is introduced at all it will be without wage compensations, which in effect will mean an actual wage reduction for all workers. It is further intended to introduce compulsory labour for the unemployed (labour service camps for young workers, unemployed squads, compulsory labour service, etc.).

The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and its government, which is introducing the fascist dictatorship, is working with the same means and methods as fascism in Italy, Germany and other countries. By means of these "economic measures" the workers are to be still further crushed and enslaved. But the bourgeoisie and its social fascist agents must not and will not succeed in this. The revolutionary proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is intensifying its revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois rule and the setting up of the Soviet power.

## A Great Success of the C.P. of Switzerland

By A. K.

On March 11 a plebiscite was held in Switzerland on the penal law, which the Swiss bourgeoisie were anxious to rush through. The law was rejected. Half a million workers and peasants declared themselves opposed to it. This anti-fascist victory, gained by the Communist Party, is a direct result of the great class battles fought during the last few weeks in the neighbouring countries of Switzerland. The armed uprising in Austria and the general strike in France have contributed to arousing the masses to deal a counter-blow against the fascist attack of the Swiss bourgeoisie.

The penal law was brought in under the influence of Hitler's seizure of power. It was intended to liquidate the right of combination of the masses, and envisaged severe penalties for "disturbance of public peace and order," especially for anti-militarist work in the army. All the bourgeois parties were in favour of this law, the peasants' party, the most important section of the fascist movement, headed by the civil war general, Sonderegger. The social democrats, too, were for the law, and in particular the reformist trade unions. The social-democratic members of the National Council, Huber and Co., took an active part in drawing up the most important points of the penal law. In the Canton of Tessin it was the leaders of the social democrats who advocated in the cantonal government that this law should be passed for Tessin.

The Communist Party of Switzerland, in launching immediately an enlightenment campaign among the masses, resorted to the referendum, and carried on its agitation among the social-democratic workers, showing them the treacherous policy of the S.P. of Switzerland and of the reformist trade unions. The social-democratic press kept the fact secret from the masses that the leaders of the S.P. committee and the entire committee of the trade union federation were in favour of the penal law. The Communist Party broke through this conspiracy of silence by publishing confidential documents of the trade union federation and of the party committee, showing plainly that the trade unions would not oppose the law, and that they would not expend a penny or give a line of their press to prevent the coming into force of the law. The trade union federation issued a circular to all local groups of the unions, forbidding them to make any opposition to the law.

A storm of indignation broke out among the social-democratic workers. The lower units of the social-democratic organisations, and the local branches of the trade unions, one after another, resolved to protest against this open treachery, against this social-fascist policy of the bureaucrats. This storm forced the party

congress of the S.P., meeting on February 25 in Berne, to deal with the serious conflict which had broken out in the party. **Robert Grimm**, as also the "Left" demagogues, **Walter and Nicole**, endeavoured to dissociate themselves from the trade union federation. But the completely fascised trade union bureaucrats tore the masks from the faces of the hypocritical S.P. politicians. The chairman of the trade union federation, **Meister**, declared at the party congress:—

"I must dispel a legend here. The party committee has been fully informed on the attitude of the trade union federation."

The trade union leaders openly threatened to break with the party. **Grimm** had no choice but to apologise to **Meister**. He reproached the trade union leaders, however, with not having kept their decision a secret, but of spreading it among the masses, thus enormously increasing the rebellion in the works and factories and in the trade unions. The trade union federation was inundated by protests, but the bureaucrats pretended not to be moved by them.

During these weeks the **Communist Party** made great progress in the field of mass mobilisation. It is solely due to the C.P. that the storm of the social-democratic and trade unionist workers carried along with it all the local groups of the S.P. and of the trade unions in this campaign, and broke through the decision of the committee of the trade union federation.

In this campaign the Communist Party was able to record for the first time successes among the small peasantry. The Basle organisation accomplished excellent work in particular. The Party sent seven hundred revolutionary workers into the villages. This helped to induce 15,000 small-holders in Basle Land to vote against the penal law.

The C.P. had some serious conflicts with the fascist bands during this campaign. In a number of cantons the Communists succeeded in speaking at fascist meetings and in exposing the agents of finance capital. The C.P. was able to increase the number of its adherents by means of great mass meetings in the works and factories and in the towns. In this campaign, which was closely bound up with the solidarity campaign for the Austrian workers, the Party endeavoured to penetrate into places where it has hitherto been weak, and it has been able to record considerable success.

The issue of the plebiscite aroused a perfect panic in the Swiss bourgeoisie. The "*Neue Zuercher Zeitung*" observed that it was a "black day for the country."

The originator of the law, Minister of Justice **Haerberlin**, felt obliged to resign after this defeat.

In spite of its defeat on March 11, the bourgeoisie is, of course, endeavouring to continue its attacks on the revolutionary proletariat, and especially against the Communist Party. The "*Neue Zuercher Zeitung*" calls openly for dictatorial emergency orders and refers directly to the maturing of the revolutionary situation in Europe, including Switzerland.

Social democracy alone endeavours to persuade the masses that the result of the referendum:—

"Has brought about a stabilisation of democracy. Amidst the great convulsions all over Europe, Swiss democracy maintains its stability."

The penal-law social democrats, as they have been called by the revolutionary workers of Switzerland during this campaign, are now attempting, after this open treachery, to carry fresh illusions into the masses, and to crush the first beginnings of the impending extra-parliamentary struggles.

The C.P. of Switzerland is now faced by great tasks. It must utilise its success of March 11 for the organisational strengthening of its ranks by means of systematic recruiting. It must transform the Red trade unions into mass organisations. It must further develop its press, which has recorded a certain amount of progress of late, and make its newspapers real mass fighting organs of the Swiss proletariat. It must exert its utmost powers to aid the metal and building workers in warding off the wage cuts, and must make up for the strike-breaking activity of the reformists in the building workers' strike (this strike has already affected twelve hundred workers in Zuerich) by careful preparations for the wage struggles among other categories of the workers. It must intensify the crisis in social democracy till the workers split off in great masses from this party of betrayal. It must carry on work on a broader and deeper scale in the rural districts, and must combine this closely with an aggressive struggle against

the fascists, in order to frustrate the fascist endeavours to win a mass influence.

The small Communist Party of Switzerland has fought a great battle. Thanks to its correct political line, its clear slogans, and its increased activities, it has won the confidence of tens of thousands of workers and peasants. The events in Switzerland have dealt a severe blow to the remnants of opportunism still existing in the Party. These events have plainly shown that the revolutionary upsurge is visible, even in little Switzerland. If the Party proves capable of promoting the radicalisation of the masses in mass struggles, and of eliminating all the weaknesses and passivity still existing in the Party, then in the near future the Communist Party of Switzerland will become a strong mass Party, which will lead the masses to victory over the bourgeoisie and its social-fascist agents.

## The Bloody Mendieta Government in Cuba

By E. P. Greene (New York)

"I have 100,000 men behind me ready to stifle any attempt to destroy the nation's sovereignty."—**Mendieta**.

On the afternoon of January 15, as the bullets of Batista's machine-guns were spreading death in front of the presidential palace in Havana, **Grau San Martin**, provisional president of Cuba, slipped out of a side door of that building and fled to Mexico, from where he continues to make demagogic speeches, attempting to pose as the leader of the struggle against Yankee imperialism. Thus ended the "authentic revolutionary" government which has been ruling Cuba since September 10, 1933.

American imperialism had for several months been attempting, at first through **Sumner Welles** and later through **Jefferson Caffery**, to put into office a more stable government, which would carry out more efficiently the orders of Washington. On January 5 **Mendieta**, at the instigation of **Caffery**, sent **Grau** a letter calling upon him to resign. **Caffery**, "personal representative" of **Roosevelt** in Cuba, finally succeeded in temporarily uniting all those factions of the bourgeoisie and landowners opposed to the **Grau** regime. On the night of January 14 a secret meeting took place in Havana between the **Batista-Grau** junta and representatives of the A.B.C. While these negotiations were going on it was decided to appoint as provisional president **Carlos Hevia**, Secretary of Agriculture. It was intended that **Hevia** should remain in office only until the various factions of the ruling class should agree to support the one man whom American imperialism has been attempting to manoeuvre into the presidency ever since the fall of the **Céspedes** government on September 5—**Carlos Mendieta**.

These manoeuvres finally succeeded, and on January 18 **Mendieta** was made provisional president, **Hevia** having been in office only two days. Nevertheless, even two days was not too short a period for this new lackey of American imperialism to carry out a blood-bath among the masses. On January 15, at a demonstration in Havana against the **Hevia** government, four were killed and nineteen wounded. Thus **Batista**, head of the army and to-day one of the most powerful men in Cuba, who supports **Mendieta** and who earlier supported **Grau**, is attempting to snatch from the brow of **Machado** his now faded laurels, and to qualify as chief butcher for American imperialism.

The **Mendieta** government represents those strata of the bourgeois-landlord class most intimately connected with American imperialism. Colonel **Carlos Mendieta y Montefur**, now sixty years old, has been for many years one of the most prominent figures in politics in Cuba. A large landowner and sugar planter, he has long been linked with the interests of the U.S. sugar companies. In 1896 **Mendieta**, even then a wealthy man, financed and armed a regiment of the Army of Liberation which was then engaged in a struggle against Spain. He began his political career in 1901 when, after the Spanish-American war, he was elected a representative to the chamber from the Santa Clara province; he was re-elected in 1908 and 1912. In 1916 he was the nominee of the liberal party, of which **Machado** was one of the leaders, for vice-president. In 1924 **Mendieta** lost the nomination of the liberal party for president to **Machado**. Within the liberal party a bitter struggle for the leadership was waged between **Machado** and **Mendieta**, and the latter became the leader of the bourgeois opposition to President **Machado**. In August, 1931, **Mendieta** and **Méndez Peñate** attempted a coup d'état in Pinar del Rio, which was quickly put down by government troops. Both leaders were soon released by **Machado** after their arrest.

In Mendieta's cabinet are to be found four members of the nationalist party, organised by Mendieta, three members of the A.B.C., two members of Menocal's conservative party, and two "independent" politicians. A complete united front of the most reactionary elements, the united front of the counter-revolution. Cosme de la Torriente is Secretary of State, Martínez Sáenz, leader of the A.B.C., Secretary of the Treasury, and Méndez Peñaite, Secretary of Justice. Jorge Manach, the ideological leader of the A.B.C., whose models are Hitler and Mussolini, has been appropriately appointed Ambassador to Germany. The present government has the enthusiastic support of the Machadistas, particularly of Orestes Ferrara, Machado's Secretary of State.

It is not a coincidence that this government came into office in the middle of January. That is the time of the commencement of the zafra, the harvest of the sugar cane and therefore a critical date for American imperialism and for the native exploiters.

The Mendieta government has had the unqualified support of American imperialism ever since it first came into office. On January 23 it was officially recognised by the White House, and at the same time many of the bourgeois-landlord governments of Caribbean and South America, at the instigation of Roosevelt, also extended recognition. So eager are the American capitalists to have "peace and order" in Cuba that they have now come out with a scheme for "the economic rehabilitation of Cuba." It is planned to place a quota on beet sugar grown in the U.S., to be fixed at 1,450,000 tons, a drop from 1933. The quotas of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico are also to be slightly reduced. The quota on Cuban sugar is to be raised to 1,944,000 tons. This is in the House bill. Under this bill Roosevelt will be given dictatorial powers in fixing tariffs. He has intimated that he will lower the tariff on Cuban sugar as quickly as possible. In addition, the U.S. is granting Mendieta a ten million dollar "food" credit.

The Mendieta-Batista government has declared an armed war against the Cuban masses. The election for the Constituent Assembly has been indefinitely postponed. A new wave of strikes is sweeping the island. The strikes in the sugar industry are endangering the success of the cane harvest. The government is resorting to the greatest terror and is carrying through the harvest at the point of machine-guns. At the end of February only 58 out of a total of 175 sugar mills were grinding the cane. Under Article 3 of the new labour law, which makes strikes illegal, workers are being murdered and thrown into prison. Four workers, leaders of the strike at Nazabal, were recently brutally murdered. Batista sent 400 soldiers, under Colonel Granero, his chief assistant, to break the strike at the Preston mill in Oriente province, owned by the United Fruit Co. All mills in the vicinity are tied up by the strike: Baguanos, Boston, Chaparra, Delicias. The mills are surrounded by trenches, barbed wire and machine-guns. Martial law and the strictest censorship reign throughout the whole eastern end of Cuba.

In the background, directing this bloody campaign of the government against the strikers, may be observed the figure of **Jefferson Caffery**, now the official American Ambassador. This gentleman has had experience before in massacring workers. It was he who, when Minister to Colombia, ordered the slaughter of hundreds of men, women, and children at the time of the strike on the banana plantations of the United Fruit Co. in Santa Marta in 1928.

**Batista** has openly declared that his terror is directed primarily against the Communists. These strikes are being led by the S.N.O.I.A. (National Sugar Workers' Industrial Union), a revolutionary union, affiliated to the "Left" wing C.N.O.C. In this bloody struggle the striking workers must have immediate international support, particularly from the workers in the United States.

#### Tear Gas Against Workers

London, March 22.

Through its Prime Minister, **MacDonald**, the national government has once again shown that it is prepared to use any measures against the working class. In answer to a suggestion that tear gas should be used in civil disturbances, put by a Tory M.P. in the House of Commons last night, **MacDonald** said:—

"Occasions for the intervention of the armed forces in civil disturbances are, I am glad to say, very rare in this country. The suggestion made by my hon. and gallant friend has been noted."

## Germany

### The Triumph of the Dictatorship of Monopoly Capital in the "Third Reich"

From the German Frontier.

After the enactment of the "Labour Law" which rendered the employer complete dictator in the factory and robbed the staff of all rights, the Hitler government, faithfully carrying out the commands of German monopoly capital, has gone a step farther and with the announcement of the "new order in the organic construction of German economy," has legally established the open and undisguised sole rule of monopoly capital to an extent hitherto unparalleled in any capitalist country. The labour law, like the law for the preparation of the organic construction of German economy, clearly reveals the brutal, monopoly-capitalist character of Hitler's "German socialism."

The most important measure and the one fraught with most consequences, is the compulsion for every undertaking to become a member of its appropriate trade association, which association is the only recognised economic organisation of the branch of economy in question. The associations themselves (there are 12 altogether) are under the control of the newly appointed general leader of German Economy, who is also provided with a deputy. Both are subordinate to the Reich Minister for Economic Affairs. **Herr Krupp**, who at the same time has been appointed leader of the association for coal, iron and steel, takes over the leadership of the seven associations covering industry. He is subordinate, however, to the General Leader of German Economy, **Philipp Kessler**, director of the Bergmann electricity works, who has been a national socialist for many years. Kessler was the first leader of the *Electro Front*, the national association of the electrical industry which was formed shortly after Hitler seized power. **Count Karl von der Goltz**, who became known as the defender of the Vehmic murderer Heines and who was recently appointed Labour Trustee in Stettin, has been appointed his deputy and chief business manager. Among the newly-appointed leaders of the trade associations we find the names of the most well-known big industrialists. They include, in addition to **Krupp**, **Voegler**, **Blohm**, the head of the large Hamburg dock works of **Blohm and Voss**. In the whole of the new organisation the strictest "leader principle" is carried out. The provision that once a year every leader must present himself to the led and ask for a vote of confidence, by which means "democratic control" is assured, is a ridiculous farce. Already at the first conference with the new economic leaders it was stated that should self-administration in any way lead to unsatisfactory results, final decision would rest with the Reichs Minister for Economic Affairs. He can appoint and remove leaders even against the annual vote, if there are reasons for believing it has been a wrong one.

The securing of "fair methods of competition" by special Courts of Honour emphasises the purely monopoly-capitalist character of this new regulation.

The speech which the Reichs Minister for Economic Affairs delivered on the occasion of the proclamation of the new regulation and the appointment of new economic leaders on March 13, plainly reveals the real intentions behind all these measures. **Dr. Schmitt** pointed out that this new measure was not to be regarded as part of the process of corporative reconstruction, which **Herr Hitler** had ordered to be held back for the time being, but it was a question of bringing German economy into organisational harmony with the present State constitution. The state of affairs which existed hitherto had, he said, prevented a systematic incorporation. With the exception of the State supervision of cartels, there had existed no possibility for the State to influence the associations themselves. **Schmitt** declared:—

"In many spheres there are to be seen organisations which set themselves the same or similar aims. In other spheres, on the other hand, there is a complete lack of any organisational connection. What is decisively important, however, is that a great number of outsiders permanently escape all influence.

Here there is openly divulged the real intentions which prompted the decisive sections of monopoly capital to issue this new regulation. Compulsory membership of the newly-established twelve trade associations ruthlessly subjects to the dictates of the trust magnates all the small and medium undertakings and even those

larger undertakings which as outsiders had hitherto withstood the pressure of the cartels and trusts. It is quite obvious that the fierce struggle in this economic sphere will not be ended or alleviated by this compulsory reconstruction. On the contrary, by transferring all the conflicting interests into the State monopoly associations a tremendously explosive material will be accumulated inside these economic organisations. How strong the opposition in this sphere must be is shown by Schmitt's assertions that the independent employer will not be removed by this new construction and that an honest competitive struggle is perfectly in harmony with national socialist principles. The insoluble contradiction between the private profit interests of the capitalist owner of the means of production and the interests of the fascist authoritarian State as a whole, with its monopoly capitalist tendency, is bound to wreck any attempt at a planned organisation of the capitalist economy.

There appears to exist great uneasiness among employers on account of the possible harm that some unteachable Nazi economic leaders and sub-leaders can cause; for Herr Schmitt considered it necessary to address the following appeal to his hearers:—

"I therefore address an urgent request to all economic circles to preserve the calm which is necessary in order to avoid mistakes and failures. . . . I would ask you, gentlemen, to take good note of this my request and see to it that over-zealous elements do not consider the time to have now come to turn everything upside down in the shortest possible time."

That does not sound as if the speaker was firmly and unshakably convinced that the new economic regulation will be carried out without friction. The growing difficulties and conflicts, the insoluble contradiction of interests among the circles of shaken capitalism, like the wicked fairy in the story of Sleeping Beauty, stand also at the cradle of this youngest child of Hitler's new economic order. But it would be a great mistake, in view of these tendencies which are accelerating the disintegration and decay of the German economy to underestimate the enormous importance which this new triumph of monopoly capital has for the whole further development of the class struggle in Germany. Herr Krupp knows why he thanked Herr Schmitt so warmly for his speech.

The repeated reference to the impossible position of German foreign trade, and in connection therewith the rigorous measures tending to a further restriction of the granting of foreign bills to importing firms, show the difficult situation of German capitalism which has given rise to this attempt at a new order with a purely monopolist tendency. The decisive sections of German monopoly capital are aware that the defence of the few still existing positions on the world market, not to speak of the winning of new positions, is only possible at the cost of the greatest sacrifices and drastic economic rationalisation. Small and weak undertakings are ruthlessly delivered over to bankruptcy and to the insatiable appetite of the monopolies.

Monopoly capital is triumphing, but it is triumphing only over the bodies of the small capitalists who have been sacrificed to the big sharks, and it is intensifying the class struggle which, allegedly, has once again been finally abolished.

In addition to the rebelling sections of the workers, of the poor peasants and the lower middle class, the progressive crisis thrusts the small and middle employers in ever larger numbers into the camp of those who realise more plainly every day that the Third Reich means for them economic disaster. The more favourable, therefore, are the prerequisites for wresting these strata also from fascism and for the Communist Party to pursue a real Bolshevik policy as the leader of the revolutionary proletariat together with the middle strata of the population in order further to shake the mass basis of capitalism.

## Release Torgler !

The "Dimitrov Committee," set up to campaign for the release of the Reichstag prisoners, has sent a Memorial to Hitler couched in the following terms:—

"We, the undersigned, having welcomed the statement made recently by your Excellency that the verdict of the Leipzig Court in the Reichstag Fire Trial would be carried out, and having noticed with satisfaction the release of the three Bulgarians, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev, desire to approach you on behalf of the remaining acquitted prisoner, Ernst Torgler, and submit for your consideration the following points in support of his early release:—

- "(1) Torgler was acquitted at the High Court at Leipzig of the crime with which he was charged.
- "(2) He and his fellow defendants who were also acquitted, the three Bulgarians, Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev, were taken into preventive custody under the same decree.
- "(3) Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev have now been set at liberty and allowed to proceed to the country of their choice.
- "(4) Torgler has made it clear that it was not at his request that he was taken into preventive custody and that he desires now to be released consequent on the verdict of the Court.

"Your Excellency will agree that the impartial administration of justice, in itself evidence of strong government, is an essential element of civilisation. In that faith we present to you this Memorial."

The Memorial is signed by 115 people prominent in English public life. The signatures include seven M.P.'s, trade union leaders (E. Bevin and Walkden), Lord Arnold, H. G. Wells, the Bishop of Birmingham, the Canon of Westminster Church, Mary Agnes Hamilton (a governor of the British Broadcasting Association), Lord Noel Buxton, and F. W. Pethick Lawrence (financial secretary to the Treasury in the late Labour Government).

## Comrade Dimitrov's Greetings to the Moscow District Conference of the Red Aid

Dear Comrades,—

I thank you heartily for the invitation to your Conference, but, unfortunately, am unable to attend owing to the doctor's orders.

I greet in you the advance-guard of the million-army of the members of the Red Aid of the Soviet Union, who are fighting in the front ranks of the world proletariat for the release of the revolutionary fighters pining in the fascist torture hells. Through the platform of your Conference I express once again, in my name and also in the name of my fellow-accused comrades at the trial, the deepest thanks to the toilers of the Soviet Union, whose powerful protest in the last resort stayed the hand of the fascist executioners. Your fight for the release of the accused at the Leipzig trial is the powerful expression of the deep international solidarity between the toilers of the Soviet Union and the proletariat of Germany, which is fighting against fascism, and its advance-guard, the Communist Party of Germany, with Comrade Thaelmann at its head.

The victory of the world proletariat in exposing the Leipzig provocation, as well as in the fight for our release—this moral victory over fascism at the Leipzig trial, must stir the toilers of all countries to fight still more strongly in order to wrest Comrade Thaelmann and the other prisoners of German and Austrian fascism from the hands of the "Aryan executioners" and to stay the arm of the savage murderers of the Bulgarian revolutionary sailors and soldiers.

We express our conviction that the 18th of March, the day of the International Red Aid, will be a day of powerful demonstrations of international solidarity of the toilers, a day of still stronger struggle of the toilers of all countries against the bloody terror of decaying capitalism, against fascism, for the release of the revolutionary fighters, who are fighting for the victory of the working class and the establishment of the Soviet Power in the whole world.

Long live the toilers of the Soviet Union, who are successfully building up the classless socialist society!

Long live the great leader of the toilers of the Soviet Union and of the whole world, Comrade Stalin, who is an example to us of Bolshevik steadfastness and irreconcilability in the fight against the class enemy!

Long live the International Red Aid, the million-army of fighting solidarity of the toilers of all countries!

(Signed) G. DIMITROV.

## Great Britain

# The Issue Before the I.L.P. Conference

By J. Shields (London)

Which path for the I.L.P.? The path of advance towards revolutionary association with the camp of Communism, or that which inevitably leads backwards into the swamp of bankrupt reformism? This is the decisive question which the delegates, attending the forthcoming Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party, are faced with and called upon to decide.

This year's conference of the I.L.P. takes place at Easter weekend (March 31 to April 3) in York. The decision which it takes on this important issue will decide whether the York conference is destined to represent a milestone marking the way forward for the membership of the I.L.P. as such or otherwise.

"Your Party has now the task of deciding for or against affiliation to the Communist International as a sympathising party, i.e., of choosing between the camp of the proletarian revolution and that of decaying reformism to which also the phrasemongering heroes of 'left' reformism belong."

The above passage, contained in the Communist International's reply of February 20, 1934, to the January letter of the N.A.C. of the I.L.P., sums up the outstanding issue which the I.L.P. conference is facing. There can be no half-way solution to this question.

That the majority of the working-class members of the I.L.P. are in sympathy with the Communist International, there can be no doubt. That they are likewise desirous of breaking with reformism, has already been unmistakably demonstrated. The carrying through of the break with the Labour Party, and the decisions taken at the 1933 Derby Conference provide proof of this.

But it is otherwise with the present leadership of the I.L.P. at whose head stand Brockway and Maxton. The latter have not only systematically endeavoured to sidetrack and confuse the membership with regard to the importance and decisiveness of the issue raised, but have resorted to all sorts of artifices and manoeuvres to further their own very decided opposition and hostility against any association with the Comintern. In this they have had the backing and support of their National Administrative Council.

At one moment making play with revolutionary catch phrases and at another coming out openly in an undisguised reactionary strain, they have all along manifested their strict adherence to the carrying out of a policy of reformism in deeds. The whole I.L.P. trend of development during the recent period bears witness to this.

It was only under the extreme pressure exercised from the ranks of the membership that the "left" reformist leaders of the I.L.P., under Maxton's and Brockway's guidance, were reluctantly compelled after delaying to the utmost, to carry out the line of disaffiliation from the Labour Party. But although disaffiliation has taken place, the hearts and thoughts of the Brockway-Maxton element have ever remained bound up with their old out-and-out reformist associates, Henderson and company.

Towards the latter they still continue to maintain an attitude of marked friendliness and subserviency which stands out in the most striking contrast to the provocative and ill-concealed hostility which has characterised their whole attitude in relation to the Communist International.

Again, it is to be noted that while the main bulk of the I.L.P. membership is filled with enthusiasm and support for the U.S.S.R., Mr. Brockway has not hesitated to level attacks against the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the N.A.C. of the I.L.P., despite the very specific instruction given it by the Derby conference regarding assisting in the work of the Comintern, has devoted its attention to pursuing a line of resistance against any I.L.P. approach to the C.I.

If this leadership is able to have its own way—and it is working hard to secure this—then the York Conference will be used in order to try and block the possibilities opening out for a decisive revolutionary advance.

Against this danger there is the most urgent necessity for the mobilising of every ounce of energy within the I.L.P. on the part of those who are striving to take a real step forward in the direction of strengthening the revolutionary forces of the working class. All that has transpired since the Derby Conference as well as the whole critical character of the situation which now presents itself emphasises this in the sharpest possible manner.

Everywhere the struggle is undergoing a tremendous sharpening. Big class battles are impending, and, as the recent events in Austria show, the working class is facing the danger of fresh betrayal at critical moments unless the treacherous influence and policy of social democracy is uncompromisingly fought against and defeated. A big responsibility in this connection rests upon the delegates who will participate in the I.L.P. Easter conference.

At the Derby conference held a year ago it will be remembered, certain important decisions were taken. It was decided, for instance, that the I.L.P. should continue the joint united front activities which it had already previously entered into with the Communist Party of Great Britain and also that the N.A.C. be instructed,

"to approach the Secretariat of the Communist International with a view to ascertaining in what way the I.L.P. may assist in the work of the International."

This resolution it has to be stated was only carried in the teeth of very strong opposition on the part of the leadership which put up Paton (the then secretary of the I.L.P.) to oppose it on behalf of the N.A.C. Although Paton made a very bitter attack on the Communist International, this proved of little avail and the resolution was adopted.

At once the E.C.C.I. welcomed this decision and signified its readiness to do all possible in assisting it to be carried out. But the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. had other views with regard to the matter, as afterwards became only too clear. A month after the Derby conference they wrote formally conveying the decision to the E.C.C.I. and asked to be told how it could be carried out. The Comintern's reply to this letter dealt with the question in detail and outlined a very clear and definite line for the I.L.P. in this respect.

Barely two months following on Derby, however, Brockway suddenly opened out in the columns of the "New Leader" with an article, containing an extremely furious attack on both the Communist International and the policy of the Soviet government.

This article called forth sharp protests from the ranks of the I.L.P. membership, but these were largely ignored by their own leadership, and a fortnight later Brockway again returned to this form of attack in support of what he described as "the core of my case against the Communist International." ("New Leader," June 30, 1933.)

Incidentally it is significant to note that in this second article the assertion is made that the Communist Party "conducts a planetary system of subsidiary organisations," and that a couple of months later the Labour Party published a notorious anti-Communist pamphlet entitled "The Communist Solar System."

Inspired by this lead from Brockway, other reactionary elements in the I.L.P. at once hastened forward to add to the fire of his attack. Less than a week after Brockway's initial outburst appeared, the Executive of the Lancashire I.L.P. Divisional Council led by Mr. Sandham (an N.A.C. member) circularised all its branches with a recommendation to "withdraw from any further collaboration with the Communist Party"—a complete flouting of the Derby decisions.

If proof is asked for the contention that the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. has been engaged in encouraging opposition and resistance to the carrying out of the Derby conference decisions, then it is to be had in the fact that the above action of the Lancashire Divisional leaders only evoked from it a polite letter of "regret" which has since been followed by its endorsement of Sandham as an I.L.P. parliamentary candidate.

Should further additional proof be required, one has only to

refer to the letter signed by Brockway on behalf of the N.A.C. which was sent to the Communist International on January 8 last, a letter which the Comintern has characterised as being one which, although it

"formally enquires about the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, consists for the most part, however, of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet slanders."

It is obvious that the intense drive, which the Rights in the I.L.P. are now making, is an expression of both their hostility against clear-cut revolutionary working-class policy and their growing alarm at the support for Communism which is manifesting itself on the part of the rank and file membership.

Through the experiences gained as a result of the joint united front activities of C.P. and I.L.P. members in the localities, during the Hunger March and Congress of Action campaign, etc., and more especially as a result of the events in Germany and Austria with their glaring exposure of the social democratic leaders' treachery, the conviction is being driven deeper into the minds of I.L.P. members that the only way forward against capitalism and for the achieving of socialism lies along the road indicated by the Communists.

The great weakness, however, which has been helping to play into Brockway's hands, has been the serious absence over a considerable period of a clear and definite line on the part of those who are moving towards the camp of Communism, and the lack of effective co-ordination of forces and leadership to rouse and rally support within the I.L.P. behind it.

The *Revolutionary Policy Committee* which had been active up to the time of the Derby conference, practically dropped all activity since that period and developed into a state of passivity. When the Rights of the Allen Skinner type opened fire on it last summer and urged its liquidation, some of its leaders trenchantly declared that it would continue to function energetically, but this subsequently failed to materialise. The Maxton-Brockway leadership proceeded to draw the red herring of their "new revolutionary policy" across the track very cunningly, a manoeuvre whose real significance was temporarily mistakenly accepted as representing a step forward and afterwards correctly designated for what it was really worth, namely, a barrier constructed for the purpose of sidetracking the advance to Communism.

It has only been in latter months that the beginnings of militant left leadership within the I.L.P. has again found expression with the formation of the *Affiliation Campaign Committee* which stands for supporting the line of sympathetic affiliation to the Communist International.

This Affiliation Committee immediately encountered the unconcealed hostility of the Maxton-Brockway camp and not only was the threat of disciplinary action raised against it, but there was actually talk of making expulsions.

Although it has only been in existence for a very short period, the Affiliation Committee can record some not inconsiderable success. It has served to clarify the issue confronting the membership, and a significant feature of the recent *London Divisional Conference* was the fact that a resolution, brought forward by its adherents on the question of recommending the affiliation of the I.L.P. as a sympathising party to the Communist International, was only narrowly lost by 21 votes to 19, receiving bigger support than an R.P.C. resolution which proposed conditional affiliation subject to certain reservations.

From the proceedings which took place at the various divisional conferences held in January and the character of the resolutions contained in the final agenda for the forthcoming annual conference at York, an outline of the tendencies existing within the I.L.P. can be drawn and a rough picture presented to illustrate the situation up to the moment in this connection.

At the recent winter divisional conferences an outstanding feature was the overwhelming opposition expressed against the *Trotskyist proposal* of a Fourth International. Trotsky, it may here be remarked, has been given abundant facilities for airing his views in the columns of the "New Leader," the I.L.P.'s official organ, and a number of Trotskyists have been active in the I.L.P. branches in the London area, but they have not been successful in mustering much support for their propaganda amongst the rank and file.

Another feature which these conferences demonstrated was that there exists considerable support in favour of the I.L.P. affiliating to the Comintern as a sympathising party under clause

18 of the C.I. statutes. At the London divisional conference, as already stated, a resolution submitted on these lines by Streatham, Balham and Tooting, received 19 votes in its favour with 21 against. At the Midlands Division where a keen discussion on the question of international relationships took place, a declaration was finally adopted in favour of co-operation with the Comintern, while in the Scottish Division there was also considerable support for sympathetic affiliation expressed although no vote was taken and the matter was remitted for decision to the annual conference.

In the Lancashire Division, however, resolutions were carried recommending (1) that the I.L.P. revert back to the pre-Derby position; (2) that socialism must be sought by constitutional means; (3) that the I.L.P. apply for re-affiliation to the Second International. The chief sponsors of the line embodied in the above were the Blackpool and the Manchester City branches, and the voting showed 29 votes for and 16 against. The resolutions containing these recommendations are now incorporated in the annual conference agenda.

An examination of the latter shows that the resolutions which come up for discussion on the question of international relationships fall under four different heads. These are:—

- (1) Sympathetic affiliation to the Communist International.
- (2) Affiliation to the Communist International.
- (3) Re-affiliation to the Second International.
- (4) The formation of a new international.

Every delegate who wishes the I.L.P. membership to take a real step forward should unhesitatingly support the proposal of Balham and Tooting branch for sympathetic affiliation to the C.I. to the utmost, and resolutely oppose the propositions advocating the return to the Second International and the formation of a new international. Back to the Second International means into the arms of political bankruptcy, while any attempt at sitting on the fence or tinkering with the idea of the formation of a "new international," means willy-nilly playing straight into the hands of the reformist leaders and lining up with those who are striving to hold back the movement of the working class in the face of reaction and capitalist attack.

It must not be forgotten that in 1921 when the question of affiliation to the Communist International was raised in the I.L.P. at that time, the MacDonalds and the Snowdens made a very cunning manoeuvre. Then as now we had voices raised urging that the I.L.P. should remain with the Second International, and others demanding that the organisation should take its place under the banner of the Comintern.

MacDonald who was at the head of the I.L.P. on that occasion sonorously rolled off a mouthful of radical phrases for the purpose of gulling the membership, and was able to succeed in leading them up the blind alley of the notorious Two-and-a-Half International, whence after a time they were once more led back into the fold of the politically bankrupt Second International. It was never more urgently necessary than now that the delegates, who will attend at York in the next few days, should have this lesson well fixed in their minds.

"The National Council of the party," it has been intimated, "is awaiting a reply from the Communist International before making a recommendation." In other words, it is waiting right up until the very last moment, or rather manoeuvring till then, in order to have the fullest possible tactical advantages on its side. But there are a number of visible straws which already show how the wind tends to blow in this direction.

The N.A.C., it is to be noted, has once more emphasised that it cannot agree to forego the idea of the possibility of another "new" international. Moreover it has already arranged for participation after the York conference in yet another conference with the so-called Left socialist parties. Such facts, taken in conjunction with the slanderous anti-Communist tone and character of their recent correspondence to the C.I., plus the fact that the editorial columns of the "New Leader" (23-2-34) informs us that the recent discussion between the chairman and secretaries of the I.L.P. and the Labour Party have been "friendly and promising" and that "it will be criminal if the Second and Third Internationals do not now get together," are very revealing.

Add to this the striking significance of the determined objection which was raised by the national delegation of the I.L.P. at the *Congress of Action* held in Bermondsey, to any insertion in the main resolution of a specific amendment denouncing the split-



ting and disrupting policy of the reformist bureaucracy, and the complete exclusion of any mention of the recent glaring betrayal of the heroic Austrian workers' fight by the Austrian social-democratic leaders in the resolution entitled "The Struggle Against Fascism" which is being put before the York conference in the name of the N.A.C., and we get food for very serious thought which must concern the minds of the I.L.P. membership.

As the Communist International declared in its letter of February 20.—

"A party cannot be regarded as sympathising with Communism unless it carries on an irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeoisie and for this purpose participates in the organisation and development of the united front of the workers together with the Communist Party on the basis of a mutually agreed platform of class struggle demands.

"A party cannot be regarded as sympathising with Communism unless it fights against the treacherous social democracy, against the Second International and the reformist leaders of the trade unions and comes out decisively against all attempts to create new internationals."

"A party cannot be regarded as sympathising with Communism unless it sympathises with the slogan of Soviet Power and supports the Soviet Union.

"Without these political prerequisites the *basis* for the affiliation of a party to the C.I. as a sympathising party would be lacking."

The choice of two fundamentally different political lines—the one revolutionary and the other reformist, is before the membership of the I.L.P. Which is it to be? The road of revolutionary co-operation with the Communist International, for the strengthening and uniting the ranks of the working class in the struggle, for going forward towards the preparation for the unification of the revolutionary forces in Britain into a powerful united mass Communist Party?

Or, the road of reformism? That road which has meant the throwing open of the way for the onslaught of fascism and capitalist reaction, which has led not to socialism but to the establishment of concentration camps in Germany, to the betrayal of the Austrian workers' struggle, and which to-day is responsible for keeping the ranks of the working class split up and divided?

This is the issue which the York conference of the Independent Labour Party is called upon to decide.

## Letter from the I.L.P. to the Communist International

Comrades,—Your letter, dated February 20, in answer to the communication I addressed to you on behalf of the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. on the 8th January last, has been received and considered by my Council, and I am instructed to reply to you as follows:—

I am asked to point out that the numerous references in your letter to myself as the author or the person primarily responsible for the last I.L.P. letter are apparently inserted by you under a misapprehension. That letter was not the opinion of an individual. It was a document of the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. and must be treated as such.

It may be useful at this stage to remind you of the course of this correspondence. The last Annual Conference of the Party instructed the N.A.C. to enquire in what way the I.L.P. could assist in the work of the C.I. This has been done. The decision was communicated to you, and after an exchange of letters, which dealt in the main with the manner in which co-operation in the broadening of the united front against war, fascism and capitalist attacks could be effected, the E.C.C.I. suggested that the I.L.P. should consider affiliation as a Party sympathetic to Communism under Statute 18 of the C.I. Statutes.

The N.A.C. then fulfilled its obvious duty of enquiring what are the implications and commitments of such affiliation, and raised various points of difficulty or differences which were closely connected with the question of affiliation. Your letter unfortunately does not make the way easier for a basis of association of the I.L.P. with the C.I. to be reached. The N.A.C., however, considers that if our common goal is to be achieved the unity of all revolutionary workers is so desperately necessary that it will not abandon its efforts despite the provocative nature of your communication.

Your letter asserts that the policy of the N.A.C. fundamentally differs from a revolutionary policy and is in fact reformist. Un-

fortunately, though a large part of your letter is devoted to an attempted proof of this allegation on three issues posed by you (to which we refer below) you do not reply to a number of the matters raised in the N.A.C. letter, which the rank and file of the I.L.P. will require to know if a proper decision is to be taken by the Party at its Conference at Easter.

I am instructed, therefore, to repeat the various questions that are unanswered or not answered sufficiently clearly before dealing with the three issues raised in your communication.

Take the matters point by point, as they are stated in the last N.A.C. letter.

(1) Would the C.I. agree with the three primary political duties of all workers and working class organisations as defined in the I.L.P. letter? If not, in what respects would the C.I. differ?

(2) As to the precise obligations of the association, does the C.I. mean:—

(a) That the C.I. would have no voice in the organisation and conduct of the I.L.P.? No voice on the N.A.C.? No right of interference in the election of the I.L.P. Councils, Committees of Officials or in the staff of Party publications? If not, what would the C.I. require?

(b) That the I.L.P. would be free in the development and propagation of its line? If not, what limitation would the C.I. consider legitimate and how would that right of limitation be exercised?

Will you please inform us:—

(c) What affiliation fees, if any, would be payable to the C.I.? What other positive obligations to the C.I., if any, the I.L.P. would be required to accept.

(d) What, if any, specific organisational relation between the I.L.P. and C.P.G.B. would be involved in association?

Your letter states that a Socialist Workers' Party which has "not yet" become a Communist Party can associate under Statute 18 on certain conditions. This implies that in your view "association" is necessarily a preliminary to full affiliation. In that case it is imperative that the matters raised in the second half of the N.A.C. letter should have full answers and discussion now. I must therefore repeat the points with which your reply does not deal at all, or deals with only in a general way.

(1) Do you agree with the functions of a Revolutionary Party as defined in the last letter? If not, in what respect do you differ.

(2) You designate our statements that the desires of national sections have been overridden, their policies reversed by instructions from the centre, their leaders removed from office against the wishes of their members or expelled from the Party, and whole parties forced out of the C.I. as "gross perversions of the truth with regard to every point."

The history of Communist Parties, both in Europe and America, bears out our statement. To cite only one instance, what has happened in the U.S.A. fully justifies this description of the bureaucratic control exercised by the centre over the national sections. Here was no inner Party democracy, but the definite overriding of the expressed wishes of the members and the removal of officers who had the members' confidence, effected by the use of financial resources not at the command of the national section thus treated.

(3) Our previous letter to you referred to "the effective control of the E.C.C.I. by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." You avow that the C.P.S.U. plays "the leading role in the C.I."

(a) How is this leading role exercised?

(b) Have all sections an equal right in formulating the line of the C.I. at Congresses and in Plenums of the E.C.C.I., in the Presidium and in the Political Secretariat? If so, to what extent and how? How does the entire membership of the Party take its share in this vital work? What discussions take place among rank and file members of the sections prior to the meetings of the Plenum, and how are the opinions of the rank and file expressed to the Plenum?

(c) To what extent, and how, do the national sections apply the line of the C.I. in accordance with the "nationally peculiar, nationally specific features . . . in every country?" (Stressed by Lenin.) Are the detailed pro-

grammes and lines of action of each section laid down and directed by the leaders of those sections or by the C.I. itself?

- (4) It is stated in your letter that the I.L.P. through its N.A.C. slanders the peace policy of the Soviet Union by the assertion that "the C.I. is being driven to the position of holding back militants in some countries" and "of promising to repudiate the essential activities of its own sections in other countries." To say that a policy is wrong without giving the reasons does not prove that policy wrong. Likewise to call a statement a "lie" and "slandorous" does not prove that it is a lie or slanderous.

Is it not a fact that in Holland the Communist Party opposed the propaganda of the Independent Socialist Party for a transport boycott of Hitler Germany? Is not this holding back militants?

Is it not a fact that in the Agreement recently signed with U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. government pledges itself to restrain all Russians in America working for the Soviets or any organisation indirectly controlled or assisted by the Soviet government from any act, overt or covert, liable "to injure the tranquillity, order or security" of the United States? Does not this mean that the U.S.S.R. government promises to repudiate the essential activities of the C.I. or sections in the U.S.A.?

If our conclusions are wrong we shall welcome a full statement of your interpretation of these facts.

- (5) We should also welcome your opinions on the first two suggestions as to the form of organisation for the C.I. as set out at the end of our last letter.

The whole membership of the I.L.P. will hope for clear and unambiguous answers to these questions.

Your letter, while not dealing adequately with the above matters, deals very largely with three "questions."

The first elaborates a charge that the N.A.C. in its letter said nothing of war plots against the U.S.S.R., and reflected "the present interests of the foreign policy of the British government," including "its support of Hitler."

The N. A. C. did not consider it either necessary or appropriate to write about the war plots in an enquiry relating to affiliation to the C.I. Over the suggestion that the I.L.P. supports Japanese imperialism or Hitler, the N.A.C. refuses to waste words: you know it is not true.

Your question: "By what means is the U.S.S.R. defended in the letter of the N.A.C.?" is irrelevant. The N.A.C. did not think it necessary to "defend" the U.S.S.R. in a letter addressed to the Comintern. For workers in a capitalist country the way to defend the U.S.S.R. is by educational propaganda on behalf of Soviet Russia, exposure of anti-Soviet plots, agitation and organisation for the stoppage of the dispatch of munitions to enemies of the Soviets, and for the General Strike against an anti-Soviet war. All this the I.L.P. has continually done through its press, on its platforms, and in conjunction with the British Anti-War Movement.

Your "second question" concerns the attitude of the N.A.C. to "Soviet Power." The N.A.C. is charged with spreading the illusion that workers' dictatorship can be established by legal Workers' Councils. The E.C.C.I. appears to be misinformed on this matter. The I.L.P. and the Communist Party of Great Britain, at a meeting of national representatives, agreed that the stages of development of militant organisation should be:—

- (1) United Front Committees, becoming
- (2) Councils of Action, becoming
- (3) Workers' Councils.

It was agreed that the last could not reach their highest phase until the conditions were ripe for the assumption of power by the workers. The I.L.P. attitude has been clearly defined in the policy statement adopted by the N.A.C. in August last.

The E.C.C.I.'s "third question" relates to the organisation of the C.I. This has already been largely dealt with in the earlier part of this letter.

The E.C.C.I. is incorrect in its statement that the I.L.P.ers are being threatened in the London district with expulsion for issuing a statement in favour of affiliation to the C.I. The truth is this statement is limited by the two facts that the members concerned are not being threatened with expulsion and that their offence was **not** declaration in favour of affiliation. With regard to Party discipline generally, the N.A.C. fully recognises that the discipline suited to a reformist party is not suited to a revolutionary party, and is itself taking steps to make those changes that are necessary.

Finally, the N.A.C. agrees with the statement of minimum activities requisite in a party "sympathising with Communism" and has only two observations to make thereon.

The "fight against treacherous social democracy" is not to be interpreted as merely sectarian hostility to social democratic parties or indiscriminate abuse of their leaders. Leaders who are treacherous must be exposed by patient, detailed, truthful criticism, the only method of effectively winning over their followers.

Secondly, the opposition to all attempts to create new Internationals has in fact been carried out by the N.A.C. on every occasion which has required a pronouncement on this matter; but no responsible and intelligent Party member can say that under no conceivable circumstances will he in the future consider the claims of any International except the present Third. Such action would have kept members of the Second International from joining the Third.

In conclusion, the N.A.C. once again declares its sincere desire for organisational unity of all militant socialists and its hope that the E.C.C.I. will not render this object more difficult of achievement by insult and misrepresentation which fall far outside the limits of comradely criticism.

To enable the N.A.C. to consider your answers to the questions put in this letter, and to base on them its recommendation to Annual Conference, your reply should reach us by March 26 at the latest.

Yours fraternally,  
With revolutionary greetings,

A. Fenner Brockway,  
Secretary.

March 12th, 1934.

(On behalf of the National Administrative Council  
of the I.L.P.)

## The National Hunger March and the National Unity Congress

By Pat Devine

The great National Hunger March and Unity Congress in Britain (on February 24-25) against the proposed new Unemployment Bill marked the peak point of struggle since the General Strike of 1926 and in the fight against the starvation national government and brought the C.P.G.B. right into the forefront as the leader of the mass struggles of the working class.

From all parts of the country working men and women, representative of the broad masses of employed and unemployed, marched to London or sent delegates to the Congress. Two thousand marchers from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Tyneside, Lancashire, and the South of England braved the hardships of a severe winter, threats from the Home Secretary, police oppression, and the opposition of the labour bureaucracy in order to demonstrate their opposition to the new government attacks. Some of the marchers were on the road for 33 days and marched 450 miles.

There were 1,420 delegates, representing 320,000 workers, and 227 trade union branches from 45 unions at the National Congress. The powerful Transport and General Workers' Union was represented by 81 delegates from 43 branches.

Initiated by the Communist Party and taken up by the revolutionary National Unemployed Workers' Movement, the March and Congress developed the broadest united front movement seen in years. The initial call for the March Congress was signed, among others, by the president of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, the general secretary of the National Association of Furnishing Trades Workers, national organiser of the N.U.W.M., London organiser of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, James Maxton (I.L.P.), M.P., and Harry Pollitt, leader of the Communist Party.

The labour mayor of Bermondsey officially opened the Congress and many other mayors welcomed the marchers en route. So deep going was the support for the marchers that a number of Catholic and Protestant clergymen were compelled to express "sympathy" with the marchers.

The new Bill is an intensification of the general attack upon the standard of living of the entire working class. It is an integral part of the war preparations of the national government, which already, through the national council of social services, has introduced physical and military training for large sections of the unemployed.

At the commencement of the march the entire capitalist press opened up a most vicious drive against it:—

"London is soon to see again the sad spectacle of hundreds of unemployed men from all parts of the country marching behind the banners of a mean political party which is making them its pawns. The party would be leading a revolutionary movement if it had an atom of power. . . . It is dragging along with it the remnant of the I.L.P.—a company of Lilliputians busily engaged in spinning logical threads to bind the giant of Moscow. . . . The public authorities will be obliged to take precautions."—(Editorial, London "Times," January 23, 1934.)

Despite this press barrage, the number of marchers, and the teeming thousands who rallied to their support, surpassed anything seen in previous marches. The French and Austrian events had a powerful revolutionary effect on the working class and considerably strengthened the fight against the national government. Whilst threatening what they would do to the marchers, the government at the same time bent its energies in an attempt to play down the movement of the masses, and even went to the length of (through "The Times" and the "Daily Telegraph") urging the fascists and other anti-working-class elements not to do anything that might arouse the indignation of the marchers.

On the eve of the arrival of the marchers in London (February 23) Harry Pollitt, leader of the Communist Party, and Tom Mann, veteran workers' leader of many struggles, were arrested on charges of "sedition" for speeches made previously in Wales. These arrests were the signal for a mighty outburst of indignation, as a consequence of which Pollitt and Mann, whom the authorities undoubtedly intended to hold in jail until after the marchers had left London, were released on bail the following evening.

The National Congress when it opened on Saturday energetically took up the various issues confronting it. Comrade Gallacher deputised for Pollitt in moving the main resolution. He read Pollitt's speech, which simultaneously had been published in a special issue of the "Daily Worker," which reached a sale of 75,000 copies, a record for the paper.

Comrade Kerrigan, Communist Party organiser in Scotland and a leader of the Scottish marchers, moved an amendment to the main resolution, in which he, on behalf of the C.P., called for the inclusion of a sharp criticism of the labour party and T.U.C. leadership as saboteurs of the march. The Independent Labour Party, through its spokesman, Councillor Carmichael of Glasgow, protested against the amendment, saying:—

"If you pass this amendment you merely permit the T.U.C. at this period to begin to change the whole structure, making it extremely difficult for the rank and file to attend at this Congress. . . . I ask you to leave the wording as it is. . . . Every man or woman playing his or her part against the unity of the working class is playing into the hands of the capitalists, whether he be on the general council or trade union leader or in any other organisation. I want them all condemned."

The Congress delegates were overwhelmingly for the C.P. amendment, which, however, was not put directly to the vote, as an agreement was reached between the I.L.P. and the C.P. whereby the following amendment was jointly put forward and carried:—

"Congress notes the opposition of the general council of the trades union congress and the labour party executive to the campaign for the March and the Congress. It demands that they remove the ban on the united front, as all those who in this hour of danger oppose this united front are splitting the workers' ranks and helping the capitalist offensive."

In commenting on this decision, the "Daily Worker" of March 5 editorially says:—

"At Bermondsey the I.L.P. were opposed to the general council and the executive of the labour party being specified as enemies of the united front, then later made the proposal to mention them, but in a way to give the least possible offence.

"Rather than divide the conference on this question we accepted this modified form as a basis for discussion, and after a measure of strengthening the agreed upon amendment was presented to Congress and adopted.

"Now, following the publication of the labour party letter to the I.L.P., every Congress delegate and every member of the I.L.P. will see the futility and the danger of the line of the I.L.P. leadership and the attempts they are continually making to screen the treachery of the labour leaders."

During the Congress the leadership of the Communist Party was clear to all. The main slogan of the Communist International: Soviet Power—adopted at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.—resounded from one end of the hall to the other and was enthusiastically taken up by the delegates.

A deputation was elected to place the demands before parliament.

From the Congress and simultaneously from all parts of London the marchers, supported by London workers, staged a powerful demonstration to Hyde Park in which over 100,000 participated. London's entire police force, augmented by thousands of special constables, all under the personal jurisdiction of London's militarised police chief, Lord Trenchard, were unable to dampen the spirits of or dismay the marchers.

On Monday a deputation visited 10, Downing Street for an interview with the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. He, however, had gone to the British Industries Exhibition!

In the House of Commons the following day the I.L.P., supported by the labour party, staged a "parliamentary fight" on behalf of the constitutional right of the marchers to be heard in the House. Maxton, I.L.P., M.P., protested against MacDonald's refusal to hear the deputation and stated that he rarely asked for favours, and consequently felt that in refusing this one the Prime Minister had given him a "personal affront." Buchanan, I.L.P., M.P., pleaded with the Prime Minister to hear the marchers and thus "preserve the dignity of his office." Major Atlee, deputy leader of the labour party, who said he did not fully agree with these marches, nevertheless supported the I.L.P. motion for adjournment of the House "because of the great indignation in the country."

MacDonald, with a life-long experience as a labour betrayer himself, had no difficulty in showing the unprincipledness of the labour party demand. He pointed out that the marchers had been refused a hearing by successive trade union and labour party congresses and by the labour government itself. He furthermore read extracts from a letter sent by the labour party executive to one of its affiliates in reply to a question, wherein the labourites informed their supporters that they should not support the March or Congress, which could do nothing to help the unemployed.

The entire capitalist press, in its anxiety to canalise the movement into legalist parliamentary channels, especially after the Austrian and French events, gave the widest publicity to the sham fight of the labourites and the I.L.P. leaders. "The New Leader," true to type, wrote in connection with the M.P.s who supported them:—

"All honour to those who went into the lobby on behalf of the marchers."

These included, besides the labourites, Sir Herbert Samuel, the liberal M.P., who was the first Home Secretary in the national government. Comment is superfluous.

It is clear that the reformist influence of the leaders of the I.L.P. and labour party who participated in the National Unity Congress was brought to bear upon the march with the view to making it a "peaceful, constitutional, respectable affair." This undoubtedly had much to do with the fact that there was no All-London demonstration to parliament when the deputation presented itself at the House.

Nevertheless, the revolutionary spirit and character of the movement could not be submerged.

During the week in the debate on the Anglo-Russian Agreement about 200 marchers were able to get into the lobby or the gallery of the House to speak with their M.P.s. In the midst of the debate they rose from all parts of the gallery and hurled slogans at the members present. During these demonstrations the workers raised political slogans such as:—

"Down with the national government," "There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union."

As a result of the struggles of the unemployed on the streets the national government had already been compelled to withdraw some of the more openly reactionary clauses in the new Bill. In line with the policy of the imperialists the credit for these concessions is being laid at the door of the labour party by the capitalist press.

Nevertheless, it is already clear that the March and Congress have had a tremendous revolutionary effect on the entire working class throughout the country.

The March and Congress indicate the growth of class-consciousness and unity among the workers, their willingness to struggle, and is the beginning of a new wave of struggles against the national government, arising from the deep discontent among the masses with the government's policy of hunger, fascism and war.

## The Miners' Federation Urges the Closing of More Pits

By William Allan (London)

Recently the Durham Miners' Association, of which **Peter Lee** is the general secretary, issued a statement signed by Lee which shows that there are fully 42 pits standing idle at the present moment in County Durham alone.

There are sixty-five thousand fewer miners employed to-day in Durham than were employed in 1924. A considerable part of the reason for this can be found in the authoritative Survey of the North-East Coast compiled by the University of Durham on the instruction of the government and issued by the government last summer.

In this Survey it is stated (pages 10 and 12) that when allowance is made for the change in working hours, the output of coal in the North-East Coast during 1924 could have been produced, according to the level of productivity reached in 1929, with 59,000 fewer workers in the industry.

There have been many increases made in the "level of productivity" since 1929 as a result of the speeding-up, the introduction of machine processes in the pits, and of constant attacks upon the working standards and customs of the miners. The latest example of this is seen last week where the Silksworth Colliery has now been completely mechanised, and 1,000 out of 2,200 men have been dismissed.

No single effective step has been taken or even proposed by Lee and his official colleagues to safeguard the interests of the miners, or "to give the workers some of the benefits of rationalisation." Mass unemployment and constant worsening of working conditions have been all the "benefits" that came to the miners.

Now Mr. Lee, in his capacity as president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and his other colleagues, have issued a new memorandum, which is again devoted exclusively to telling the national government, the bankers, and the great coalowners how they can still further "rationalise" and unify the industry (always, of course, under complete capitalist control).

In these new proposals the M.F.G.B. officials go much further than even the rabid coalowner has dared to go. One of their main proposals is for the restricting or taking away of output quotas from "inefficient or out of date" colliery concerns. In plain language, this simply means that the M.F.G.B. officials are now advocating the closing down of more pits and the flinging of further numbers of miners permanently out of the industry.

They also propose the setting up of a "central executive and control" over the whole of the mining industry, and now drop entirely all the former claims for workers' representation on such an executive or board. All that they ask is that the executive will be composed, not of coalowners alone, but of other expert and progressive-minded people, selected by the government (that is, selected by the national government, which has done everything it could to help the coalowners in their attacks upon the miners).

The usual excuse is trotted out again for bringing forward such outrageous proposals. It is that such wiping out of the inefficient pits and the concentrating of production upon the most modern and up to date pits will put the industry on a more prosperous basis, and that the miners will share in this.

The answer to this is best seen in Lee's own district of Durham, where the coalowners, by their swindling manipulation of sales to subsidiary firms and allied concerns, have kept the proceeds of the mining industry at an artificially low point, and by this means have kept the miners on the bare minimum wage and at the same time have piled up against the miners as a "debt" the gigantic sum of £14,460,822. According to the present wage agreement, every penny of this will have to be paid back to the coalowners out of future surpluses before ever the miners' wage would rise a single farthing above the minimum.

Even if the miners were to overlook the present serious misery caused by the rationalisation drive of the coalowners, and even if this did bring about a certain measure of "prosperity," the miners would not derive any benefit from it. All of the benefits, now and later, will go to the coalowners, unless the miners in the branches and delegate councils take steps now to repudiate this present M.F.G.B. leadership and to press forward with their demands for higher wages and for the seven-hour day.

The present action of the M.F.G.B. officials in issuing such a scandalous memorandum should serve as a spur to the campaign of the militant miners for their fighting demands.

## Communist Statement on the Anglo-Japanese Cotton Negotiations

The Lancashire District of the Communist Party has issued the following statement on the breakdown of the Anglo-Japanese cotton negotiations:—

The breakdown of the Anglo-Japanese cotton negotiations has been followed by a widespread campaign in the capitalist press for the reorganisation of the textile industry and governmental intervention against Japan. The battle for markets is now sharper than ever before.

But this is not the only result of the attempt of the employers and many of the trade union officials to lead the workers by the nose on the question of "Japanese competition." The renewed propaganda for reducing the cost of production clearly means demands for more cuts in the already miserable wages, extension of the more-looms system, and the worsening of conditions.

The sacrifices made by the workers in the past only call forth demands for more sacrifices.

"Reorganisation" of the industry, which the Cotton Control Board advocated by the trade union and labour leaders, means the wiping out of millions of spindles and thousands of looms. It means organised short time, as is now taking place in the spinning section.

It means unemployment for many of those now employed. It means, not a solution but a sharpening of international competition. A wholesale attack on the workers is now going on, with cutting of price lists and speeding-up. And this will be intensified, especially by the payment for fancy goods at plain price rates.

The real menace confronting the operatives is the starvation policy of the Lancashire employers. The real problem before the workers is how to organise the fight against these attacks.

In **Darwen** the weavers resisted the employers and came out on strike. They are still out—holding the fort for all the textile workers.

The workers are willing to fight, and unity of action of all sections can defeat the employers, as is shown by the successful strikes in Blackburn and Rochdale.

The Darwen fight must be supported right throughout the county. There is one of the first and most practical lessons of the Anglo-Japanese breakdown and the new threats of "reorganisation." The Lancashire cotton workers will not be deceived by the talk about government intervention, which both employers and trade union officials are making.

If this government, which is now putting forward the most damnable Unemployment Bill in history, does intervene, it will certainly not do so in the interests of the workers.

So far as action against Japan is concerned, it is an open secret that the war aims of the National Government are its primary concern. Why is the National Government so friendly and conciliatory towards Japan, despite her penetration into British markets?

Because the National Government wants to encourage the war preparations against the Soviet Union, which Japan is making in her new colony—Manchukuo. This suits the interests of British imperialism, which is itself pursuing an anti-Soviet policy and, like Japan, has refused to sign a pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union.

The National Government will not intervene for the Lancashire textile workers—they must help themselves!

The decline of the Lancashire textile industry and its backward condition is entirely due to the policy of the capitalists, over which the workers have no control. The operatives are not responsible for the fact that since 1929 world textile imports have

dropped from eight thousand million square yards per year to five thousand million square yards per year. They are not responsible for the world economic crisis, for tariffs, and the growth of competition between capitalist countries. They are not responsible for the poverty which has caused the huge decline in the consumption of cotton goods in Britain and other countries.

Capitalism has ruined the textile industry, and the cotton workers cannot change this state of affairs while capitalism exists. Prosperity can only be restored when the industry is run for use and not for profit, i.e., when capitalism has been overthrown and Soviet Power established by the working class.

But what the cotton workers can do is to organise in the mills and trade unions in defence of their conditions, to join in the movement for higher wages, to fling back the capitalist lying propaganda in the teeth of the masters, and to prepare for the advance to working class ownership and control.

## **Fight Against Imperialist War**

### **The Japanese Imperialists in Europe**

By Bela Kun

The Far East is a long way off and the guns of the Japanese imperialists will not disturb the peace of Europe. By spreading such ideas many "friends of peace" wish to lull the vigilance of the European workers in face of the war actions and war preparations of Japanese imperialism. There were also social democratic and reformist trade union leaders who attempted to persuade the workers that the war in China, in Manchuria and the further war preparations against the Soviet Union would "provide work" for the European proletarians. Whether there were many or few workers who were taken in by such talk is not the question at the moment. The fact is, however, that the military and civil agents with which the whole of Europe and almost every capital and industrial district are swarming, have been able up to now to continue their work without hardly any disturbance from the proletarians.

The events in Europe meanwhile show that the Japanese agents are travelling round not only to secure orders at dumping prices so as to realise in Europe the surplus value which has been squeezed out of the Japanese proletariat by the most barbarous methods of capitalist exploitation; they are travelling round not only in order to place orders for **weapons and munitions**, they are engaged in preparing military alliances and creating points of support in European countries **for the purpose of the anti-Soviet war**. They are also seeking cannon fodder for their war.

The fascist press of Germany makes no secret of the fact that Hitler fascism regards Japan as its future ally in the realisation of the "great fascist plan," i.e., war against the Soviet Union. General Seeckt's repeated visits to China in his capacity as military adviser of Chiang-Kai-shek are made with the connivance of Japan. There exists a close alliance between the fascist German broadcasting service and the Japanese broadcasting service. Mutual translations of German and Japanese broadcasts are in the first place of political significance.

Japanese imperialism is going even further in its attempt to build up European points of support for its policy of conquest. According to reports from well-informed circles in Bucharest, Japanese agents are conducting negotiations with Rumania for supplying the latter with Japanese arms and constructing a number of armament works by Japanese finance-capital.

Japanese agents are ready to extend their dumping—which up to now they have carried on mainly in the sphere of textiles and the products of electric industry—to the sphere of products of the war industry. They are offering weapons of all kinds at exceedingly low prices. They are prepared to accept Rumanian oil products as payment for the weapons. They have declared themselves ready to pay the compensation which Rumania has to pay for not keeping the contracts with the Czechoslovakian Skoda works.

Is it a question here of ordinary business transactions? No-body will be so naive as to believe that.

The negotiations with Rumania represent steps on the part of the leading Japanese military-fascist circles to establish a foothold in Europe, to build up their military points of support on the Western frontier of the Soviet Union.

These facts must serve as a call to the proletariat of Europe to be watchful and not to allow the Japanese agents to carry on their dark intrigues undisturbed.

## **Austria**

### **The Problem of the Hapsburg Restoration**

By Gruber (Vienna)

The restoration of the Hapsburgs is not a purely Austrian nor even merely an Austro-Hungarian problem. Hapsburg legitimism immediately threatens the present government system in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia; one of its points is directed against German imperialism, and Italy is also interested in it, partly in a negative and partly in a positive sense. It is precisely on account of its international importance, however, that the danger of a Hapsburg restoration is greater than that of any of the dynasties which were overthrown in 1918.

Legitimism has steadily gained ground in the last few years, and in the February days of this year received a powerful impetus as a result of the bloody crushing of the workers in Vienna. Whilst in 1922 it was a sensation when Dr. Seipel, the former Hapsburg Minister, in his first public utterance as Federal Chancellor of the Republic, openly acknowledged his monarchist convictions, to-day pronouncements in favour of the monarchy are an everyday occurrence in the government camp. The Heimatschutz, which constitute the greater part of the fascist defence formations on which the government relies, make no secret of their monarchist leanings. On the other hand, that group of the Christian socials who in 1918, in order to save the capitalist system, abandoned the monarchy and, together with the social democracy, created in the shape of the Republic a serviceable apparatus for the bourgeoisie for suppressing the workers, have to-day been thrown overboard.

The Hapsburgs themselves scent the morning air, and those of them who have been allowed to remain in Austria since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1918, after having declared their loyalty to the Republican form of State, have now, after the crushing of the workers, joined the Heimatschutz. Princess Iléana, a Rumanian who has just married into the Hapsburg family, delivered a lecture the other day in Mödling, on the tasks of the women in the Heimatschutz.

Austrian fascism sees in the Hapsburgs a means of ideologically extending its weak basis. In particular the feudal landowners and the Catholic Church, who are behind the Heimatschutz, expect from the return of the Hapsburgs a strengthening of their influence as against the other fascist groups. They hope to be able then to push the Nazis further back, for even only the ideological recognition of the claims of the House of Hapsburg to rule in Austria would put a final end to any prospects of a union of Austria with Germany.

Hapsburg legitimism is closely connected with the demand for the revision of the peace treaties. Whilst at the present it is mainly a question of the Treaty of Trianon, the Treaty of St. Germain can also soon be involved. Weisner, the former Ambassador and present confidant of the ex-empress Zita, wrote the other day in the Vienna monarchist daily, the "**Wiener Neugigkeits-Weltblatt**," that the problem of restoration is hanging in the air not only in Austria itself, but also in a great part of Europe, "where the continual unrest in Central Europe is promoting the idea of a restoration of the Hapsburg Empire, which has been the only spiritual, political and constructive power up to now able to master the central European problem, and which had been imprudently destroyed."

Hardly has the Austrian philistine, thanks to the treachery of the social democratic leaders, captured the working class suburbs of Vienna, when he begins to dream of "the idea of the Hapsburg Empire" and wishes to hoist the black-yellow flag in Prague.

The fascist-monarchist reaction, having shed the blood of the Vienna workers, is thirsting for more blood. But it is not merely that the artillery bombardment of the workers' premises in Ottakring and of the workers' dwellings on the outskirts of Vienna have awakened the most savage instincts of the Austrian war veterans' unions. The fascisation of Austria is connected with a great increase in armaments. Austrian monopoly capital does not wish to lose the chance of taking part in the coming imperialist war. The legitimists offer it in the idea of the Hapsburg Empire a symbol for its predatory imperialist aims. Following the example of Magyar imperialism, Austrian monopoly capital also wants to further its own end by propagating the Hapsburg legend. That is the essential meaning of the Hapsburg question.

How much the Austrian government is already orientated in

this direction is shown by the speech delivered by Dr. Dollfuss to the Catholic Students' Union of the Burgenland Croats, where he spoke of the treatment of national minorities in other States, with obvious reference to Yugoslavia. Benes, the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, replied in the "Petit Parisien" to the challenge to the Little Entente contained in the strivings for monarchist restoration by declaring:—

"The Little Entente is determined to resist a restoration of the Hapsburgs with all means, and would prefer any other eventually to such a restoration."

And the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister, Jeffic, has used no less plain language. Speaking in Parliament, he said:—

"Any attempt to do anything serious in favour of the restoration of the Hapsburgs in Austria will immediately and inevitably lead to bloodshed. The Yugoslavian people, which did not shrink from the living Austro-Hungarian monarchy, will certainly not shrink from its phantom."

This is a plain and unmistakable declaration that a Hapsburg restoration either in Vienna or in Budapest will be regarded as a *casus belli*.

The Hapsburg legitimists are finally aware that in striving for a monarchist restoration they are playing with fire. They themselves announce that they now—perhaps precisely because they hope to achieve their aim so soon—wish to proceed step by step. They demand in the first place the annulment of the expulsion of the Hapsburgs from Austria and the abrogation of the confiscation of the so-called "private property" of the former royal family. This would provide them with huge sums for propaganda purposes. At the same time the bringing home of the corpse of Karl the Last to the Kapuzziner Church in Vienna, the traditional burial place of the Hapsburgs, would provide the opportunity for a tremendous monarchist demonstration such as has not been witnessed since the golden jubilee of Franz Joseph the First in 1908.

An open monarchist coup d'état is only of secondary importance. What is important is propaganda, the legend—which has always been a militarist legend.

With the fascisation of Austria, however, there has come into power in Vienna the cliques of the dirtiest, most hide-bound reactionaries, whose rule was regarded as an anachronism already before 1914. These bankrupts can maintain their position only if they plunge Europe into one adventure after another. The worst can be expected of them, especially as they have behind them the powerful military apparatus of Italian imperialism.

## 1. Words and Deeds of the Dollfuss Dictatorship

By Gustav (Vienna)

The first words spoken by the Austrian Federal Chancellor Seipel after the insurrection of the 15th July, 1927, were: "No mercy for the criminals." Dollfuss, on the other hand, promises: "Mercy, love, justice, and fraternity" in innumerable speeches to the "misled." These are words, however and not deeds, which distinguish the attitude of the two chancellors. But the difference in their words has also a deep-seated reason. The political and economic situation of the Austrian bourgeoisie is so weakened, the radicalisation in the camp of the working masses is so strong and the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie are so sharp, that even after its "victory" the fascist dictatorship is compelled to adopt the wildest demagogic methods in order to widen, if possible, its mass basis.

One of the important tasks of the Communist Party of Austria, under whose leadership the Austrian working class is again beginning to collect its forces, is to show again and again to the masses that the fascist promises of "beneficence and justice" are intended merely to cloak the brutal attacks of finance capital. When Cardinal Innitzer and Mrs. Dollfuss organised a relief action for the civil population following on the insurrection, their aim was to open up a way for the fascist organisations into the ranks of the working class with the instrument of charity.

The charitable fascist hyenas, who were supplied by the police with the necessary addresses, went into the working-class quarters and carried on their campaign of incitement there. The wife of the mass murderer, Dollfuss, had the insolence to offer herself as "comforter" of the working women whose husbands and sons Dollfuss had slaughtered. "St. Joseph's Tables" were set up for the hungry, who were to be fed "without distinction with regard

to political and religious beliefs." However, the tickets entitling the hungry to these meals were distributed by the local parish priest.

This charitable swindle also enabled the government to carry out a campaign of vengeance in all secrecy against the insurrectionary workers and their families. In comparison with the attitude of Dollfuss, Seipel's actions after the 1927 insurrection were mild. Whilst the dead fascists, soldiers, and policemen were buried with all pomp and ceremony, to the accompaniment of great fascist demonstrations, the dead worker heroes were flung into their graves like dogs. For the most part they were buried in the dead of night and in mass graves. Only the nearest relatives were permitted to take part in the funeral. Thousands of arrested workers have been deprived by the State not only of unemployment insurance support, but also of pensions and other rights in order that their families may be plunged into the direst poverty and privation. In the State-controlled undertakings revolutionary workers, clerical employees, and officials are being flung on to the streets, with any or no excuse, in order to make way for fascists. Railwaymen are being dismissed in masses without any pension. In Vienna alone, according to the official figures, 100 head school teachers have been dismissed and in addition a number of district inspectors. The victimisation of teachers is only just beginning. An emergency decree has been issued, giving not only the municipalities, but also private employers, the right to dismiss "elements hostile to the State." At the same time it is made the imperative duty of all employers to consider members of the fascist Heimwehr first when they are engaging new employees.

Since the insurrection 500 working-class families have been flung on to the streets either because their homes were destroyed by shell fire, or to make room for the 350 policemen, for whom houses have been "freed."

The collectors and distributors of Red Aid, who are holding aloft the banner of proletarian solidarity, are being persecuted and imprisoned. The government of hangmen has now forbidden the sending of working-class children abroad. Rather let the children starve than that they should come into touch with Bolsheviks! That is the real ideal of fascist charity.

The situation with the political and economic promises of the government is the same. "The working class must be given the conviction that the government will voluntarily recognise the just demands of the workers, that it will protect them in every way and support them." Thus spoke Dollfuss on the 23rd February. However, his actions during the past few weeks have shown that nothing but abysmal hypocrisy is behind this demagogy. In the interests of finance capital the Dollfuss government has prohibited all the class organisations of the workers and handed over the interests of the working class to the "sense of justice and love of their fellow citizens" Thus spoke Dollfuss on the 10th March. Therefore the class trade unions of the workers have been prohibited, and in their stead has been placed the "Unity Trade Union," whose leaders are appointed by the government—that is to say, by capitalism.

The Communist and social-democratic members of the factory councils elected with the votes of the workers have all been deposed. Only the Heimwehr fascists and, noteworthy exception, the national socialists, may be members of the factory councils. Three categories of Austrian workers have already been given a taste of the new era of "brotherly love and fraternity." The collective agreement regulating the wages and working conditions of the building workers has been altered by decree. The governmental "Reichspost" reports: "Wages have been fixed at an economically tolerable level and the previous agreements between the social-democratic trade union and the building employers have been taken into consideration." In other words, the building workers have suffered a considerable reduction in wages.

A decree has been issued "permitting" the bank clerks to work overtime in excess of the legal 48 hour working week without first obtaining the permission of the authorities. Under the banner of the new class collaboration, working hours may now be extended "by agreement," but that may not exceed 56 hours a week.

Further, the municipal employees in Lower Austria have had their wages adapted to those of the federal employees—in other words, their wages have been cut down.

The fascist dictatorship has also promised not to cut down

the social insurance rights of the workers. On the 9th March Dollfuss declared: "There can be no question of any diminution of the rights of the workers." On the 18th March, however, declarations were issued concerning the reform of the social insurance scheme which showed how much the promises of Dollfuss are worth. According to these declarations the employers are to be let off paying their whole contributions to a total of 180 million schillings and the workers are to be burdened threefold. In place of the contribution of the employers, there is to be a 100 per cent. increase of the commodity turn-over tax. This will result in a considerable increase in commodity prices, and in particular for "foodstuffs, soap, clothes, shoes, and other daily necessities" ("Neue Freie Presse" on the 18th March). Secondly, the contributions of the workers to the social insurance funds have been uniformly increased to a total of 10 per cent. of their wages. And, "in conclusion, the demand of the business classes that the general principle of payment of wages by results should be adapted to the given economic possibilities will be given a certain amount of consideration." Official statement. The benefits are to be reduced in no less than 40 points and, as the "Neue Wiener Journal" points out, "40 million schillings are to be saved."

"In place of the class struggle must come the peaceful co-operation of the classes," declares the slogan of fascism. But the class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the working class is not to be abolished, but to be intensified, and for this reason it will not be possible to exterminate the class struggle of the workers. The Communist Party of Austria is gathering the workers under the banner of the revolutionary class struggle against the brutal attacks of the bourgeoisie who are sheltering behind this shield of "class co-operation." It is mobilising them for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## 2. The Nazi Demagogy in Austria

The Nazis also are endeavouring to make political capital out of the blood of the fallen workers. Like vultures they are swooping down on the battlefields where the heroes of the February insurrection fought and are attempting by unscrupulous demagogy to divert the indignation of the workers into false channels. The Brown murderers of workers do not even shrink from feigning sympathy for the fighting workers; they even possess the boundless insolence to initiate relief actions for the victims. They approach the families of the fallen, the wounded and arrested with crumbs from the table of their capitalist pay-masters; under the cloak of philanthropy, they send their political agents to the hospitals in which wounded workers are lying; in some cases they also wish to take charge of workers' children.

This system of hypocritical charity is supplemented by an equally demagogic "condemnation" of the abominably cruel deeds of the Heimwehr fascists.

The signal for this hypocrisy was given by the Nazi leaders in Munich. On their orders all concert and entertainment broadcasts by the German wireless stations were cancelled on the day of the February revolt as a sign of mourning for their fallen "German kinsmen." The same wireless which gave enthusiastic descriptions of the execution of German Communists suddenly discovered "German kinsmen" in the fighting social democratic and Communist workers.

Shamelessly distorting the actual facts, the Nazis contrast the inhuman actions of the Austrian bloodhounds, Dollfuss, Starhemberg, and Fey with the allegedly bloodless, humane procedure of the Hitler government when it seized power in Germany. In doing this they speculate on the ignorance and short memory of the Austrian workers. In reality, Austrian fascism is nothing else but a ready pupil of Hitler and Goering. It is true that the pupil has in some respects surpassed his masters, but in other respects Hitler still remains an ideal example to which Austrian fascism has not yet attained. With the exception of the bombardment of dwelling houses with artillery—a method which Hitler was not obliged to employ—there is not a single atrocity committed by Austrian fascism which has not its counterpart in the horrors of the Third Reich. By "protesting" against the cynical death sentences passed by the courts-martial, the Nazis would very much like to make the Austrian workers forget the numerous beheadings of revolutionary workers by the German executioners; they wish by "protesting" against the savage sentences to divert attention from the similar sentences passed in the Third Reich. Their "protests"

are an insolent challenge to the justified indignation of the Austrian workers. They want it to be forgotten that the indiscriminate arrests of workers' functionaries by Fey find their precedent in the wholesale arrests which Goering caused to be carried out already in the night when, on his orders, the Reichstag was set on fire, and which arrests he has continued without interruption ever since. And from whom else but the S.A. have the Heimwehr bandits learnt the practice of bestially murdering prisoners, of beating them up in order to extort confessions from them or even merely to satisfy their base sadistic instincts?

Even the methods of economic terror have been taken over from the Nazis. The Nazis, just as the Austro-Marxists did, have flung Marxist workers' functionaries out of the factories and, under the threat of dismissal, have forced others to join the fascist organisations. It is from the Nazis that Dollfuss has learnt the system of factory and house espionage, with the aid of which the revolutionary movement is now to be crushed. It is also an unprecedented and monstrous piece of impudence when the Brown murderers of workers, who glorify all the cruel deeds committed in the Third Reich, come forward as the opponents of the horrors committed by Dollfuss.

The political slogan which the Nazis are now propagating among the Austrian workers is that they, the Nazis, will fulfil the testament of the heroes of the February revolt and overthrow Dollfuss fascism. There exists also a real danger that with this slogan they will win a part of the indignant workers and lead them out of the frying pan into the fire.

The whole policy of the Nazis in Austria is in fact a crushing argument against Nazi demagogy. During the February revolt the Nazis, by their attitude, actually supported the Dollfuss government. They grinningly looked on while the workers fought. In fact, their railwaymen's trade union played a leading part in strike-breaking. It is true, Habicht forbade the Nazis openly to support the Dollfuss government, but this was only because, on his instructions, uninterrupted attempts at negotiating with Dollfuss had been undertaken. Whilst Dollfuss was employing howitzers and mine-throwers against defenceless women and children, the Nazis twice offered him their assistance in return for some ministerial seats. These offers were rejected, but negotiations are still going on. After the revolt, Habicht, in order to create a peaceful atmosphere for these negotiations, even prohibited the Nazis up to 28th of February from attacking Dollfuss "by word, writing or other means." And this prohibition was prolonged. Vice-Chancellor Fey, in his last speech over the wireless, admitted that the threads have not been broken, that attempts at an understanding are constantly being made from various sides.

The Communists will show to the workers of Austria that Nazi fascism wishes to become the ally of Heimwehr fascism, that they are flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the same system.

The Nazi agitation, owing to the counter-work of the Communists, has not achieved any great successes up to now. On the contrary, there are to be seen certain, even if faint, signs of disintegration in the Nazi camp. The Nazis had threatened to carry out increased actions against Dollfuss should no agreement be arrived at by February 28. These actions have been called off as a result of orders from Munich. The seizure of power, so often promised, has been again postponed to the remote future. The Nazi workers in particular have the feeling that Hitler has "left them in the lurch." The Communist Party has the best chances of remaining successful in the fight against Nazi demagogy.

## The Role of the Women in the Austrian Revolt and the Second International

By F. M.

The working women and workers' wives courageously participated in the heroic armed fight of the Austrian proletariat. Even bourgeois newspapers unanimously report that the working women often stood in the front line of fire; they not only brought munitions and food to the fighters and rendered them first aid, but also participated directly in the fighting with weapons in hand. Thus, for instance, in the fight for the building of the Vienna Sick Insurance Institution the nurses, together with the physicians and Schutzbundlers, defended the building against the heavily-armed military troops. In *Ottakring* a special detachment of women machine-gunners was in the fighting front.

Working women threw hot coals from the windows of some workers' dwellings in order to check the advance of the government troops.

The armed insurrection of the Austrian proletariat was unable to achieve victory owing to the policy of the social-democratic leaders, who wished to avoid fighting right up to the last minute and who already on the second day of the insurrection proclaimed the spontaneous general strike to be at an end. The social-democratic press of the whole of the Second International is now trying to whitewash the social-democratic leaders of Austria by declaring that the revolt broke out against their will.

The women leaders of the Second International have also expressed their opinion on the Austrian revolt. The women's supplement of the social-democratic "International Information" (No. 2) is partly devoted to Austria. From the article "Women in the Liberation Struggle" we learn very little of the actual struggle of the working women of Austria. It is true, it states that many of them carried weapons, munitions and food to the fighters or, what is no less important, maintained the courage of the men who were in the firing line, but chief importance is attached to the fact that the wives of some prominent fighters stood at the side of their husbands during the fights and that at present a number of leading social-democratic women are arrested or lying in hospital.\*

The fact, however, that the Austrian working women not only accompanied their husbands all the time but independently fought against the fascists with weapons in hand, is completely omitted from this article.

A further article reports that social-democratic women in various countries have started a relief campaign for the Austrian workers' children—but under what slogans? It is most clearly expressed in the Belgian "Peuple":—

"The Austrians have sacrificed their blood; it is now necessary for us to sacrifice money." (February 18).—"The Austrian social democrats shed their blood for the defence of freedom and legality. Comrades, we do not ask so much from you! Help us to save the children of the heroes!"

The leaders of the loyal monarchist Belgian social democracy and their like in the other countries openly say to the workers: we do not ask you to do as much as the Austrians have done. You are called upon to express your revolutionary energy, your hatred against fascism only by contributing money for the Austrian children.

The working women and the workers of the Soviet Union have also carried out a big relief campaign: in less than a week they collected a million Austrian shillings for the victims of the fascist terror in Austria. But they did not confine themselves to giving money; the working women of several big factories (Electrosila, Leningrad, Gosnak and Trechgoraya in Moscow), on hearing of the Austrian events, pledged themselves to increase the productivity and quality of their work in order to strengthen their socialist country and by this means to further the cause of the workers of the whole world. The following passages from the speech of Vassiljeva from the "Stalin factory" in Moscow shows the way in which the Soviet working women appraised the Austrian events:—

"It is not true that the cause of the Austrian workers has collapsed. The fascists should not crow too soon. They should remember our revolution of 1905. The workers of Austria have not won the victory to-day, but they will certainly win to-morrow."

The Austrian working women have fought because they no longer wished to tolerate wage cuts, unemployment and fascist robbery of rights. They took up arms because they were opposed to fascism with its inevitable accompaniments—general militarisation of the toilers, militarised compulsory labour for men and women, enhanced danger of war. They have set an example to the working women of the whole world how to proceed in the event of a fascist offensive, in the event of an imperialist war. And the working women of the whole world will best honour the memory of their Austrian sisters who have fallen in the battle, by joining the international front of struggle against war and fascism.

\* We learn from the interviews given by Renner and Karl Seitz to the bourgeois press that the social-democratic leaders are not at all badly treated in the Dollfuss prisons.

## Otto Bauer's Confession of Guilt

By J. L.

The publishers of the German social democratic party in the Czechoslovakian Republic publish a pamphlet by O. Bauer: "The Uprising of the Austrian Workers—Its Causes and Effects." The pamphlet is a defence; but Bauer feels no need to defend his party against the thousandfold justified accusation that it delivered the heroic Austrian workers into the hands of fascism, and cheated them of the success of their self-sacrificing struggles. He rather excuses himself and his party to the bourgeoisie because they did not succeed in restraining the workers from the fight.

Hence Bauer's attempt at self-justification begins with a recital of all the counter-revolutionary deeds of Austro-"Marxism."

"When the old Hapsburg empire collapsed in 1918 . . . Austrian social democracy succeeded, without violence, by the peaceful means of the convincing word, in pacifying the wild excitement of the starving masses returning to their homes from the blood and filth of the trenches, and in utilising it for peaceful constructive work. At the time when Austria was situated between the Hungarian and the Bavarian Soviet Republics, it remained an island of peace, whilst east and west of Austria blood was flowing in streams." (Page 4.)

These councillors of pacification, calling themselves workers' leaders; did indeed in 1919 prevent the formation of a united bloc of the proletarian states in Central Europe, and took decisive action in preventing the victorious advance of the world revolution. The Austro-"Marxists" may claim as much credit in saving capitalism as Ebert, Noske and their companions. Bauer possesses the sorry courage to boast openly to-day that at that time he saved the Hapsburg mass butchers, who are now shedding streams of blood of the Austrian workers, from the tribunal of the proletariat. He compares "peaceful" Austria with the countries of bloody civil war. But in 1919, 1927, and 1933 there was enough workers' blood shed in Austria, and Bauer and Co. have only prevented that with this blood the victory of the proletarian revolution, and not only in Austria was purchased, Bauer recalls that in July, 1927, when Schober killed ninety workers in the streets of Vienna, he and his companions restrained the workers from fetching their weapons from their hiding places.

Bauer bases the whole of his counter-revolutionary policy on the Linz programme, which has unfortunately been regarded by most workers as an expression of the revolutionary attitude of the Austrian S.P. Bauer continues to-day to proclaim the principle of the Linz programme, according to which the workers are to "gain the power in the state by peaceful and constitutional means, by means of the voting paper, by means of winning over the majority of the people for our ideas." Obviously it is only a regrettable misunderstanding, or an unhappy accident, that there is no country in which the bourgeoisie will permit the peaceful transition to socialism. Untaught by experience, Bauer and Co. stick to their Linz principle: Socialism to be gained solely by the voting paper, the armed struggle is only for the defence of the "democratic" republic!

By means of this ideology the working class has not been trained to relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie, but to peaceful agreement at any price. At the same time the class enemy has been encouraged to increase its attacks on the working class. In 1922 and 1928—so Bauer reports—the Austrian S.P. offered "reciprocal disarmament"; that is to say, of course, that the Federal Army and the police were to retain their arms, only the Heimwehr was to deliver up the arms which it had received from the army stores. Thus it is actually not thanks to the Austro-"Marxists" that the workers were left in possession of their arms.

According to Bauer's own representation, there was no democracy in Austria after the 7th March, 1933. The Dollfuss-Fey government made use of an Enabling Law issued in 1917, parliament and the constitutional courts of justice were thrust aside, and the social rights of the workers destroyed step by step. The Austrian S.P., representing 90 per cent. of the workers, two thirds of the population of Vienna, 41 per cent. of the whole Austrian people, was

"suddenly rendered entirely powerless. There was no legal remedy left against the lawless dictatorship." (Page 107.)

And what did the Austrian S.P. do in this situation? Did it call for the general strike and armed resistance, as demanded by



the workers who took the phrases of the Linz programme seriously? We read:—

"During the first few weeks after the coup d'état of 7th March, 1933, some of us had the opportunity of speaking to Dollfuss. They offered to negotiate on an understanding, on a reform of the constitution and of the standing orders of parliament. . . . When he declared that he would not negotiate with the men who had hitherto been the leaders of the Party, he was offered other negotiators more agreeable to him. . . . We invariably utilised every opportunity of warning the bourgeois politicians, and with them the government, of the rising tide of revolutionary trends in the working class, of the growing danger that some incident might lead, even against the will of the Party, to a violent outbreak of the accumulated anger against the dictatorship. Dollfuss always rejected these warnings with the haughty reply: 'There is no danger! The workers will not fight for these leaders.'" (Pp. 11 and 12.)

Has a political leader ever made a more ignominious confession? Could the worst enemy of social democracy stigmatise its disgraceful role more annihilatingly than this its own leader? He himself admits that the contemptibleness of the leaders encouraged the enemy to renewed attacks. Bauer enumerates the concessions which the S.P.A. leaders declared themselves ready to make: They were prepared to grant Dollfuss an Enabling Law for two years, if the S.P.A. were to be granted in return the legal rights of a loyal opposition. They were even prepared to "make concessions to the idea of a corporative organisation of society and of the State." The intermediation of the Church was called for with the aid of the "religious socialists," and the notorious anti-Bolshevist, Cardinal Innitzer, was implored to help. As late as the forenoon of 12th February, the day on which the armed Heimwehr bands were already on the march in all the cities of the country, after the Vienna social democratic party buildings had already been searched, and the workers of Linz had already taken up the armed fight against the fascist provocateurs, the Austrian social democratic leaders were still conferring with the Christian socials "in order to prevent the catastrophe at the last moment." (Page 13.)

The Austrian social fascists have indeed faithfully followed the ignominious example set them by their German consorts; have they not, like Wels, Leipart, and Loebe, replied to all fascist kicks by endeavours towards "co-ordination"? And when it finally came to the open fight Otto Bauer leaves no doubt that it was the oppositional workers who took up arms against the will and commands of the Party Committee.

The extraordinary Party Congress, held in the autumn of 1933, reserved the general strike for the following four cases:—

- (1) Should the government impose a fascist constitution illegally and unconstitutionally;
- (2) Should the government illegally and unconstitutionally depose the constitutional municipal and provincial administration of Red Vienna, and place the administration of Vienna in the hands of a governmental commissary;
- (3) Should the government disband the Party;
- (4) Should the trade unions be disbanded or "integrated" in the fascist State. (Page 13.)

Are not these four items actually instructions issued to the Dollfuss government as to the manner in which it could secure the support of the Party Committee in crushing the proletarian resistance? All the government needed was some "constitutional" cloak for its fascist actions, and the Austro-"Marxists" could be provided with the pretext enabling them to endeavour to restrain the masses from the struggle.

And in fact, for Otto Bauer and the Party Committee, not even the coup d'état of the Heimwehr in February, which aroused the spontaneous resistance of the social democratic workers, was a cause for taking up the struggle. Bauer contrasts the opinion of the workers and the opinion of the Party Committee as follows:—

"The workers thought: At this juncture we must not permit any more weapons to be taken away from us, if we are not to be rendered incapable of fighting in the immediately impending decisive moment.

"The Party Committee warned. It wanted to avoid the struggle until the government committed one of those actions which would have aroused the whole of the masses of the workers, and would have intensified the feeling of the people to a maximum pitch." (Page 18.)

Social democracy had done its utmost to induce the workers

to capitulate, to deprive them of their militant courage, to put a brake on their revolutionary elan, to disorganise their ranks, to confuse their class consciousness. But now, after the workers have entered the fight against the will of the Party Committee, now the man who is chiefly culpable for the whole policy pursued, the man who has always supplied the "theoretical" substantiation for every service rendered to fascist reaction, ventures to attribute the military defeat to a "failure to act" on the part of the workers. Bauer states: The overwhelming majority of the railwaymen "failed to act"; the bourgeois papers were able to appear, many districts did not resort to arms at all. Hence this "theoretician" of Austro-"Marxism" finds confirmation in actual practice of his theory of the impossibility of carrying out a general strike in times of mass unemployment. In reality, there are not only dozens of instances to be adduced from other capitalist countries of mass strikes carried out successfully in spite of mass unemployment, but in Austria, too, there were no strike-breakers whenever the masses came out on strike. Bauer entirely "forgets" the role played by his colleagues in the trade union committees. Where were their preparations for the general strike? Where were their appeals to the workers to take up the struggle? What did they do to lend emphasis to the strike? In reality they did the opposite of all this. The committee of the typographical trade union, the committee of the tramwaymen's union (though the tramwaymen were in part in the front line of the uprising), insisted that their members should continue work. With regard to the railwaymen, Bauer refers to the mass dismissals and the removal of the staff's representatives, which had a discouraging effect. But again he "forgets" the disgraceful role played by the leaders of the railwaymen and of the S.P.A., who failed to take the slightest step when the Austro-fascists purged the railways and other State undertakings, such as the Federal Army and the police, from class-conscious elements.

The "technical" mishap referred to by Bauer, that the improvised central committee was unable to establish any contact with the fighting workers, so that the fighting groups were left to themselves without any central leadership, was, of course, as little an accidental mishap as the whole of the defeatist tactics adopted by the leaders with regard to the uprising, tactics utterly incomprehensible from the military-technical point of view. These tactics were in complete accordance with the attitude of leaders who did their utmost to prevent the struggle, and who entered the fight without the will to victory, and with the greatest reluctance. Bauer had invariably seized every opportunity of warning the Austrian workers against risking a revolution in Austria; he was an adept at painting in the blackest colours the horrors of civil war, the dangers of an intervention, the difficulties of a proletarian dictatorship; the whole basis of his defeatist philosophy was the fundamental thesis of the impossibility of a proletarian victory in Austria.

The more valuable therefore is the present admission:—

"If the railways had been laid idle, if the general strike had spread all over the country, if the Schutzbundlers had carried along with them the great masses of the workers in the whole country, then the government would scarcely have succeeded in mastering the uprising." (Page 21.)

Bauer, who has never grasped the perspective of a victorious revolution, and has no intention even in this pamphlet of developing the idea of such a perspective, is nevertheless forced to admit that the victory of the workers was entirely possible.

Why were the workers not victorious, in spite of the heroic courage with which they fought, in spite of the weaknesses of the Dollfuss-Starhemberg-Fey government, which in contrast to Hitler fascism does not possess any mass basis? Bauer "self-critically" discovers a few shortcomings in his party: In 1932 it should have offered toleration to the Christian social government under Buresch, instead of bringing about new elections; a "Left" error! Renner should not have resigned from his position as president of the National Council, by which he furnished Dollfuss with a pretext for excluding parliament. Another "Left" deviation, according to Bauer! And finally a "Right" deviation, the "most disastrous" error, to quote Bauer: the Dollfuss coup d'état in March, 1933, should have been responded to by the general strike.

It is not worth while to deal with the "Left" errors. It is nonsense to assume that the class struggle would have taken a different course if social democracy had tolerated the Buresch government longer, or that the Heimwehr bands would not have been able to find some other pretext for eliminating parliament

had Renner not resigned. What is true is that the workers would have taken up the fight a year ago under better conditions; but **without revolutionary leadership** they would not have been victorious a year ago any more than now.

Bauer does not attach much importance himself to his self-critical observations; he states that the Italian and Hungarian social democracies were defeated whilst pursuing a more "Left" policy, the German social democrats by pursuing a more "Right" policy. The worthy man forgets that an actually **victorious working class** exists in the Soviet Union, and that it was led by neither a "Left" nor a "Right" social democracy, but by **Leninist Communist** leaders. When Bauer states that the causes of the defeat lie deeper than in the tactics of the Party, he is right. They lie in the **principles** of the Party, followed in this country by the majority of the working class. But the simple recognition that the reformist betrayal of Marxism, the abandonment of the revolutionary class struggle, the collaboration with the bourgeoisie, are the causes leading to defeat—this recognition is to be concealed from the masses, and it is Bauer's task to keep them in ignorance. Hence he pursues his speciality of discovering "**objective**" causes for the defeat: the petty bourgeois and peasant masses, impoverished and disappointed by the crisis, have turned against bourgeois democracy, and fallen under the leadership of counter-revolution; the powers of resistance of the working class have been weakened by mass unemployment; Austrian fascism has been encouraged, by the success of Hitler fascism, to make an attack on the working class. It need not be said that in reality there is no natural law forcing the middle strata to proceed in co-operation with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat in times of crisis. If the proletariat is led by a revolutionary party which is capable of defending at the same time the interests of the non-proletarian toiling strata against the bourgeoisie, and by applying the united forces of the proletarian class to shake the authority of the ruling class, then considerable sections of this intermediate strata can be won over as allies of the proletarian revolution. If the united front is established between employed and unemployed workers, in accordance with the principles of the revolutionary Party and trade union movement, if all these workers fight conjointly for their common class interests, then the disappointment and indignation of the unemployed masses will become a mighty revolutionary factor. And finally, the **events in Germany** have not only incited the fascist bourgeoisie of Austria to attack the working class, but have **aroused the workers of Austria**, have shown them the necessity of war to the knife. Bauer himself reports that the Austrian workers have been dominated by the thought that "what has happened in Germany must not happen to us."

It need not be said that there exists no objective necessity in Austria, or in any other capitalist country for the working class to be defeated by fascism during the crisis. What proved disastrous to the Austrian workers was that they followed social democracy in their great majority, that they were enticed by the "Left" phrasemongering of **Bauer and Deutsch**, and did not find the way to Communism. This is the sole reason why they were not victorious this time, and only after they have drawn the practical conclusions from the lessons taught by this heroic fight, after they have broken with social democracy, and formed a mighty Communist Party rooted firmly in the masses, will they emerge victorious from the great class struggles which will now arise after the "victory" of the Dollfuss bands.

Bauer, of course, draws up no perspectives of victorious proletarian revolution, but rather those of imperialist war. In Austria there are now only two alternatives: restoration of the Hapsburgs or union with Germany. Both mean war, but war leads to revolution. At the Brussels Congress of the Second International in 1928, Bauer raged against the Communist International, and uttered the calumny that Bolshevism was setting its revolutionary hopes solely on a war. To-day this same Bauer is endeavouring to persuade the Austrian workers that they should set all their hopes on war. Obviously he sees in the Austrian uprising only a last desperate struggle during that "epoch of fascist reaction" which he has discovered in collaboration with Trotsky and similar thinkers. He does not, or will not, see that the Austrian uprising is not isolated, that it is only one link in the chain of the mighty mass struggles now developing in all capitalist countries, a part of that process of the revolutionising of the masses which is being brought about not only by the frightful blows of the capitalist crisis, and by the unleashed barbarity of fascism, but above all by the vic-

torious force of the example set by the Soviet Union, by the rousing effect of the heroic struggle of the revolutionary workers in the countries of the fascist dictatorship.

The Austrian workers, in resorting to arms against the will and the warnings of the Austro-"Marxist" leaders, rose not only against fascism; at the same time they have broken the fetters of social fascist discipline which have bound them so long. The Austrian workers, who have realised their own strength during the struggle, are at the same time cured of the despicable and fatalist defeatist theory of Otto Bauer. Precisely in this fact lies one of the most important results of this whole struggle, and a **pledge for the coming victory**.

## China

### The National Revolutionary Liberation Struggle in Manchuria

By Chie Hua

The Japanese imperialists are continuing their colonisation work with intensified energy in Manchuria, where the theatrical coronation of Mr. Pu Yi as Emperor by the grace of Japan has just taken place. The present stage, termed by the Japanese the "third stage," is characterised by increased military preparations on the part of the Japanese imperialists for a war against the Soviet Union, and by an intensified exploitation of the working masses of Manchuria, coupled with a brutal campaign of repression against the revolutionary anti-Japanese movement and the disarmament of the Manchurian population.

Japanese imperialism is paying particular attention to the extension and consolidation of its military strategical fortifications in Manchuria, and this is of particular importance in connection with the rapid approach of a Japanese war of intervention against the Soviet Union. Troops are being concentrated all along the frontiers of Manchuria in preparation for a drive into Soviet territory. Strong detachments of Japanese troops are quartered in all the most important towns along both banks of the Sungari, where, by the way, the struggle of the anti-Japanese guerilla troops is most active, from Tungkiang to Tanguan, quite near to the Soviet frontier. The Japanese troops are constantly being reinforced the nearer they are to the Soviet frontier. Along the Soviet frontier the Japanese troops are particularly strong in artillery and cavalry. Aerodromes are being laid out in Techamus and Fushien on the Sungari. New fortifications are being erected in Tungkiang and along the Amur. Particular attention and energy are being given to the building of military roads. The strategic railway line from Tchamus to Hua-Tchuan has now been completed. In order to secure the rapid completion of this line it is reported that forced labour recruited in the districts in question has been used. Each family has been compelled to give one member for unpaid labour. In the frontier districts the workers in the industrial undertakings—for instance, the gold mines of Wu Tung Ho and Tai Ping Gu—are working in many cases under Japanese military guard.

In this "third stage" the Japanese are also making it their aim to disarm the Manchurian troops on account of the fact that repeated mutinies in their ranks make them a danger to the consolidation of the Japanese position in Manchuria and to the preparations for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. However, these attempts to disarm the Manchurian troops is strengthening the process of revolutionisation amongst the Manchurian troops. Recently there has been a considerable increase in the number of mutinies amongst the Manchurian troops. In Eastern Manchuria the situation has become so serious that the 10,000 Manchurian troops in the district are more or less under the guard of Japanese troops. All patrol duties are exclusively under the control of Japanese officers. The Manchurian troops are badly paid and poorly fed. The treatment accorded to them is bad and the duties are heavy. Another important factor affecting the morale of the Manchurian troops is the very considerable strength of the anti-Japanese guerilla movement in Eastern Manchuria. During the past few months there have been dozens of mutinies amongst the Manchurian troops in Shansen, Holikung, and the neighbouring districts. Many units of the Manchurian army have showed complete indifference and passivity in the campaign against the guerilla troops, and, where opportunity offered, many of them have gone over to the anti-Japanese detachments.

In Tang Yuan and Tong Ho the soldiers of the Manchurian brigade, under General Tu, have refused to obey the orders of Japanese officers. They retreated in fighting order into the nearby woods, where they have dug themselves in and are preparing to resist any attempts to subdue them. In Holikung the fourth Manchurian infantry regiment, under the command of Wu, received orders from Japanese officers to give the names of the "rebellious" soldiers in order that they might be arrested and executed in the usual fashion with machine-gun fire. When this was refused, a conference of Japanese and Manchurian officers took place to discuss the disbandment of the regiment. The men, however, stormed the conference and opened fire on the officers. Seventeen Japanese officers were killed in the fighting. After the trouble the mutineers marched off, reinforced by mutineers from other regiments under the command of Wu Chang Ho, and joined the anti-Japanese irregulars in the north, taking machine-guns and equipment with them. There is now an intense campaign of repression in the Holikung district, and scores of workers and peasants have been arrested. The arrested men are being subjected to frightful maltreatment and torture. A second Manchurian detachment, under the command of Major Mau, also refused to obey the commands of the Japanese officers, mutinied and joined the irregulars in the neighbourhood of Panin.

The increasing mutinies amongst the Manchurian troops represent a considerable strengthening of the anti-Japanese irregulars who are operating over the whole of Manchuria against the Japanese troops of occupation. Although the Japanese imperialists are waging a fierce war of extermination against the irregulars and no quarter is given, and although strong detachments of Japanese troops are operating in Eastern Manchuria and in the Sungari valley against the irregulars, the Japanese cannot crush the guerilla movement. It is estimated that from 250,000 to 300,000 irregulars are now operating against the Japanese in various parts of Manchuria. The forces of the irregulars are continually being augmented by bands of workers and peasants and by detachments of Manchurian soldiers, and a heroic and desperate struggle is being conducted against the Japanese troops and their agents.

The Japanese imperialists are now concentrating on securing all the weapons at present in the hands of the Manchurian population. An official decree has been issued for the registration of all arms. In Holikung a widespread attempt has already been made to confiscate the weapons in the hands of the peasantry. In Tangyuan and Tongho the Japanese have even disbanded the Manchurian militia, maintained by the Manchurian merchants, for fear that these men would go over to the irregulars and take their weapons with them. However, these attempts at disarmament are meeting with increased resistance from the masses of the working class and peasant population.

Another measure which is being widely used against the irregulars is the colonisation of armed bands of Japanese colonists and reservists in various districts, with a view to obtaining reliable information on local happenings and to forming a strong and reliable local force to resist the activities of the guerillas. Very often these armed bands of colonists seize the most fruitful fields by armed violence and drive the Manchurian peasants off the land. These groups of Japanese colonists work hand in hand with the Japanese troops of occupation. At the same time, and with the same aim, the Japanese are founding Korean colonies.

Simultaneously the Japanese are intensifying their campaign of demagoguery amongst the population of Manchuria in order to destroy the basis of the anti-Japanese struggle. As far as the toiling population of Manchuria is concerned, this propaganda falls on stony ground. It is hardly possible for the Japanese to conceal the fact of their brutal robbery by fine phrases. However, the Japanese have succeeded in buying the landowning, bourgeois, and officer sections of the Manchurian population for their struggle against the guerilla movement in return for small concessions. At a conference between the Japanese military authorities and the representatives of the local Manchurian landowners the Japanese even agreed to return the weapons confiscated from the local militia formed by the landowners, to increase the salaries of the officers, and to reduce the taxes of the landowners, etc. Enticed by these promises, the Manchurian landowners are rallying to the banner of Japanese imperialism in a joint struggle against the national-revolutionary liberation movement of the working Manchurian people. The anti-Communist and pro-Japanese campaign conducted by the Japanese authori-

ties in Western and Northern Manchuria is enjoying the complete support of the local landowners.

However, the treacherous attitude and the counter-revolutionary sections of the native landowners and bourgeois, and the complete capitulation of the Manchurian feudalists, led by Generals Litu, Tin Tchao, Ma Dsan and others, to the Japanese, have helped the toiling masses to recognise that the Communist Party is the only leader of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and anti-capitalist struggle in Manchuria. The attack of Japanese imperialism against the revolutionary mass movement and its leader the Communist Party, and the mobilisation of the native counter-revolutionary elements in this struggle have greatly increased the prestige of the Communist Party amongst the irregular troops and strengthened the leadership of the Party in the anti-imperialist struggle. The peasant committees in Western and Northern Manchuria are under the direct leadership of the Communist Party. These peasant committees, with the support of sections of the irregulars more or less under Communist influence, and with the support of the masses of the peasant population, organised an attack on Tangyuan. As a result of the growing influence of the Communists the anti-imperialist movement has increased considerably in activity and prestige. The slogan of the Communist Party for the unification of all the anti-Japanese formations in the struggle for the defeat of Japanese imperialism has found enthusiastic support amongst the fighting irregulars. As a result of this slogan a Manchurian army of volunteers, under the leadership of Tchun San, Tsa Chun-hai, and Tsang Chun-hu, has been formed. The general staff of this army works together with a special political commission. The army has a systematic fighting plan and a definite revolutionary programme.

The anti-imperialist mass struggle of the working population of Manchuria and the resulting armed struggles with the Japanese forces face the Communist Party of China with the task of leading and organising this movement and improving its development in equality until it is prepared to wage the great national-revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the Soviet revolution for the emancipation of the Chinese masses from the yoke of the imperialists and the native landowners and capitalists and smash the plans of the Japanese imperialists for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union in the East.

## Struggle Against Unemployment

### Unemployment Insurance in the U.S.A.

By Carl Reeve (New York)

Since the National Convention Against Unemployment in Washington, D.C., on February 4, approximately thirty-five American Federation of Labour local unions and a half-dozen city councils have endorsed the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill. The city councils of Canton, Ohio; Rockford, Ill.; Lindale, Ohio; Clifton, New Jersey; Caseyville, Ill.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Jamestown, N.Y.; Milwaukee, Wisc.; Tacoma, Wash.; Bedford, Ohio; and Buffalo, N.Y., have endorsed the Workers' Bill.

Included in the A.F.L. local unions endorsing the bill are locals of miners, steel workers, painters, carpenters, mechanics, auto workers, electrical workers, stonecutters, plumbers, boiler-makers, bakers, and steam-fitters, jewellery workers, etc. Local unions of shoe workers, tool and die makers, needle trades, food workers, labourers, textile workers and many other trades from the independent and class struggle unions have demanded its enactment. Central Labour unions of the A.F.L., including Spokane, Wash.; Lincoln, Nebr.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Sioux City, Iowa; Albuquerque, N.M.; Schenectady, N.Y.; Reading, P.A., have demanded the passage of the bill. State A.F.L. organisations which have endorsed it include Montana, Nebraska, Colorado, and Iowa.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in the Unemployed Councils and other unemployed organisations, in the C.W.A. (Civil Works Administration), workers' leagues, in block and neighbourhood committees, in fraternal organisations and mass meetings have demanded the passage of the bill.

The masses of unemployed workers are demanding in increasing numbers, that the present session of congress must act to grant security to the sixteen million workers and their families who are at present totally unemployed in the United States. Every day additional working-class organisations and hundreds

and thousands of individuals are writing and telegraphing their congressmen, demanding action on the bill.

The bill is the only one now before congress which applies to the sixteen million unemployed. It is the only bill which calls for the payment to all those totally unemployed, through no fault of their own, of unemployment insurance (as well as sickness, accident and old age insurance) equal to the average wage of the worker in the industry when working.

The benefits are to be paid as long as the worker is unemployed. The bill declares that these benefits must be at least ten dollars a week with an additional three dollars for every dependent. It contains a clause that no strike or union activity can be used as an excuse to deny benefits to the unemployed workers.

The bill is the only one now before congress which calls for unemployment insurance funds to be obtained from taxes upon the rich, upon corporations and individuals with incomes over five thousand dollars a year, and in no case from any tax on the workers. The bill specifically states that there must be no discrimination against any unemployed worker in giving out of benefits, whether Negro, youth, woman, or foreign born. It is the only bill which calls for the milliards of dollars now appropriated for war preparations, to be at once diverted for this unemployment insurance fund. These insurance funds are to be administered not by the employer, who would use the funds as a club against working-class activity, but by the workers' organisations themselves.

The Roosevelt government is leaving no stone unturned to deny the unemployed masses any unemployment insurance. Roosevelt said on October 6, 1932, when he was campaigning for election, "We need for the unemployed a greater assurance of security. Old age, sickness and unemployment insurance are the minimum requirements in these days." But Roosevelt, in the first year of the "New Deal," has acted just the opposite. He said in his speech of February 28, "Direct relief is not an adequate way of meeting the needs of able-bodied workers." Roosevelt, in this speech calling for liquidation of the C.W.A., came out against cash relief, against any unemployment insurance, and in favour only of "work relief." Thus did Roosevelt break his campaign pledges. He has made one attack after another on the unemployed. He liquidated the C.W.A., cut down on direct relief appropriations, and refuses to grant unemployment insurance.

But now Roosevelt is afraid of the demand of the masses for security against starvation. He is afraid of the demand of the hundreds of thousands and millions of workers for the enactment of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill. So he is trying to sidetrack this bill by backing a fraudulent "insurance" bill—the *Wagner Bill*. Mrs. Roosevelt, federal relief director Hopkins, Secretary of Labour Perkins and all of Roosevelt's official family, are boosting the *Wagner Bill*. They do this in order to hoodwink the workers into believing that they are doing something for the unemployed. They call this bill an "unemployment insurance" bill, hoping the workers will not study it, and find out what it really is.

The *Wagner Bill* is not an unemployment insurance bill at all. It provides that the federal government shall not give a cent for unemployment insurance. What it does is merely exempt employers from a federal tax, provided that they have contributed to any sort of State "reserves" fund.

The *Wagner Bill* merely transfers the unemployment insurance problem to the States. But it provides that the States shall pass, not unemployment insurance bills, but "reserve" bills. These bills, such as the Wisconsin Law, the Steingut Bill in New York State, etc., do not apply to any workers who are totally unemployed. They contain anti-strike and "misconduct" clauses which bar any striker, anyone active in the workers' organisations, from benefits and get him fired. They are harmful to the employed because they hold the club of firing and loss of "insurance" over workers now in industry, if they fight against wage cuts or for better conditions. They do not apply at all to those now unemployed. They leave the fund in the hands of the employer, giving him added power over the worker. They do not go into effect for months after passage. They limit the "insurance" even to those in industry, to at most sixteen weeks, after which the worker gets nothing.

The Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill is the only bill beneficial to the unemployed and part-time worker. It was introduced by *Ernest Lundeen* because the rank and file of his own party, the Farmer Labour Party, and the unemployed workers of

his city, Minneapolis, led by the Unemployment Councils, forced him to act. But Lundeen himself has not put up any fight for the passage of the Workers' Bill which he introduced. The bill is now before the Labour Committee of the House, of which Congressman Connery is chairman. Only the intensified mass campaign of the workers will force congress to act favourably on the Unemployment Insurance Bill. The National Unemployment Councils have launched a national campaign for its enactment. All workers and all working-class organisations are being urged to act at once to force congress to pass the Workers' Bill.

## The White Terror

### Save Comrade Gurmuk Singh!

Two Indian revolutionaries, Comrade Gurmuk Singh and his companion, were arrested on August 7, 1933, near Bhati-Kot fort (Afghanistan) by the Afghan frontier patrol officer as they were entering the territory of the free tribe. This officer searched them all over and took away from them fourteen pounds in gold and 90 rupees, leaving them only with their underclothing. They were taken next day to the governor of Jalahabad, who ordered ten pound shackles to be placed on them and that they be placed along with common criminals. For four days they were given nothing to eat. When the governor ascertained their identity they were transferred to another jail and locked up in separate cells. They were not allowed any visit from the doctor or any medical attention. After a month of this treatment the police removed them from Jalahabad to Kabul under military escort. The two comrades were not allowed to speak to each other on the way.

As soon as the superintendent of the Kabul prison saw them he became furiously enraged and ordered the jailer to place still heavier shackles on them and threatened that if they spoke to any of the other prisoners they would be beaten with canes until the skin came off them, and also informed them they would be allowed to go to the lavatory only twice a day. The superintendent gave them two loaves of bread and one blanket each. Thus they spent the whole winter with only one light blanket as a covering, with the thermometer 15 degrees below zero. The barbarous Afghan government has taken no notice of their continual complaints.

The Afghan government does not provide prisoners with food, clothes, or bed. Nor does it allow prisoners to bath, or to wash their clothes. No vessels are provided from which to drink water, but the prisoners are driven like sheep to drink out of the ditch running through the jail yard. A prisoner can get a piece of bread only if he proves that he has absolutely no friends or acquaintances. But even in this case he is not given bread, but is sent with a policeman to beg bread in the city. When Gurmuk Singh and his comrade were in Jalahabad they asked the jailer, after being without food for four days, when they would get bread. The jailer replied: "There are many Hindus in this city; I will send you with a policeman to go and beg."

After being fifteen days in Kabul jail, Gurmuk Singh and his comrade asked that the government either give them food, clothes, and bedding or allow them to get them from their friends and relatives. The superintendent said: "You are not allowed to get anything from outside, and in this way you will be killed." When they asked permission to write to the Foreign Minister or Prime Minister, this was refused. Comrade Gurmuk Singh went on a hunger strike on October 25, but the Afghan government took no notice of this. No doctor visited him during his hunger strike, which lasted for seventeen days.

At the end of the hunger strike Gurmuk Singh was given half-baked bread and very cold water, with the obvious intention of killing him. The weather is very cold in Kabul, with heavy snowfalls, but the government makes no arrangements to heat the jail. Prisoners are given neither warm clothing nor hot food. These are the conditions under which these comrades are kept, without food, clothing, or warmth.

Seven months have passed, during which time these two comrades have not been able to have a bath, to wash themselves, or change their clothes. They have become so weak that there is no hope of their being restored to health. Nothing objectionable was found on them on their arrest, not even a piece of paper. They have been held in jail for seven months, during which time the government has not commenced any proceedings against them.

From all this it is evident that the Afghan government is acting on the orders of British imperialism. British imperialism is aiming at murdering them through its agent, the Afghan government.

We appeal to the masses, to all revolutionaries, to all sympathisers with the cause of India's freedom, to take up this case and expose the nature of the false independence of the Afghan government. Show that this government is a tool of British imperialism, used by it to suppress the Afghan masses and Indian revolutionaries. Expose the Afghan government as the enemy of India's freedom! Save Comrade Gurmuk Singh from the clutches of the enemies of India's independence!

## The Activity of the Red Aid of France

By Jean Barthel

*The writer of this article is a member of the delegation sent by the French workers to Indo-China. The delegation will soon return to France and report.—Ed.*

Several delegations of organisations have on previous occasions visited Indo-China, and already in 1931 the Red Aid sent one of its lawyers there, but there had never been sent such a delegation for investigating the conditions in Indo-China as the one from France at present there.

This delegation has been sent not only by the Red Aid, but jointly with the Revolutionary Trade Union Federation of France (C.G.T.U.) and with the full support of the C.P. of France and numerous proletarian mass organisations.

In the six months from January to July, 1933, a big campaign for complete amnesty was organised by the Red Aid, in the course of which, with the collaboration of Comrade Rousseng, who has been released from prison, 120 meetings attended by over 100,000 toilers, and 21 demonstrations attended by 30,000 toilers were held on the basis of the united front. Joint actions with local branches of the socialist party of France and the League for Human Rights were carried out in twenty-four localities. This action led to a partial success, which was expressed in the amnesty for political prisoners in July, 1933, which, however, did not include the victims of militarism and of colonial policy.

In August, 1933, the Red Aid made use of the fund collected jointly with the *League against Imperialism* in order to send M. Delevallée, a lawyer, to defend the revolutionaries who had been imprisoned in Madagascar. Already at that time it was intended to send a workers' delegation to Indo-China. Meanwhile the wave of terror in Germany, as a result of which the German Red Aid was driven into illegality, confronted the Red Aid of France, as one of the strongest legal sections, with tremendous and urgent tasks in connection with helping the emigrants from Germany and the prisoners in Germany itself.

The International solidarity week for the victims of Hitler fascism resulted in the collection of 125,000 francs, of which 80,000 were sent to Germany. More than 100 meetings throughout the whole of France were attended by more than 120,000 toilers.

In the meantime fresh and alarming reports arrived from Indo-China. On May 7, 106 Annamites were sentenced in Saigon for being members of trade unions; eight of them were sentenced to death, 19 to life-long imprisonment, and the remaining 79 to a total of 270 years' imprisonment. On July 13, the Court in Hanoi acquitted four legionaries who, on the order of their superior officers, had killed eight innocent Annamite prisoners. Twenty-five letters from families of Annamite political prisoners requested the Red Aid to come to their assistance.

The Red Aid and the C.G.T.U. therefore decided in August, 1933, to send a workers' delegation to investigate matters in Indo-China. A solidarity week for Indo-China was held from September 9 to 17, in the course of which more than 30 meetings were organised and more than 50,000 francs collected. This enabled the delegation, consisting of the Communist deputy *Péti, Bruneau* from the C.G.T.U., and the author of this article, to leave for Indo-China.

A second partial victory has been achieved: the government has commuted the death sentences passed on the eight prisoners. The socialist party as well as the reformist C.G.T. have done everything to sabotage this action. The action must be continued and strengthened in order to achieve still greater successes.

## In the International

### Dimitrov and the Proletarian United Front

From Dimitrov's Conversation With the Moscow Special Correspondent of the "Runa"

**Question:** Comrade Dimitrov, while in your prison cell did you get any information of the struggle which the toilers of the world waged for your liberation and for the liberation of those who were accused with you?

**Dimitrov:** I learned a great deal only after I came here, from the press of last year which I could now peruse in detail. In prison I was almost hermetically isolated from the outer world. And yet, from numerous small signs, I instinctively felt the sympathy and love of the toilers for the cause for which we fought in Leipzig and Berlin. We felt this at the trial itself from the attitude of the proletarian witnesses, while being transferred from one prison to another and on several other occasions.

**Question:** And did you not receive letters?

**Dimitrov:** A great many letters were sent to me. But almost all of these letters remained in the prison office and during the first few months I did not even realise that my letters were being confiscated. Then when I made a vigorous protest against this secret interception of my correspondence. I received letters, but of the following type:—

"Reich Court, Business Office of the Fourth Criminal Section, Berlin, N.W.14, October, 1933. To Mr. G. Dimitrov, Berlin, Alt Moabit. We inform you that the handing out of a letter from an unknown person which has been received for you has not been permitted."

or another letter of October 7:—

"According to instructions we inform you that a telegram signed by Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, André Gide will not be handed out as we must consider that this might jeopardise order in the prison."

I received the following information, dated October 31, 1933:—

"According to instructions, you are informed that the handing out of a letter from the Federation Unitaire des Travailleurs du Livre et du Papiers in Paris, addressed to you, has not been approved. The letter contains Communist propaganda and is therefore apt to endanger order in prison."\* During the trial, which lasted for months, I daily observed how the presiding judge of the Reich Court was handed a pile of correspondence addressed to me. But all these thousands of letters were not handed to me and I received official communications about the confiscation of my mail, like those mentioned above, only in isolated cases.

But while the authorities did not allow letters from world-famous writers, non-Party workers' organisations, and in part also letters which were entirely unpolitical in content into the prison, guarded by hundreds of S.A. and S.S. because "they would endanger order," still some letters found their way into my prison cell in a way which is also unknown to me. You see (Dimitrov points to the table covered with letters and telegrams) I have not yet been able to put my correspondence in order, part of which I tried to save up to the last moment. As an example, just look at these letters and postcards which I received from people belonging to various parties while still in prison.

One postcard—mailed in Berlin—simply reads: "Georg Dimitrov! We are with you!" Another postcard sent from Stuttgart reads: "Dimitrov, the Bulgarian working class can be proud of you. Long live the world revolution!"

The contents and the style of these postcards makes it clear that they are from class-conscious workers. But the following is a letter from a non-Party intellectual from Ludwigshafen:—

"December 17th, 1933.

"My Dear Mr. Dimitrov,

"The hour of freedom is no longer far away. You will shake the dust of Germany from your feet. But please do not forget that you have also made friends here who interest themselves in your further fate. I am neither a Communist nor a member of any other party, but only a right-thinking person." And this here (Dimitrov picks out a letter and looks at it for a long time in a touching manner before he hands it over):—

\* The date on which they were received was marked on the letters by Comrade Dimitrov himself.—Editor.

"Karl Marx Hof. Vienna, Dec. 7th, 1933.

"Dear Comrade Dimitrov,

"On behalf of many, we send you our most ardent greetings.

"Millions are listening to your courageous words. With these words you give new force and energy to millions.

"Your fight will not be in vain; it is also our fight. The great army of the class-conscious proletariat stands united behind you. "With proletarian liberation greetings

"(3 signatures)."

[We delete these three signatures for reasons that will be clear to every reader on account of the present situation in Austria.—Editor.]

This is not the only letter from workers in Vienna. Many wrote to me individually, but there are also entire workers' organisations among the letter writers. Here, for instance, is a letter from a reformist trade union:—

"Dear Comrade Dimitrov, "Vienna,, Nov. 20th, 1933.

"We are following the course of the trial which is being conducted against you—our class brothers—with intense interest.

"We read of the unprecedented terror, the abuse and the threats to which you and your comrades are subjected, with bitterness and indignation. The fact that you, as a fighter and revolutionary, could fearlessly and unafraid tear the mask from the class court as well as from the most prominent witnesses and thus become the accuser against the ruling system, fills us with joy and pride.

"With the assurance that we shall always actively participate in the struggle for your release, we send you, as well as the comrades who are suffering with you, the best proletarian fighting greetings.

"(Signed for the) Independent Organisation of the Pattern Makers of Austria."

[Here also we leave out the signatures.—Editor.]

Among the letters which reached me, in ways unknown to me, there were many from England, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and so on. Here you see a number of such solidarity postcards. An English worker even found it possible to address his greetings to the fascist prison for "Comrade Dimitrov."

These and a few other lines, especially the letter from those who later became the social democratic barricade fighters of the Karl Marx Hof, were the rays of a living united front which penetrated into my prison cell. They show how correct is the idea of the united front in the way in which it is being carried out by our Communist International. We now have to transform the sympathy for our cause into real unity of the revolutionary struggle. I should like to take this occasion to express my wish and make an appeal to the social democratic workers:—

That they may draw the conclusion from the bankruptcy of the social democratic leadership, finally see the correctness of the Communist policy, and, hand in hand with the Communist Party, wage the struggle for the overthrow of fascism and for the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

It is not only a hope but my firm conviction that the world proletariat and all honestly thinking people will still more energetically, with still greater enthusiasm carry on the fight for the liberation of the many thousands of revolutionary fighters and, in the first place, for the leader of the German proletariat, Comrade Thaelmann. I cannot repeat often enough that I consider Thaelmann's liberation as a question of honour for the international working class.

**Note by Correspondent:** Immediately before sending off the above lines, Comrade Dimitrov received a new letter from the social democratic workers of the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna, dated March 2nd. Out of the three signatures from the above quoted letter we now find only one. The other two fighters have apparently either been massacred by the Heimwehr bands or are in Dollfuss' dungeons. This letter not only shows solidarity with Dimitrov's cause, with the cause of Communism. This letter is at the same time a bloody accusation by the social democratic workers against the treachery of their leaders, an avowal that the working class of Austria would not have suffered such an ignominious defeat under Communist leadership. "It was a bloody lesson for us"—write the social democratic workers from the Karl Marx Hof. Their letter is as follows:—

"Vienna, March 2nd, 1934.

"Karl Marx Hof.

"Dear Comrade Dimitrov,

"We received the message with joy that you, as well as Comrades Popov and Tanev, have left the 'Brown Hell' and are already in the Soviet Union. Thousands of proletarians breathe freely again, as we need such heroic fighters in our ranks. If we had had such heroic fighters we would have not have reached the point where the working class of Austria suffered such an ignominious defeat on account of treachery. It was a bloody lesson for us. It is the 1905 for us, as in Russia, and let us hope that it will not last so long, that we will then proclaim a Soviet Austria and be able to give a comradely handshake to Russia, and together build up a new state in which only proletarians may live. A genuine workers' state.

"Dear Comrade Dimitrov, be so kind and write us a few lines so that we can really see that you are in Russia, because we have already become pessimists.

"With greetings for freedom."

## "I am a Soldier of the Revolution!"

By S. Blagoyava

This was Comrade Dimitrov's answer to a question from the correspondent from the "New York Times" as to what he will do now after his release. These words express the contents and the meaning of Dimitrov's life from his earliest years.

... the Bulgarian Minister-President, head of the most reactionary party in the country, in a severe combat with Dimitrov, the revolutionary—"tyesnyak," calls to him from the tribune of the Bulgarian parliament:—

—"I know you, you when still a sixteen-year-old boy in a printing plant had the audacity to censor my article." This Dimitrov, a young printer, the only compositor who could make out the handwriting of this die-hard reactionary, refused to set the anti-working class paragraphs of his article and deliberately threw them out.

From 1903 to 1906 the twenty-year-old trade union leader, Dimitrov, makes the rounds of the factories and mines in the mountains of Bulgaria. A workers' meeting is in progress, the words of the revolutionary awaken the class-consciousness of the workers. The leader of the Bulgarian reformists cries, foaming at the mouth:—

—"Yes, the workers are going away from us, but you watch, wherever the workers are—there Dimitrov speaks, wherever there is a strike he's there, he's here, there and everywhere."

... workers' meetings in remote Balkan mountain canyons, in the mines of Plaskametza. The miners who have just left the mines listen to Dimitrov's ardent words with bated breath. The speaker is shot at through the window. Through the same window three miners jump into the street and catch the local reformist leader with the revolver in his hand. ... Dimitrov continues his speech, exposing the treachery of reformism, which acts by striking blows in the back, by striking at the working class from behind.

... the first trial against Dimitrov in Bulgaria. The social democratic leader calls him to account for a preface to a pamphlet on the trade union movement in Bulgaria, demanding an apology. At the trial Dimitrov repeats the deserved epithet of "betrayer" directed at the social reformist and develops his accusation against Bulgarian reformism.—He is sentenced to imprisonment for a month.

... War. Dimitrov is a deputy at the front. Conducts an illegal conference. Organises the workers of the tobacco factories.

... After the war, in Sofia, mass actions of the Bulgarian workers already under the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. Demand—those responsible for the war should be tried by a people's court! Meetings in the workers' quarters, despite the ban. Dimitrov speaks. Attacked by mounted police. First barricades in Sofia. The police retreat.

... In Sofia the police kill three workers who had been leading the struggle of the urban poor against the housing crisis. At the funeral of those who had been killed, a mass demonstration breaks out, notwithstanding the ban of the authorities. The Central Committee of the Communist Party is at the head of the demonstration. Dimitrov is in the forefront. Conflicts with the police, the masses break through the lines of mounted and foot police.

... Insurrection in Bulgaria in 1923. Organisation of the

Soviets. Dimitrov heads the insurrection. Sentenced to death, Dimitrov is in emigration from 1923. Deep underground work. Unbelievable tension. Does not even for a moment cease to struggle and work for the proletarian revolution.

. . . A year ago—provocation connected with the Reichstag fire in Berlin. The incendiaries need a big trial against the Communists. Accidentally they seize hold of the three Bulgarians. Among them there's Dimitrov—member of the E.C.C.I.

**The Leipzig Trial**—a provocation of fascism against world Communism. Dimitrov, the revolutionary, gets up in the court and the trial turns against fascism. The world proletariat has concentrated its tense attention on the courageous conduct of Dimitrov. Every word uttered by the revolutionary reverberates among the masses of millions of toilers throughout the world. In the most horrible conditions, in the hostile environment of the fascist hangmen, **Dimitrov holds high the banner of world Communism.**

Under the pressure of the public opinion of the toilers of the whole world, the fascist court is compelled to acquit the Communists. But the threat from Goering, the hangman, who promised to hang Dimitrov, hangs over them. Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev continue to be kept in prison, in underground catacombs. Dimitrov protests, he fights for his two comrades who are ill. Again, mockery, threats.

The Soviet Union, the greatest Power of the international proletariat, following every step of the fascist "court" with unslackening attention, comes forward with the demand to free its citizens. And somebody had to draw in his tail. Dimitrov, Popov, and Tanev are free—they are on Soviet territory.

On the way to the Soviet Union, in Koenigsberg, where the plane made a stop, the Prefect of Police, a former social democrat, came to Dimitrov and warned him that he should speak about Germany objectively.

"— Oh, yes!" answers Dimitrov, "all the more so since I shall return to Germany again as a guest of the Soviet government of Germany. . . ."

In Moscow Dimitrov is heartily welcomed by the proletarians of the Land of the Soviets. From everywhere he hears words of love and appreciation: We are proud of you, dear Comrade Dimitrov.

Seriously, with inherent modesty, Dimitrov states: "I fulfilled my duty, I am satisfied if I have fulfilled it well. I am a Soldier of the Revolution; I am a Soldier of the Comintern, and will continue to be one until my last breath!"

Greetings to Dimitrov, the staunch fighter of the proletarian revolution!

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### The Week in the Soviet Union

#### The Sowings Campaign

Several thousand hectares of early spring sowings have already been carried out. The collective farmers regard the early sowings as a means to increase the harvest yield. There has been great zealotness amongst the collective farmers in carrying out the early spring sowings, and this must be interpreted as a sign that the problem of increasing the harvest yield is being taken up by them very seriously.

The very early spring sowings, sowings whilst the fields are still slushy from the thaw, is a very difficult agricultural problem, something new for the collective peasants, and it demands great care and attention, and, above all, good advice on the part of the socialist agricultural organs.

The People's Commissariat for Agriculture has issued the necessary instructions, but instructions alone are not enough. It is important that the organisation of the control over the carrying out begins to function in good time.

Up to the present these early sowings have been attempted in the southern districts of the Soviet Union only, but in the future they are to be attempted in the central zones also. Quite apart from the significance of the early sowings for the harvest yield, the correct carrying out of the work is considered as a good preparation for the mass sowings in general, and it is therefore given very great attention by the Party and Soviet organs.

As was formerly reported, there have been complaints at the beginning of the early spring sowings concerning the quality of the seed grain. As a result of warnings from the central organs a careful examination was then made of the seed grain, and in general this examination has led to the desired results. A report from the Volga German Republic declares that on the great collective farms "Torgler," "Landmann," and "Right Way," from 95 to 97 per cent. of the seed grain examined was germinable.

This year aeroplanes will be used in the spring sowings to a greater extent than ever before. In the Saratov district the collective farms will sow four times as much land by aeroplane this year as last year. For the first time artificial thawing is to be employed in this district.

#### Kusbass—the Second Don Basin

In its rapid development the foundry industry of the Soviet Union demands more and more coal. The Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has therefore issued the slogan: "Turn the Kusbass into a second Don Basin!" Up to the time of the revolution Kusbass was an insignificant industrial district. In 1916 it provided 1,200,000 tons of coal, or less than is produced nowadays in the district by one single pit. Last year Kusbass produced 9,228,000 tons or eight times the production of 1916.

Kusbass must provide the foundry industry of Stalinsk, the coking plant of the chemical combination in Kemerovo and a number of engineering factories with fuel. It must become the Don Basin of Western Siberia. The production plan for 1934 provides for a production of 12.5 million tons of coal. In order to carry out this plan to the full the shock brigades of the Kusbass must master the technique of the newly-equipped pits in the district. The pits of the Kusbass area have become like modern factories. Disturbances at one point of production affect immediately the productive performance of the whole.

At the moment a series of new pits are being sunk and equipped. The coal-cutters in the Kusbass area are working to no more than half their capacity at the moment, and one of the tasks of the workers in the district is to make them work to full capacity in 1934. At the moment the production of the Kusbass is 50 per cent. over its production in the same period of last year. However, the quality of the coal produced is not yet satisfactory. Above all, the stone content of the coal produced in the Kusbass is too high. The result is that Magnitogorsk and Stalinsk receive poor-quality coke, and there is a drop in their production of metal. Therefore the workers of the Kusbass have taken on the task of greatly improving the quality of their coal in 1934.

Both Party and Soviet organs are doing their utmost to improve the cultural and material situation of the miners in the Kusbass, to increase the supply of good houses, to improve the food supply and to improve sanitary conditions in the whole of the industrial area.

#### For a Bolshevik Leadership

On the 16th March the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union published important decisions "concerning organisational measures on the field of economic and Soviet construction." These decisions are designed to facilitate the carrying out of the tasks put forward by the Seventeenth Party Congress for the fundamental reorganisation of the organisational work of all the leading organs.

The whole economic and Soviet apparatus is to be improved in a Bolshevik fighting spirit in order that it may be in a position to carry out the tasks set by the second Five-Year Plan. The improvement will consist in excluding all superfluous and disturbing factors from the apparatus, in simplifying the leading economic organs, bringing them nearer to the point of production, and excluding all elements which might offer a basis for bureaucracy or laziness.

The Bolshevik Party is opposed to the "general leadership" which is provided in offices with reams of instructions on paper. It demands from the leaders an immediate connection with the process of production, responsibility and expert knowledge. In the work for the carrying out of this demand, the new decisions will eliminate the so-called functional system from the Soviet and economic organs, because this system leads to a lack of personal responsibility and hampers the control of the carrying out of all decisions.

Thanks to the liquidation of a number of intermediate links

in the apparatus, technical forces are being released for other work and they can be put into the process of production itself. In order to increase the expert knowledge of the economic leaders a special technical college for them will be opened. Points 11 and 12 of the decisions are of particular importance, because they refer to the mass control of the workers over the administrative organs, and concerning the lining up of the masses in the struggle against bureaucracy and bureaucratic excesses, and in particular the mobilisation of the women, the working women and the women on the collective farms, for this task.

#### Councils of Inventors

Successful inventors of the foundry works "Ilyitch" and "Stalin" have created a new form of mutual assistance by founding special councils of inventors. The task of these councils will be to assist backward workers to make their way forward into the technical front ranks.

The council of inventors controls the work of the collectives and takes patronage over backward blast furnaces, Martin furnaces, rolling mills, etc. The council of inventors holds sessions with the foremen, the various technical categories, etc., in order to question them concerning the cause of the backwardness and to assist them with advice. In their free time the members of the inventors' council place themselves at the weak points in the backward works in order to ascertain how the advice of the council is being carried into practice. The council of inventors of the above-mentioned foundries has already obtained very good results and the Central Committee of the Foundry Workers' Union has recommended the workers of all foundries to follow the example set.

The Central Council of the Association of Worker Inventors has just concluded its third course of industrial invention and rationalisation. Twenty-five persons took part in it. One hundred and forty-two hours were spent in study and questions of Leninism, socialist construction, the second Five-Year Plan and modern industrial technique, and the organisation of invention in the Soviet Union were studied. The best students were granted premiums.

In order to encourage the inventive genius of engineers, technicians and workers, the technical supplement of the publication, "Two Worlds," has been extended and the publication of special technical literature is being organised by the Foreign Workers' Publishing House. A room for inventors is being equipped in the club for foreign-born workers in Moscow.

#### Cultural Progress in the Socialist Village

The strength of the urge of the rural population in the Soviet Union to learn can be seen from the fact that courses have now been organised for teaching the shepherds and cattle herders on the steppes. Nine thousand shepherds and cattle herders will take part in such courses in the spring in the Voronezh district.

The cultural work of the collective farms is being systematically developed and extended. The clubs of the collective farms hold some arrangement or the other every evening: lectures on agriculture, on modern industrial technique, on Leninism, etc. There are Red Corners with wall-newspapers, zealous cultural circles, which include almost the entire youth. Various collective farms have cinema evenings regularly once or twice a week.

The Basle machinery and tractor station (in the Volga German Republic) reports that all its affiliated collective farms have joined together in a cultural campaign. They have made it their aim to turn the houses into cultivated dwelling places. The walls are being whitewashed, washing rooms are being built, tooth brushes and other toilet necessaries provided, etc. Many houses have already electric light and wireless. All houses are to be similarly provided during the course of this cultural drive.

#### Further Advance of Soviet Industry in First Two Months of 1934

During the first two months of this year Soviet industries show a visible upward tendency. Almost all the important branches of heavy industry evince considerably higher output as compared with last year. In January-February the coal output was higher by 33.6 per cent. than during the same period last year; of pig-iron 62.7 per cent. higher; of steel 47.1 per cent.; rolling mill products 39.9 per cent., winning of mineral oil 30 per cent., tractor manufacture 69 per cent. Besides this, the manufacture of motor lorries increased by 26.1 per cent. and the output of light motor cars by the Gorki motor car works actually increased to eleven times that of the same period last year.

## Proletarian Commemoration Days

### Fifteenth Anniversary of the Hungarian Proletarian Revolution

By August Kreitchi

Fifteen years ago, on March 21, 1919, the revolutionary proletariat of Hungary set up its dictatorship in a series of difficult struggles. The Communist International, which had been founded hardly two weeks before, stood at the cradle of the new proletarian State. The first step on the way to the fulfilment of its world historical task, the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat all over the world, was to assist the Hungarian Socialist Soviet Republic to victory.

Since the October Revolution the international bourgeoisie and the social-democratic parties in all countries have tried to convince the working masses of the world that Bolshevism, the tactic of the Communists, the armed seizure of power by the proletariat and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is an Asiatic, a special Russian method of conducting the class struggle, a method which is inadvisable for and inapplicable to "the civilised workers of the Western European countries." The victory of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in the spring of 1919 was the first breach made in this ideological blockade with which the enemies of the working class wished to isolate the revolution in Russia from the workers of the other capitalist countries who were marching to revolution. Under the influence of this first breach and with the direct support of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the *Bavarian Soviet Republic* was founded a few weeks later. This was the second dagger plunged deep into the body of Western European capitalism.

The chief leaders of the Soviet revolution in Hungary were the few Hungarian Communists who had returned to Hungary from Russia in 1918 and at the beginning of 1919. They had been through the great school of the October Revolution and of the civil war in Russia, and they placed themselves at the head of the broad masses of the workers and peasants of Hungary who were tired of the war, deceived in their hopes by the bourgeoisie and the social democracy and instinctively sought the way to revolution and socialism. This was in the first period of the tremors which shook capitalism after the world imperialist war, the period of storm against the exploiters, when the workers of Europe plunged forward to revolution at an unprecedented speed and the flames of civil war shot up everywhere in the defeated countries from Germany to Hungary.

However, the Communist Parties in those capitalist countries at that time were still weak, without sufficient experience in the struggle, and unprepared to take over the leadership and organisation of the revolutionary mass struggle. Their ideological and tactical weapons were still insufficiently sharp and still untried. Their organisations were not sufficiently consolidated. The Communist Party of Hungary which was formed about four months before the seizure of power by the workers of Hungary, in November, 1918, when a number of Hungarian Bolsheviks, including *Bela Kun*, *Tibor Samuely*, and others, returned to Hungary from Russia, was no exception to this rule.

It is therefore all the more to the honour and glory of the Hungarian Communists that despite the organisational and ideological weaknesses in their ranks they did not shrink back from the gigantic tasks facing them in the existing revolutionary situation, but took them up with revolutionary determination and courage and began to overcome the difficulties which piled up before them.

Historical development had placed the Hungarian proletarian revolution before two main tasks from the standpoint of the strategy of the international proletarian revolution.

It had to prevent the advance of the Entente armies against Soviet Russia, now that these armies had become free as a result of the end of the imperialist world war. At that time South-Eastern Europe and the Balkans were to be the basis for an intervention against Soviet Russia from the West. Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were to merge their armies with the French Balkan army. However, the 133 days' rule of the Hungarian Soviet Republic affected these preparations for armed inter-



vention like the explosion of a bomb. Soviet Hungary smashed the chain of intervention which was being forged against Soviet Russia. Its existence and its revolutionising effect on the workers of the whole of Europe defeated the interventionist plans of the imperialists and gave the Russian workers a much-needed breathing space which it utilised to prepare decisive blows against the White armies.

The second world historical task of the Hungarian proletarian State power was to consolidate and extend the advance of the revolution into the Western European countries. Unfortunately Soviet Hungary could no longer fulfil this task. Its foreign policy and its military operations depended on the internal and on the international situation and they were therefore of necessity vacillating and experimental.

Under the leadership of the Communists the Soviets disarmed the police and organised a Red Army, they nationalised the banks, the dwelling houses, the land of the rich landowners and adopted measures directed towards securing a general improvement in the life of the toilers.

The situation of the trade unions and of the workers organised in them characterises best of all these measures. The proletarian dictatorship carried out a revolutionary wage policy. To the degree permitted by the building up of the proletarian economic system and by the socialist accumulation, wages were gradually being raised to the minimum of existence. Burdened with the destruction caused by the war to the productive apparatus, the wages paid during the Hungarian Soviet Republic, which reached 78.6 of the pre-war existence minimum, were a much greater achievement on the part of the proletarian power than the wages paid by capitalism before the war, which seldom went as high as 75.4 per cent. of the minimum of existence. The proletarian dictatorship also began to overcome the great gap between the wages of the skilled and unskilled workers and between the wages of men and women workers. The success of the proletarian State can best be seen if we compare the wages paid in various phases of the class struggle from 1914 to the end of 1919, i.e., in the time at the outbreak of the war in 1914, at the time of the outbreak of the petty-bourgeois democratic revolution in 1918, at the time of the dictatorship of the proletarian revolution in 1919, at the time of the full victory of the Hungarian counter-revolution in December, 1919. Measured on the minimum of existence (100 per cent.) various working-class categories received the following percentage of the minimum of existence:—

	31-7-14	31-12-18	31-7-19	31-12-19
	Outbreak of	Post-War	Dict.	revolution
	War			
Iron and Steel Industry	93.4	71.7	75.3	48.1
Building workers ...	82.9	57.2	85.1	37.6
Woodworkers ...	92.2	86.9	97.9	43.6
Printing trades ...	69.2	59.9	77.6	24.7
Clothing workers ...	79.5	70.7	86.6	38.2
Foodworkers ...	70.5	50.3	78.8	31.8
Transport workers ...	70.3	62.2	84.4	46.6
Chemical workers ...	75.9	64.5	78.8	36.2
Women workers (average)	44.5	48.6	62.8	21.5
Clerical employees ...	126.8	58.4	76.0	29.9
Female clerical employees	81.7	50.7	51.0	18.9

The situation of the landworkers, the most exploited section of the Hungarian proletariat, improved by leaps and bounds under the Soviet Republic. In the summer of 1918 the daily wage paid out during the short harvesting period was one-tenth of the harvest yield. The harvest agreements of the Soviet government fixed wages at one-eighth of the harvest yield. Further, the Soviet wage agreements gave each landworker 600 grams of bread flour, 200 grams of cooking flour, 1,000 grams of vegetables, 500 grams of potatoes, 20 grams of salt, 750 grams of meat and 500 grams of bacon per day. In 1933 the daily wage of a landworker for the short period of the harvesting was, all in all, 1 pengoe, or about a shilling.

However, despite the emancipation of the exploited masses from the grip of the exploiters and despite the fundamental improvement of the situation of the workers under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the latter lasted only 133 days in Hungary. The overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship was caused chiefly by the armed intervention of the Czechoslovakian and Rumanian armies. The internal reasons for the fall of the Soviet Republic must be sought in the mistakes of the Communist policy. The

defeat of the proletarian revolution in Hungary was also caused in part by the fact that there had been no "general rehearsal" such as the revolution of 1905 was for the proletarian revolution in Russia.

The first great error which the Hungarian Communists made was their failure to realise *the role of the Party* after the seizure of power. As a result of the unification of the Communists and the social democrats, the few organised Communists went under in a sea of social democrats and members of social-democratic trade unions. Although the Communist organisation was atomised in this fashion, the counter-revolutionary organisation of the social democracy remained almost intact in the form of the trade unions. This maintenance of the mass organisations of the social democracy made possible a social-democratic counter-revolutionary undermining work which could have been stopped and prevented only by Communist mass work.

The unification of the two parties also hampered the spontaneous resistance of the working masses to the social democrats and reformists who were "after all united with the Communists." As a result, the leaders of the social democracy and of the reformist trade unions obtained secure positions in the proletarian State apparatus, and were able to ally themselves with the imperialist bourgeoisie in the neighbouring countries and with the Entente, to carry the defeatist panic propaganda of the Entente against the revolutionary war of the Hungarian Red Army into the trade unions, into the Red Army itself and into the broad masses of the workers, and at the same time they were able to oppose without interference the struggle to overcome the difficulties of the proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad, with the chimera of "a democratic way to socialism with the assistance of the Entente." The social-democratic and reformist trade union leaders did very much to demoralise the fighting spirit of the great masses of the Hungarian working class.

The second fatal error which the Hungarian Communists committed was their failure to recognise *the role of the toiling peasants* in the proletarian revolution. The Hungarian Soviet government wanted to introduce socialism into Hungarian agriculture at one blow and without any intermediate stage. The Hungarian Communists failed to recognise that one of the basic problems of the Hungarian proletarian revolution was the creation of an alliance between the workers and peasants under the hegemony of the proletariat and with the aim of linking up the socialist proletarian revolution with the agrarian revolution of the peasants. They failed to see that as far as the Hungarian agricultural system was concerned, the immediate application of socialism was not the pressing task, but the extermination of the remnants of feudalism and the distribution of the property of the feudalists. At that time the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary was in a stage of war communism. The experience of the Russian Revolution has demonstrated that the peasants can be won for the proletarian revolution even in a period of war communism, providing that the land is divided amongst them. The failure to recognise this fact caused the agrarian policy of the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary to mobilise the landworkers against the rest of the toiling peasantry, instead of uniting all the toiling peasants under the hegemony of the proletariat against feudalism. The agrarian policy of the Hungarian Soviet Republic drove broad sections of the middle peasants into the ranks of the counter-revolution and at the same time it failed to secure the support of the poor peasants.

Despite the mistakes of the Hungarian proletarian revolution which finally facilitated its overthrow by the imperialists, it was a beacon light to the proletariat of Central Europe.

The Hungarian workers will never forget that they once had power in their hands, that they were once the ruling class and held the factories, the mines, the banks and the dwelling houses in their hands. This consciousness is a powerful incentive to new class struggles.

The proletarian dictatorship in Hungary gave valuable lessons not only to the Communist Party of Hungary and to the Hungarian working class, but also to the whole of the international proletariat. The second congress of the Communist International drew up its historically important 21 conditions for admission on the basis of the experience of the Hungarian proletarian revolution, and it drew up its thesis on the role of the Party on the basis of the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The fifteen years of difficult, bitter, persistent and never-

ceasing struggles which followed were conducted by the Hungarian Communist Party with the experience of the past against the fascist dictatorship of the Hungarian bourgeoisie and against the Hungarian social democracy which supports the bourgeoisie unconditionally. The defeat of 1919 and the Bolshevik self-criticism which followed have forged the Hungarian Communist Party into a trusty weapon with which to lead the masses of the proletariat and to create an alliance of the working class with the working peasantry for a new Soviet Hungary.

The innumerable heroic victims of the fascist dictatorship in Hungary who have been imprisoned, hanged, murdered and tortured, the fighters for Communism, the martyrs of the new Soviet Hungary, will bind the Hungarian working class and its heroic Communist Party still more closely together.

All over the capitalist world the new revolutionary crisis is ripening. The outpost struggles of the second cycle of revolutions are beginning. The first Hungarian Soviet Republic fifteen years ago showed what forms the revolution in Hungary will take in this second cycle. The experience of the international working-class movement and of the heroically fighting Communist Party of Hungary is a guarantee that the second Hungarian Soviet Republic will be invincible.

## Fifteen Years of the Comintern in Agrarian Work

By Paul

"The parties affiliated to the Second International have, as a rule, been indifferent to the peasant problem and have even been antagonistic to its discussion. This attitude has deeper reasons than the peculiarities of agrarian conditions in Western Europe. The main reason is that these parties do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are afraid of revolution, and have no wish to lead the proletariat to the conquest of power."\*

This characterisation of the Second International and its parties reminds us of the fact that in the agrarian question the inheritance taken over from the Second International weighs heavily on the young Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. The only party which has realised the importance of the agrarian question for the revolutionary labour movement, which has accorded it its place in the struggle of the proletariat, and has ranged it with Marxist accuracy in the strategy of the class struggle, is the Party of the Bolsheviks which was under Lenin's leadership. The attitude of the Bolsheviks, their decades of struggle against the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists, and against the bourgeois agrarian theory, were unknown to the young Communist Parties, and therefore the theory and practice of the Bolsheviks were incomprehensible to them. They failed to grasp that here it is not a question of a "theoretical" struggle between different forms of production, but of the utilisation of the

"revolutionary possibilities which slumber in the peasantry, in virtue of the special conditions of its existence" (Stalin)\* and of the revolutionary alliance.

Hence the proletariat of the capitalist countries has not understood how to organise and lead the revolutionary fermentation among the peasantry in the years since the war, has not led the peasantry in their struggle for the land, nor combined this with its own struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. After the seizure of power in Hungary, Latvia, and Bavaria, the proletariat was thus unable by means of a really revolutionary agrarian policy to make the broad masses of the peasantry their allies, furnishing a broad basis for the firm establishment of its power in the rural districts. Thanks to this inheritance left by the Second International, the bourgeoisie was successful in fooling the peasantry by agrarian reforms.

It was only with the help of the Communist International that the proletariats of the capitalist countries received a weapon of incomparable sharpness in the Bolshevik attitude towards the agrarian question. The Second Congress of the Communist Inter-

national, drawing its conclusions from the experience gained in three Russian revolutions, pointed out the mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry, and the tasks thus set the Communists for their work in the rural districts, as follows:—

"The toiling masses in the rural districts can only be saved by means of the alliance with the Communist proletariat, by means of the unconditional support given to its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of the junkers (large landowners) and of the bourgeoisie.

"The industrial workers, on the other hand, cannot fulfil their historical task of emancipating mankind from the yoke of capital and of wars, if these workers shut themselves up in the circle of narrow trade unionist and craft interests, and if they confine themselves complaisantly to endeavours for the improvement of their sometime tolerable petty-bourgeois situation. . . . The proletariat is only a really revolutionary and socialistically acting class when it comes forward and acts as the vanguard of all toilers and exploited, as leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiters. But this is impossible of carrying out unless the class struggle is extended to the country districts, unless the toiling masses of the rural population are gathered together, unless the Communist Party of the town proletariat educates the rural proletariat." (Resolution of the Second Congress on the agrarian question.)

This resolution, stressing the unconditional necessity of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, sharply emphasises at the same time the difference between the various strata of the peasantry in the question of their relations to the proletariat, and points out the principles determining the tactical attitude of the proletariat towards the various strata.

With the aid of these theses, drawn up with the immediate collaboration of Lenin, the Sections of the C.I. were given the possibility of throwing overboard the residue inherited from the Second International—residue consisting on the one hand of an absolute ignoring of the peasantry, and on the other of a petty-bourgeois idealisation of the peasantry as a whole.

Armed with Leninist principles, the Sections have been able to repulse both Trotskyism and Brandlerism, with their different varieties, where these have appeared in the agrarian question, as in other questions, in the Sections of the C.I.

In actual practice, however, success has not yet been accomplished in the actual Bolshevik application of the unfalsified principles of Marxism, as purified by Lenin from the dirt accumulated by the Second International, applied by the Bolsheviks in three revolutions, and made the common property of the proletariat of the whole world, thanks to the Communist International. In 1923, for instance, after the overthrow of the Stambulinsky government, the C.P. of Bulgaria did not prove capable of heading the struggle against the bourgeoisie, as ally and leader of the peasantry. The other Sections of the C.I. too have only made tentative attempts at taking up the peasant question practically, and at emphasising to the Party members the importance of work among the peasantry.

The problems raised by the Fifth Congress with respect to the bolshevisation of the Communist Parties and the formation of mass parties demand fundamental changes in many spheres of work, and especially in the sphere of work amongst the peasantry. The resolution of the Fifth World Congress on the relations of the C.I. to the International Peasants' Council supplies the Communists with clear directives for their work, not only among the peasants in general, but within the different peasant organisations, for the purpose of liberating the toiling peasantry from the influence of the landlords and large farmers.

"Wherever political peasants' parties and other political peasant organisations exist, the comrades must aid the toiling peasantry in developing these parties and organisations into class organisations of the toiling peasantry, and must drive the landlords and large farmers out of the leading positions in these organisations, even if this should lead to a split in

\* J. Stalin; Problems of Leninism.

the party or organisation. For a party or organisation led by large landowners or rich farmers cannot but betray the interests of the toiling peasantry." (Point 6.)

Notwithstanding this resolution of the Fifth Congress, the Sixth Congress devoted special attention to the necessity of intensifying work among the peasantry, and stressed the fact that this work "is neglected by most Communist Parties." (Resolution of the Sixth Congress, point 40.) The programme of the Comintern, adopted by this same Sixth Congress, gives a number of fundamental directives in the agrarian question, penetrating deeper into the problems raised by the previous congresses. For instance, the programme lays down the viewpoint of victorious revolution in the sphere of agrarian politics in the three types of countries specified in the programme. A clear tactical line is laid down for the advancing of partial demands, and the partial demands themselves are concretised:—

"In the sphere of the peasant problem, the partial demands are those appertaining to taxation, peasant mortgage indebtedness, struggle against usurers' capital, the land hunger of the peasant small-holders, rent, the metayer (crop-sharing) system. Starting from these partial demands, the Communist Party must sharpen the respective slogans and broaden them out into the slogans: confiscation of large estates, and workers' and peasants' government (the synonym for the proletarian dictatorship in developed capitalist countries, and for a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in backward countries, and in certain colonies)." (From the Programme of the C.I.)

Equipped with the fundamental principles of the programme, in which the fundamental theses of the last Congresses are condensed and complemented, and under the conditions furnished by the world agrarian crisis in its reciprocal relations to the general crisis of the capitalist system, the Sections of the C.I., cleansed from the opportunist elements, are making considerable progress in the sphere of work in the rural districts. Apart from the work of the Sections in the colonial countries, where the success gained in the struggle for emancipation against the imperialists has been due to the correct Bolshevik policy applied, the Communist Parties are also able to record considerable progress in the capitalist countries.

Under the conditions of the third period, the main form of the revolutionary peasant movement is the Revolutionary Peasants' Committee, which enjoys the far-reaching support of the Parties in its capacity as an organ elected by the agricultural labourers and the toiling peasantry, and is utilised as a united front organ, as an organ actually putting into practice the alliance with the proletariat. At the same time the main task—the independent organisation of the agricultural proletariat as opposition within the reformist trade unions and in the independent Red trade union organisations—is carried out.

Numerous Parties, especially the C.P. of Poland, as also the Parties in some of the Balkan countries, for instance, Bulgaria, Greece, etc., have gained a firm foothold in the villages, thanks to their Bolshevik agrarian policy, in spite of the most difficult conditions. The C.P. of Czechoslovakia has organised and successfully led the mass movements of the Carpatho-Ukrainian peasantry, the struggles of the agricultural workers in Slovakia. The Italian Party, in spite of the ten years of fascist terror, has gained great political influence among the agricultural workers and small-holders. The C.P.G. has headed numerous actions among the peasants affected by the crisis, and it has succeeded not only in retaining its political influence in the rural districts, and in strengthening this influence by its heroic struggle, it has at the same time restored its organisational contacts and continues to develop these.

All these successes, attained by the Sections of the C.I., and signifying actual progress in comparison with the past, are only relative progress. They do not correspond, by any means, to the objectively favourable conditions given by the interweaving of the world economic and world agrarian crisis. They lag

far behind the fulfilment of the political tasks arising out of the increasing acuteness of the class struggle, as "the world is on the eve of a fresh series of revolutions and wars." The absolute inadequacy of the agrarian work of the Communist Parties is proved by the circumstance that we have not succeeded in repulsing the advance of the fascists in the rural districts in Germany or in Austria, or in emancipating the masses of the toiling peasantry, or even the agricultural labourers, from the influence of the fascists and big agrarians. We have not utilised adequately, for our work in the rural districts, the fact that the enormous successes of Soviet agriculture constitute a tremendous attractive power. Therefore the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. imposes on the Sections the duty of:—

"intensifying revolutionary work in the rural districts; opposing the landlord-kulak slogan of the 'united countryside' by the class slogans of the toilers and by the agrarian programme of the Soviet revolution; at the same time developing the fight for all the partial demands of the peasantry; at the same time opposing the kulak demands, which conflict with the interests of the proletariat and the village poor; obtaining a foothold (trade unions of agricultural workers, peasants' committees) among the farm labourers, the poor peasants, and the semi-proletarian elements of the villages; and to win over the basic masses of the small and middle peasants."

The Communist Parties must carry out these decisions with their utmost energy. This task is imposed upon us by our duty of "emphatically raising the question of power." Whilst the passivity and aversion of social democracy—as Comrade Stalin says—are to be explained chiefly by the fact

"that these parties do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they are afraid of revolution, and have no wish to lead the proletariat to the conquest of power,"

our own firm belief in the proletarian dictatorship, our unshakeable will to unfurl the banner of proletarian world revolution, and our determined resolution to lead the proletariat to the world October, must be proved and demonstrated by our really Bolshevik work in the rural districts.

## Scandalous Misuse of Trade Union Funds to Help Austrian Workers

The British Section of the **International Labour Defence** is actively exposing the scandalous misuse of the fund to help the Austrian workers, organised by the National Joint Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party. In a statement issued to-day, the I.L.D. points out that at a meeting in London recently, a leading member of the social-democratic party of Austria gave a report on how the funds were being distributed.

He stated that the fund of the National Joint Council was being distributed by the Society of Friends, and that this organisation was giving assistance not only to the victims of fascist terror, but also to those bloody assassins who fought on the side of Dollfuss and Fey.

He also pointed out that those thousands of workers who had been wounded, others who were in hiding, etc.—the most serious cases—were not being relieved through the Society of Friends. These workers, it is claimed, will not go to this Society because "it is riddled with spies of Dollfuss" and if they were caught would be thrown into a prison or concentration camps.

A representative of the I.L.D. got into touch with one of the Society of Friends in London and was informed that the Society makes no differentiation. To them it did not matter whether the person was a fascist, whether he fought against the workers, or with the workers, whether he was a supporter of Dollfuss, or of social democracy, or a Communist—if the person was in need they would support him.

This leading social democrat from Austria reported that he had seen Citrine, Secretary of the T.U.C., and Henderson, Secretary of the Labour Party, and informed them of what was going on, but could get no satisfaction from them.

These facts have already brought forth protests from trade union branches and other sections of the organised labour movement.

## Book Review

### A Vivid Picture of Changing China

By Esther Lowell (New York)

In the flood of books about China recently published in the United States, one stands out alone. Bourgeois critics do not hail it with pleased shouts such as they give the Christian missionary, Pearl Buck, for her novels of China.

But "**Chinese Destinies**," by Agnes Smedley (The Vanguard Press, New York, 3 dollars), is slightly treated. It sends shivers down the tender bourgeois spines. For "**Chinese Destinies**" tells the stories of Chinese workers and peasants in their daily lives and in their heroic struggles for freedom from oppressors—Chinese and foreign imperialists together. "**Chinese Destinies**" tells the stories of new women of China, striving for two-fold freedom, of Chinese student revolutionists, of Chinese masses moving toward a Soviet state.

The pages of "**Chinese Destinies**" are blood-spattered, even as the fields and streets of China run with the blood of peasants and workers slaughtered by the fearful reactionaries of Nanking and the foreign imperialists of Shanghai and Hongkong. Not only are there the most vivid word pictures of Chinese white terror but there are also photographic records.

Do the delicate bourgeois stomachs recoil? Not all.

A Chinese woman physician tells her story in the sketch called "**The Dedicated**." She tells of seeing the awful slaughter in Canton, after the Commune of December 11, 1927, was smashed:—

"The bodies of the slaughtered were piled up like the carcasses of pigs. On one day alone four thousand prisoners were marched outside the city and mowed down with machine guns, in the presence of smiling officials of the foreign imperialist consular services, who posed to have their pictures taken against a background of corpses. Five officials of the Soviet Russian Consulate were arrested, marched through the streets, their pockets robbed of all the money they had, their shoes taken from their feet, and were then murdered. One woman of the consulate was murdered by impaling her on a huge stick driven through her body from the vagina.

"Four years later, in Shanghai, I listened in silence as the wife of an American military intelligence officer told of how this woman had been killed and showed a photograph she had of her, impaled. After this official's wife ceased speaking, she remarked self-righteously: 'But you know I have not the least sympathy with such a woman!' Then I knew, even if I had never known before, that the ruling class of the United States is no more humane than the feudal reaction of China, and that when the American workers one day begin their struggle to free themselves from the slavery of capitalism they will face a Terror just as fearful as anything we in China are facing. . . .

"As a convinced Communist I am working in the ranks of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Central China, where we have established a Chinese Soviet government, where we are laying the foundations for a human, a free Communist society." The physician's husband, "from the ranks of the revolution," fell before the Terror, but she gives what she learned as a member of the privileged classes to the revolution—her medical skill—knowing that she is only a part of a great revolutionary movement.

Soviet China's existence is barely known in the United States. The bourgeois newspapers print tiny dispatches from China about the failure of the Sixth Communist Suppression Campaign of Nanking and much longer stories about the new airports and military aviation training school which American military and commercial agents are setting up for the imperialists' tool, Chiang Kai-shek.

Smedley gives a hint of what mammoth murder Chiang Kai-shek and the imperialists may be preparing for the Chinese Soviet districts. She quotes various officials and the Shanghai Bi-Monthly Red Suppression, proposing the extermination of all persons in the Soviet districts by poison gas! But it is a large order, the extermination of 90,000,000 people! What a stench that poison gas will

make among the workers and peasants of the whole world! After all, imperialists do not live in China alone and there are "reds" at home to reckon with.

Two magnificent sections of "**Chinese Destinies**" are "**The Revolt of the Hunan Miners**," who went to join the Red Army, and "**The Fall of Shangpo**," which tells how the peasants avenged their fallen comrades when they finally won the city from the landlords and oppressors. "**Soldiers**" tells the plain stories of three simple fighting men as they lay wounded in a hospital, realising that they, too, should have joined the Red Army instead of serving on unpaid for the Chinese capitalists and foreign imperialists. "**Contrasts**" pictures a "modern" bourgeois woman weeping when her husband takes a concubine and the upstanding women silk workers of south-eastern Kwantung, who refuse to marry, or who buy their freedom from husbands, building their independence on pitifully low wages and calling their employers and Chinese officials "running dogs of the capitalists."

Of course "**Chinese Destinies**" is "propaganda" for bourgeois critics because Agnes Smedley is a "partisan" observer. What if she does hold a clear mirror to China to-day and catch within it reflections of all sorts of people, Chinese and foreign, moving in the Chinese scene? Her sympathies are too obviously with the oppressed, with the forbidden unions and revolutionary organisations; so she is not an "impartial" writer like the Christian missionary ladies. No credit to her from bourgeois critics for her courage in seeking the under side of China, often at risk of her life. But wherever workers are able to get hold of it, "**Chinese Destinies**" will be read with eagerness, as was the author's earlier novel, "**Daughter of Earth**." What is needed now is later news from China, especially from the Soviet districts. Most of Smedley's material relates to 1931-32 or earlier.

### The Persecution of the Communists in Argentina

The Justo government in Argentina is the continuation of the bloody dictatorship of Uriburu under the mask of lawfulness and the maintenance of the Constitution. Its policy of brutally suppressing the toiling masses and defending the interests of the ruling classes is supported by all parties of the bourgeoisie, including the socialists, who actively collaborate in this policy.

The premises at which the national conference of the class trade union unity committee was held were raided and the general secretary of the Latin-American Trade Union Federation, Miguel Contreras, was arrested, along with some other trade union leaders, as well as Magnin, member of the Political Bureau of the C.P. of Argentina, Luna, secretary of the class trade union unity committee, Andano, Communist member of the Rosaria town council, and others. The big bourgeois newspapers, in particular "**La Prensa**" and "**La Nacion**," wrote on the occasion of these arrests that the Communists had conspired against the State, and insisted on the necessity of ruthlessly suppressing any attempt at Communist propaganda. At the same time endeavours were made to involve some of the arrested champions, such as Moretti, the leader of the oppositional railway workers, who was designated to be a thief and a robber, in this alleged "conspiracy."

This brutal attack by the "Special Department for Combating Communism" (the cruel police department which is entrusted with the task of arresting and torturing the proletarian champions) is the continuation of the campaign which began with the arrest of Monaco and Kanner, the former secretaries of the class trade union unity committee, of Peano, member of the C.C. of the C.P., Oscar Creydt, secretary of the Latin-American Committee against Imperialist War, and others.

The arrest of Miguel Contreras is a blow at the trade union movement of the whole of Latin-America and proves that Justo is at the head of reaction of Latin-America.

Only the solidarity of the toilers of the whole world can wrest Miguel Contreras and the other proletarian prisoners from the clutches of the Special Department for Combating Communism.

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