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The Revolutionary Upsurge in Spain.

Michel Hollay.

In the middle of July a striker in Seville was killed by the police. On July 20th, 3,000 workers attended the funeral of the fallen worker. The police provoked and fired on the workers, who replied with revolver shots and a hail of stones. Two syndicalists and two police were killed and there were numerous wounded.

The workers of Seville and the neighbourhood called a general strike as a protest against this fresh murder. The general strike was complete; no newspaper appeared, all traffic was at a standstill. The hated civil guard intervened. The workers in the suburbs took up defensive positions in the houses, on the roofs and in the streets. Street fighting began.

The government proclaimed martial law. Military, police and civil guards swarmed the streets. Machine guns were placed at strategic points. Artillery was brought up. Squadrons of aeroplanes flew menacingly over the town. Pedestrians had to go through the streets with their hands held above their heads and were searched at almost every step.

The street fighting assumed the fiercest forms in the suburbs of Seville. Whole districts of the town were cordoned off, house searches and wholesale arrests took place. The rattle of the machine guns was heard continually.

The fighting raged for four days. On July 23rd demonstrators, headed by women, attempted to storm a prison, a barracks of the civil guard and a poison gas factory. There were continual fresh collisions, resulting in killed and wounded. The Communist Party premises were closed and the members of the district committee arrested. Comrade Valina, a doctor and active Communist, was arrested and conveyed to the fortress of Santa Catalina near Cadix. A number of prisoners were being conveyed to the prison. Strikers endeavoured to release them. The police fired, killing four workers, including the chairman of the Seville Trades Council and a Communist.

Three guns were placed in front of the "Taverne de Cornello", the meeting place of the local Communist Party, and the house was razed to the ground by artillery fire, because, it is alleged, the workers had converted their local premises into a redoubt.

In these days of civil war in Seville 22 killed and hundreds of wounded are among the victims of the new bourgeois-social democratic Republic. Five hundred arrests have taken place. The prisons are crowded; the strike is still general.

In Seville the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd of July were days of real civil war. Both sides fought with exceeding bitterness and tenacity. The bourgeois-social democratic government pro-

ceeded with the greatest brutality, making ruthless employment of machine guns and artillery. The workers, the syndicalists and the communists, scorning death, fought with the weapon of the general strike and revolvers. Seville, the stronghold of the Communists in Spain, has given a heroic example to the whole of the Spanish working class. Seville is a signal for the whole country.

For in the whole country the situation is no less tense than in the capital of Andalusia. Since the elections to the Constituent Assembly at the end of June there have been uninterrupted strikes. And against this flood of strikes the bourgeoisie knows no other means than proclamation of martial law, with inevitably resulting collisions, killed, wounded and arrests.

Following close after the elections the news agencies have published the following reports of strikes:

June 30th: Martial law in Malaga, general strike in Granada, Zudad-Real and Murcia; July 1st: strike of the bakers and street-car workers in Valencia, of the street-car workers in Pontevedro, general strike in Melilla, strike of the dock workers in Gijon, political protest strike against the decree issued by the authorities in Caste (Aragon); July 3rd: strike of the metal workers in Logrono, attack on a Carmelite cloister in the village of Alhama near Corunna; July 4th: strike of agricultural workers in Cuerva, Herrera and Guilleno; July 6th: the General Confederation of Labour (CNT), yielding to the pressure of the workers, called a general strike of the telephone workers throughout the whole of Spain. Right at the beginning of the strike it came to collisions with strike breakers and the police, as well as to acts of sabotage, (Lerida and Oviedo); July 8th: partial strikes in all the big towns: Barcelona, Valencia, Cordoba, Sevilla, Murcia etc. July 9th: Strike of the dock workers and bloody collisions in Palma (Isle of Majorca), demonstrations of the unemployed and plundering of shops in Saragossa and Valencia, strike in the ice factories of the big fishing companies, unemployed demonstrations in Barcelona (23 wounded); July 10th: strike of the blast furnace workers in Bilbao; July 11th: striking telephone workers destroy the telephone cables between Bilbao and Durango, unemployed riots in Valencia; July 18th: the strike of the metal workers which began some weeks ago in Oviedo still continues, the dock and building workers in Cartagena enter on a political strike and demand the resignation of the burgomaster. In Seville strikers destroy the telephone cables connecting with Madrid, Barcelona, Granada and Valencia. Unemployment in Andalusia increases every day.

This enumeration, which is far from being complete, nevertheless gives some idea of the power and extent of the vast wave of strikes which is sweeping Spain. But this widespread revolt of the workers is not surprising when it is remembered that the average daily wage of skilled workers in Spain, is 10 to 12 pesetas (4 to 4½ shillings a day) and for agricultural workers 3-5 pesetas (1 to 2 shillings), and that in the glass and chemical industry a great number of children are employed who earn about 1 peseta a day. In addition it must be borne in mind that there is no social insurance whatever in Spain.

These strikes indicate a very important fact. If the anarchist leaders of the C. N. T. proclaim through the mouth of their leader Pestegna that they do not wish to create any difficulties for the government and call upon the workers to preserve calm, if the reformist trade union leaders of the U. G. T. actually perform strike-breaking work and organise an armed strike-breakers' guard, and when it is remembered that the Communist Party and the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition are the only organisations which call upon the workers and the peasantry to fight for the improvement of their working and living conditions, then in view of the tremendous strike wave one can only draw the conclusion that the working class is more and more adopting the Communist fighting slogans and following communist leadership.

This danger is recognised by the bourgeoisie, who openly express their fears. On the occasion of the fighting in Seville a leading newspaper in Madrid printed the following very characteristic headline: "The fight for the Republic against Syndicalism (i. e., Communism) has broken out in the whole of Spain". By means of the slogan, "The Republic is in danger", issued by the government, it is intended to rouse bourgeois-republican feeling. The whole State apparatus is being mobilised. The War Council is in permanent session. General mobilisation is being considered.

In this fight against the insurgent masses of the people, however, the social democratic and reformist trade union

leaders play the most important role. All of the measures employed by the government for the "defence of the Republic" have been adopted on the proposal and urgent demand of the social fascist leaders. In order to throttle the strike movement Largo Caballero, the social democratic Minister for Labour, has drafted a scandalous Bill for the introduction of compulsory arbitration in labour disputes. He declared on July 23:

"We shall introduce compulsory arbitration. Those workers organisations which do not submit to it will be declared outside the law. All demands which do not have the necessary social character will be disregarded."

The social democratic Minister has already commenced to carry out this threat by dissolving the C. N. T. (which is led by the anarchists but in which the Communists are continually gaining ground).

In adopting these measures the social democratic Ministers are but consistently applying the decisions adopted at their party congress which took place in Madrid in the middle of July, which declared in favour of unconditional support of the bourgeois Republic, as well as for the participation of social democratic leaders in the government. That a rapid radicalisation of the rank and file of the social democratic party is taking place however is to be seen from the fact that at the party congress Julian Besteiro, the leader of the "Lefts", opposed the leader of the Right, Andalecio Prieto, and spoke in the most demagogic manner in order to retain the masses in the party. He declared, for example, that "when the socialists come into power, we will, like Lenin, introduce State capitalism in order thus to arrive at real socialism". The vote on the two motions, showed that the opposition is very strong. Prieto's motion received 10,707 votes against 8,382 for Besteiro.

Naturally these "Left" social fascist leaders do not differ in any way from their confederates in all other countries. They are the worst enemies of the working class. The bourgeoisie is full aware of this and has full confidence in Besteiro (he was elected President of the Legislative National Assembly by 363 votes against two). And when on July 25th a bourgeois deputy protested against the shooting of four syndicalists arrested in Seville on the alleged ground that they had attempted to escape, Besteiro, in the name of the bourgeois-social democratic government, defended the murderers and declared that events in Seville had been exaggerated.

The social democratic central organ "El Socialista" also condemns the heroic fight of the workers of Seville and states that the way to improve the present position of the workers and peasants "does not lie in the taking over of the factories by the workers and the land by the peasants."

The Spanish workers and peasants, however, are of another opinion. The solidarity strikes with the barricade-fighters in Seville which have broken out in some towns are a proof of this. And in spite of the threats of the government the wave of strikes still continues.

Since April 14th, the day of the proclamation of the Republic, which was followed by the attacks upon the cloisters in the second week of May, up to the days of civil war in Seville, the working people of Spain have seen and experienced much, and therefore have a much clearer view of the class fronts. There is every indication that, following the brutal actions of the armed forces of the State against the working class, following the ever more obvious fascisation of the social democratic leaders, the working class will rally in increasing numbers and at an accelerated pace round the banner of Communism.

French Textile Workers Strike Continuing.

Paris, 27th Juli 1931.

Despite the treachery of the reformist trade union leaders the strike of the textile workers in Northern France is being continued. The leadership is in the hands of the revolutionary trade unions. In the communist stronghold Halluin the workers are still solidly out. In Roubaix and Tourcoing where reformist influence was always dominant, considerable numbers have returned to work. However, even in these districts large numbers of men are still out. The employers give the strike figures as 11,000 for Tourcoing and 32,000 for the whole district. In reality about 50,000 workers are still out. Hundreds of workers in Roubaix have left the reformist and joined the revolutionary union.

For the First of August.

Maxim Gorky.

It seems to me stupidity and madness must have their limits, and I can therefore hardly believe in the possibility of war.

The world of the capitalists and robbers has already reached the limit of its madness. In their desire to finally ruin the working population of Germany, the capitalists cannot yet come to an agreement, cannot discover a uniform line of conduct, though they have been talking about it incessantly for a long time. It would seem that it is remarkably stupid to start a struggle within one's own class — a struggle between the international robber groups — and to develop it with such frank cynicism before the eyes of the workers, just when they are getting ready for real battles against the senseless exploitation of their labour, for battles for their right to power.

It is difficult to imagine that the proletariat of Europe does not understand what the quarrel between its masters is about, — they quarrel as to which group of thieves has the right to be the most wealthy and to dictate to the whole world. They quarrel and increase their pressure on the working class, they also increase the impoverishment of the workers, and hereby organise their class-consciousness.

May be I reason naively? That may be so, but I am for simplification of reason. It is common knowledge that the bourgeoisie has perverted it by complicated phraseology, by distortion of conceptions, and that the proletariat stands in need of a simple and clear expression of thought. Bourgeois thought always tried to complicate the simplest things, — this is part of its tactic of self-defence. The mannerisms and forms of bourgeois thought frequently find favour even among sincere friends of long standing of the working class, as if forgetting that it is impossible for the bourgeoisie not to lie, and that lies

are told to conceal the truth. The simpler the thought, the nearer it is to truth, and truth can be expressed in four words: **capitalism must be destroyed.**

I doubt the possibility of war because it seems to me: the proletariat of Europe, when working for the war industry, must understand that it is taking an involuntary part in the preparation of the slaughter into which the workers and peasants will be the first to be driven. It is difficult to believe that the workers and peasants will once more allow themselves to be so impudently and cynically deceived as in 1914. It is difficult to imagine that they will consent to commit suicide, in order to defend the lives and strengthen the power of their enemies.

Everyone knows what must be done in order to expose daily and hourly before the proletariat the infamous lies of its enemies and betrayers. The working class of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, through its Party, shows it, by its heroic creation of new forms of life. Its example is too vivid and convincing not to be followed by the proletarians of all countries. To think differently means losing faith in the historical destination of the working class.

But if the world bandits come after all to an agreement, if they succeed once more in deceiving the proletariat and sending it against its own vanguard, — the working class of the Soviet Union will go into the fight as courageously as it entered life, as energetically as it began to build up its own socialist state.

It will be a fight in which against the army of deceived slaves, defenders of the inhuman power of the masters over them — there will rise an army in which every fighter will feel and realise that he is fighting for his freedom, his right to be the only master of his country. Victory will be with this fighter.

POLITICS

The Ministerial Visits to Berlin

Germany as the Play-Thing of Imperialist Intrigues.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

Shortly following one another, the leading statesmen of the U. S. A. and Great Britain have paid visits to the German Reichs government. The first to come was the American States Secretary **Stimson**, who has now been followed by the English Prime Minister **MacDonald** and his Foreign Minister **Henderson**. Of course, these visits represent considerably more than mere acts of political politeness. The statesmen of course discussed the burning question of the German crisis, to a certain extent as an epilogue to the London Conference, and at the same time as a preparation for a new international action.

The London Conference has not solved any of the questions for the sake of which it was convened. Reichs-Chancellor **Brüning**, who journeyed to Paris and London in order to beg there for new credits, has returned empty-handed. The cause of this fiasco of the London Conference is to be found in the unbridgeable antagonisms between the imperialist big Powers. Whilst the German bourgeoisie seeks to persuade the public that it was only due to the "steadfastness" of the Reichs-Chancellor that the "shameful" political demands of French imperialism were rejected, it is known that Brüning's role in London, and previously in Paris, was a much more modest one, that capitalist Germany was nothing else but a plaything of the intrigues of the imperialist big Powers. The decision rested between Stimson, MacDonald and Laval.

England (partly supported by American imperialism), opposed the claims of French imperialism because it wished to prevent the setting up of such a domination of France over Germany as would weaken its own influence on the Berlin government. England therefore rejected Laval's proposal of a long term loan plus political guarantees. England's proposal at first

was a loan without political subjection to France. But this proposal was not only categorically rejected by the French, but did not meet with the agreement of the United States who wished to give only a short term credit, which perhaps later could be converted into a loan. England had no other course than to agree to this American proposal; but it met with France's refusal. The intrigues of American imperialism against English imperialism are to be seen with particular clearness in the growing difficulties of the Bank of England.

Already during the Paris conversations, and still more so during the London Conference, the attack of French finance capital was directed with increasing vehemence against the Bank of England, which in a few weeks had to part with about 40 million Sterling in gold. It was known in London as well as in New York that the financial situation of the London money market would be bound to become decidedly acute if this outflow of gold were continued. Undoubtedly there was an easy means of thwarting this attack of French imperialism: Wall Street only needed to place credits at the disposal of the Bank of England. But the dollar imperialists were by no means displeased to see their London rival gradually made docile under the heavy blows of the Franc; they did not even think of helping the City of London out of its embarrassment.

The much talked of "steadfastness" of Reichs-Chancellor Brüning therefore consisted mainly of sticking helplessly in this net of intrigues of the big imperialist Powers. The result was that he obtained neither long-termed nor short-termed credits, but came back empty-handed, although he himself must have clearly seen that German capitalism cannot overcome the crisis with its own resources. But either he has learned nothing from the lessons of London or he was no longer able to escape from the intrigues of the great Powers. In any event the German government is ready to allow the game which was played with it in Paris and London to continue.

During the visits of Stimson, MacDonald and Henderson to Berlin there has been no lack of the words "warm sympathy with Germany"; but all the attempts of the bourgeois-social democratic press to convert these empty phrases into political coin have failed. For Hoover's State Secretary, as well as for the social democratic Minister of His Britannic Majesty,

capitalist Germany is only an object of their respective policies.

Thus we have the grotesque situation: the representatives of American, English and French imperialism stand at the sickbed of German capitalism; they each and all assert that they would like to do nothing better than to help the German exploiting class. But as they are not yet sufficiently agreed as to which of them the patient shall follow as a vassal after his eventual recovery, they are prepared to run the risk of his dying before their very eyes.

Imperialist Contradictions in Argentina.

By Rodolfo Ghioldi (Buenos-Aires).

The great political upheavals in Argentina as well as in the other Latin American countries, are in the first place to be attributed to the exceedingly bitter antagonism between British and American imperialism. These two Powers, driven by the capitalist world crisis on the one hand and by the profound agrarian crisis of these semi-colonial countries on the other, have entered the phase of intensified struggle for the monopolistic exploitation of the raw materials, the markets and before all of the working masses in town and country.

Under the conditions of the present crisis the countries of Latin America acquire exceedingly great importance in the fight between England and America. The imperialist Powers are striving to derive the greatest possible profit out of the agrarian crisis, which has arisen as a result of the disastrous drop in prices and the decline of the purchasing power of the European masses, and to cast the burden of the capitalist world crisis on to the shoulders of the exploited masses of the semi-colonial and other dependent countries.

In pursuing this aim foreign capital makes use of the antagonisms existing within the country. It must be emphasised here, however, that the present political situation is not determined by these inner antagonisms themselves, but, as we have already said, by the struggle between the imperialist powers who make use of these antagonisms for their own purposes. In Argentina there are pseudo-Marxist-Leninists who, forgetting the dependence of the country, are of the opinion that the political struggles of recent times, and in particular the coup d'état of September 6, 1930 and the antagonism between the Radicals and Uriburu, represent a part of the struggle between the national bourgeoisie and the big landowners. They thereby forget that the national bourgeoisie of Argentina is the bourgeoisie of a semi-colonial, dependent country: a national bourgeoisie that has scarcely arisen before it has commenced to die, for the crisis, the unemployment (there are 700,000 unemployed in Argentina), the ruin of a great part of the peasantry etc., have caused such a shrinkage of the home market that the already weak foundation of national industry, which is connected with imperialism by a thousand threads, is being undermined. The pseudo-Marxists speak of the national bourgeoisie of Argentina as if they were speaking for example of the industrial bourgeoisie of the United States or England. The conclusions which they arrive at are therefore absolutely false. As the bourgeoisie is fighting against the big landowners, they argue, it is a progressive, revolutionary factor: it will inevitably play the part of leader in the bourgeois-democratic phase of the revolution etc. This is nothing else but open advocacy of the theory of "decolonisation", which was sufficiently combatted at the VI. World Congress.

Of the two big political groups, Conservatives and Radicals, only the Radicals possess an organisation which, although not firmly welded, extends over the whole country. Even today the Conservatives do not possess a united party on a national scale. There are as many Conservative parties as there are provinces; and each bears a different name: Conservative in the province of Buenos Aires; Liberal in the provinces of Corrientes, San Juan, Tucuman, Mendoza; Democratic in Cordoba; Concentration Party in Entre Rios etc. In spite of their weaknesses the Conservatives and the Radicals are the two main political groups around which the smaller (the Socialists, the Independent Socialists, the Penelonsists, the Progressive Democrats of the province of Santa fe etc.) are grouped.

The struggles between these two groups reflect the fight of the two imperialist Powers, the United States and Great Britain, for the monopoly. Parallel with the intensification of the antagonism in the imperialist camp as a result of the crisis, the fight between the above-named groups is assuming violent forms. On the other hand, it is not correct to say that

the Radicals represent the national bourgeoisie and the Conservatives the big landowners. No, in both cases it is rather a question of groups of exploiters in which the hegemony lies in the hands of the big landowners. A fundamental antagonism exists between them only in so far as one group is orientated towards one imperialist Power and the other towards another. The present situation in Argentina is characterised by the fact that the national bourgeoisie as a whole has definitely placed itself on the side of the imperialists and is aiming at solving its own problems by increased submission to the imperialists at the cost of the masses.

In the year 1930 Argentina had an adverse balance of international payments amounting to nearly 1,000 million Pesos. In 1931 export goods show a bigger price drop than in the preceding year. In spite of the fact that the quantity of goods exported in the first quarter of 1931 was 40 per cent. higher than in the first quarter of 1930, the total value of exports sunk by 15 per cent. The revenue from customs duties is perceptibly declining. The deficit in the budget is tremendous and the military junta are compelled to appoint a Commission possessing practically dictatorial powers whose task it is to reduce the budget of every ministerial department. The administrative deficit will run into more than 200 millions. The Government is suffering from a shortage of money. Most of the towns, and in many cases also the provincial governments, are not in a position to meet their debt obligations. The national Government is still less able to do so. It is desperately seeking to raise loans, but up to now has been unable to obtain a penny. The rulers in Argentina are faced with the following big difficulties: Shrinkage of markets, low prices and lack of capital. Both the Radicals and the Conservatives are seeking to master these difficulties by entering into closer alliance with the imperialists. In order to do this it is necessary for them to oppress the masses still more, to prohibit the Red Trade Unions, to force the Communists into illegality, etc.

A short time ago Mr. George Courthope of the "Yorkshire and Lanchashire Corporation Limited", which controls several undertakings, sent a telegram to Alvear the leader of the reorganisation of the Radical camp, in which he informed him in the name of many English bankers that they are following Alvear's endeavours with sympathy: that they cherish strong feelings of friendship for Argentina, and that as soon as the country adopts the path of constitutional government London will be ready to place the necessary money at the disposal of Argentina. This telegram is quite outspoken. The English imperialists are opposed to Uriburu; they would like to set up their own dictator, and are prepared to finance a coup d'état which would help the Radicals to power.

Mr. Courthope has ruthlessly destroyed the hopes which the opportunists placed in the Radicals, who are nothing else but puppets of the British bankers.

The Mass Strike in Baghdad.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The effects of the world economic crisis in general and of the agrarian crisis in particular have very severely shaken the economic position of the Iraqi Government. The simple financial recipe followed by the Iraqi financial specialists of "squeezing the Fella as long as there was anything to be squeezed out of him", was for years after the war and the setting up of the Iraqi Government under the domination of British imperialism, the universal means for meeting all the ever growing liabilities. These liabilities included not only the payment of the Turkish pre-war debts, but also a whole number of special tributes to the English. In addition, the Court of King Feisal swallowed up quite a considerable sum, which meant a very heavy extra burden for a small, poor and still undeveloped country. Finally, the burden of expenditure on a volunteer army meant the ruin of the Iraqi finances.

Already in 1929 the financial situation of Iraq appeared so critical that a British expert, Mr. Young, had to be sent in order to draw up a programme of "financial restoration", which in essence provided for a further tightening of the screw of taxation and the substitution of the present rupee currency by a new currency which should be immediately guaranteed by the Bank of England (enslavement of Iraq to British finance capital).

But before the Young "reforms" had time to be realised there took place, under the blows of the crisis, a financial

collapse, which was expressed in an enormous budget deficit, bankruptcies etc. The revenue from the taxes fell far short of the estimates; the Fellah had arrived at a point where even bombs and punitive expeditions were unable to force him to pay taxes: he had absolutely nothing left with which to pay them.

The Iraq Government, following the instructions of its British advisers, now turned its attention to the urban population. Not only the merchants and traders but also the small shopkeepers, clerks, employees and workers were taxed — a thing that was hitherto quite unusual in the Orient. Even the shoeblacks had to pay a minimum sum of two rupees (about three shillings). This sum may appear small, but in a country where a day's wages range between sixpence and a shilling it meant an attack upon the standard of living of the working population which already stood at the lowest possible level.

Germany

The Economic Catastrophe in Germany and the Referendum Action of the C.P.G.

By Ernst Thälmann.

Comrade Thälmann delivered a big speech on this subject at an overcrowded functionaries meeting of the revolutionary mass organisations in Berlin on July 24th. After having characterised the reasons for the intensification of the crisis, the abortive Hoover action, the Franco-American alliance against Germany, the concealed collapse of a number of big banks and savings institutions, he dealt with the immediate outlook and the red people's Referendum of the C.P. of Germany in Prussia. He stated:

"What possibilities exist for the German bourgeoisie in order to prevent its final plunge into a catastrophe? There are four possibilities:

1. A general moratorium for a longer period.
2. If the banks and saving institutions are actually closed for a longer period this would mean State bankruptcy.
3. New issue of bank notes, i. e. inflation, the commencement of which has been made by the reduction of the gold cover.
4. Introduction of double currency, issue of new rentenmark notes. Such a procedure would endanger the currency and mean the collapse of the Reichs Mark.
5. Foreign credits on such a scale that the greatest difficulties could be overcome. The precondition for this granting of credits is complete capitulation to French imperialism, the acceptance of its political and economic conditions, the conversion of Germany into a prisoner of the French imperialists.

All these theoretically possible ways mean in practice a further intensification of the crisis. Simultaneously, the preconditions for a revolutionary crisis in Germany are maturing still more rapidly, and the Party must be prepared to enthuse and mobilise the German proletariat for its victory.

If the Ministers have now returned from London with the only result that an International Control Committee of bankers shall be empowered to examine whether Germany shall receive further credits, this means a further step towards the colonisation of Germany, and a fiasco for the German capitalists. The 2,000 million loan which Germany demanded has not been granted. Not even the consortium of the Note Banks for the covering of eventual short term credits withdrawn from Germany has come about.

Then there is the proposal for national self-help! There are two tendencies in the camp of the German bourgeoisie. One of these tendencies has determined the government policy: this tendency is represented by the chemical and electrical industrialists. This group wishes to avoid inflation and State bankruptcy and soliciting aid from abroad, which aid is only possible, as we have already seen, if the German bourgeoisie completely capitulates.

On the other hand, other sections of finance capital, for example, a part of the Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry connected with Thyssen, as well as the former President of the Reichsbank Schacht, along with the big agrarians, preach national self-help. This means the introduction of measures which are bound to lead from concealed to open inflation. The 15,000 million marks repre-

Hence the spontaneous reply of the working population: mass strike, refusal to pay taxes, demonstrations, stoning of the police, and in some places bloody collisions with the government power. The strike which was to be held for a few days extended far beyond the original term. Not only the capital town, Baghdad, but also other towns and the country districts have been drawn into the movement. It is significant that the annulment of the hated wages tax is no longer able to check the movement. Beyond the achievement of the immediate aim — to repel the attack on their standard of living, which cannot sink any lower — the masses are converting the fight into an anti-imperialist fight; political slogans, directed against King Feisal, the Anglo-Iraqian Treaty and the English, are coming to the front. Thus the mass strike in Iraq acquires a great political importance.

senting the deposits of small savers in the banks and savings institutes would be expropriated for the benefit of finance capital. The big agrarians would by this means annul their debts as in 1923, and the industrialists, thanks to the depreciation of the mark, would have the possibility of flinging goods on to the world market at cheap prices. The danger of the realisation of this plan is considerable, as the circles who advocate it are eagerly striving to win Hindenburg and the Reichswehr over to it and also wish to force Brüning on to their line.

Whichever of these two methods may be adopted, the result for the proletariat would in any case be increased misery. The restriction of credits by the Reichs Bank is already leading to the ruin of small and middle undertakings, thereby increasing unemployment. The government is preparing to issue a new Emergency Order which shall further cut down social expenditure. A fresh wave of wage cuts is about to commence. The papers voicing the interests of the heavy industrialists and big agrarians are demanding the abolition of unemployment benefit and its replacement by relief in kind.

It is clear that we are approaching serious events, and I say: A people which is nationally enslaved and is exposed to the whip of the foreign and German bourgeoisie — the patience of this people will one day be at an end.

Today there still exists a gap between the objective development and the subjective reaction of the workers to this development; but we must not lag behind, otherwise we can be taken by surprise. It was a weakness that in these days when Brüning day after day issued his Emergency Orders, the working class did not sufficiently react. It is a warning for the Party.

Thus we must now, with courage, determination and unabated tenacity, do away with the weaknesses in the sphere of our factory work. We need to extend our influence in the factories. For the proletarian revolution cannot be carried out victoriously with the unemployed alone — important as their activity is.

Strongest offensive against the S.P.G. policy in the German General Federation of Trade unions is necessary. It is precisely owing to our faulty work on the inner trade union front that we have not to a sufficient degree won the social democratic party workers for common action. And that is more necessary than ever.

We must at all costs bring the crisis in the social democratic party to the highest development. But we can do this only by a fierce fight on principles, by indefatigably exposing the reactionary character of the social democratic policy. And here I come to the question of the Referendum.

Large sections of the social democratic workers recognise already today that the assertion of their leaders that Brüning is the lesser evil compared with Hitler and Hugenberg, is a swindle and only serves as an excuse for the infamous anti-working class attitude of the social democratic Reichstag fraction.

We have already made it clear to the masses that fighting

against fascism does not mean combating only the Nazis, but above all fighting against finance capital itself, against the Brüning Cabinet as a Cabinet which is carrying out the fascist dictatorship. From this there follows of necessity our sharp offensive attitude towards the Prussian Severing government, because it is the strongest bulwark of the Brüning dictatorship. And finally, our referendum action intensifies extraordinarily the class antagonisms. It gives us the possibility to propagate, in the strongest extra-Parliamentary mobilisation, the revolutionary way of the crisis.

How ridiculous it is when the social democratic Party talk of a united front of the Communists with Hitler and Hugenberg. Quite the contrary. The frank confession of the bourgeoisie itself shows that by taking over the leadership of the Referendum, we have thwarted the demagogic plans of the Stahlhelm, of Hitler Hugenberg, of the People's Party and of the Conservatives. Whilst they, out of fractional interests, pretend to fight against Severing and Braun, we as a class conduct the fight seriously.

Precisely our participation in the Referendum gives us the best possibility of exposing the national socialist and German national office hunting policy and demagoguery. The more the parties of the Right sabotage the Referendum, the more deeply we shall force a breach in the ranks of the national socialist followers.

It was precisely in order to show the social democratic workers the true character of their government that we submitted an ultimatum to the Prussian government containing really very modest demands, with the exception of one which for the bourgeoisie and social democratic leaders is perhaps not very modest: I mean the withdrawal of the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters League. Yes, we put forward this demand because the same SPG. leaders and their Severing, who accuse us of being in alliance with reaction, permit the armed Stahlhelms and Nazi organisations, but prohibit proletarian defence organisations on the ground of the Versailles Treaty.

The answer of Severing, just as the attitude of the whole SPG., shows that with Braun and Severing there is absolutely no trace of Marxism.

Whilst sharply dissociating ourselves from Hitler and Hugenberg, in fact while fiercely combating these fascists, we carry through the Red Referendum which is fully in accordance with the class line of our policy. Since the initiation of the Referendum the situation has become decidedly acute. Since then Severing has resorted to a number of measures. He has issued an order to the police to shoot without compunction; he has put through the fascist press decree etc. Severing and the S.P.G. have proved themselves to be the main social support of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the fiercest fight must be taken up against them; therefore the Red Referendum, while making use of the possibilities of a legal Parliamentary mass action, constitutes a step forwards in the extra-Parliamentary mobilisation of the masses.

We carry integration into the camp of the bourgeoisie. We shall extend the breach we have made in the social democracy and accelerate the inner ferment in this party. We shall force deeper breaches in the Hitler front, we shall, as the party of proletarian revolution, strengthen our ranks, stimulate mass initiative and increase the revolutionary class struggle. We shall succeed in doing all this.

Let the Brandlerists, who every day supply the "Vorwärts" with arguments, come forward as anarcho-syndicalists and accuse us of retarding the movement when the revolutionary situation is already there. We see the revolutionary perspective, but we have not yet the revolutionary situation. We say this to the Brandlerist allies of Severing, who once already, when the revolutionary situation was really there, namely in 1923, miserably betrayed the proletariat.

I will give this meeting a few further facts in order that you will all see how serious the situation is. When Brüning and his friends went to Paris, conversations took place at which the American capitalists in particular asked about the guarantees which Brüning could give in the fight against Communism. At these conversations representatives of the Prussian government were called in in order to express themselves regarding prohibiting the Communist Party of Germany. The murderous incitement which the S.P.G. above all is conducting against us is intended to prepare the way for a prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany. For the masses are becoming more and more convinced that where the Communists rule, sacrifices, it is true are made, but these are sacrifices for the working population as a whole, whilst in Germany the masses bleed in order

that others may suck profit out of them. In Germany there is decline, in the Soviet Union, where the Communists are the governing party, there is progress. We are marching against the bourgeoisie. We are organising the fight. We shall lead the people to the red victory!

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Mass Lockout in Norway.

By J. A. Smolan.

The great lockout in Norway which commenced in April and affected 8000 workers (a third of the whole of the industrial workers of the country) still continues. Already before this lockout 10,000 paper workers were on strike, 30,000 workers are unemployed, so that a great part of Norwegian production is at a standstill. The employers attempted by means of the lockout to enforce a 10 to 15 per cent. wage reduction, and in this they were energetically supported by the reactionary peasant government. The government has employed against the strikers not only great masses of police but also troops; it compelled hundreds of soldiers, under the threat of imprisonment, to perform strike-breaking work.

During this long struggle in numerous localities collisions occurred which are symptomatic both of the very acute situation and of the increasing radicalisation of the working masses.

The reformist trade union leaders, who only unwillingly and under the pressure of the masses participate in the struggle, do everything in order to sabotage it and to render it abortive. They attempt with every means to preserve the defensive character of the struggle, by preventing any extension and sharpening of the fight, and adopt a tactic which is bound to weaken the fighting forces of the workers.

Already at the commencement of the struggle the Communists demanded that the railwaymen and transport workers be drawn into the fight in order to counter-act the offensive of the employers and to bring about a rapid settlement. But the reformists rejected this demand and initiated a furious incitement against the Communist Party.

The Communists were still too weak to check the sabotage of the social democrats, but thanks to their correct tactics and their consistent revolutionary policy they have considerably increased their influence and drawn important sections of workers into the active struggle.

In the fierce fights near Menstadt, when thousands of workers in Skien and Porsgrunn attacked the strike-breakers and when the government not only dispatched soldiers but also sent warships in order to protect the chemical works "Norsk Hydro", the property of the I.G. Farben and of the American Chemical trust, the Communists stood at the head of the heroically fighting workers. The social democrats held aloof or attempted to "calm" the workers. But in vain. Under the leadership of the revolutionary workers' defence and of the C.P. the working masses continued the fight; they successfully resisted the police and the troops and enforced the withdrawal of the strike-breakers.

The militant mood of the masses is seen in the fact that in numerous towns, where the social democrats hitherto had the greatest influence, the Communists and the Red Trade Union Opposition took over the public meetings of the reformists with the approval of the great majority of the assembled workers.

The social democratic leaders, who have always posed as being very radical and only thanks to their radical phrases were able to influence the majority of the class-conscious workers, have exposed themselves in this long drawn-out struggle as the allies of the exploiters. Numerous social democratic workers who had hitherto followed the Labour Party in the belief that it is a really revolutionary party, have now dissociated themselves from the party and in the great fights against police and military on 6th and 8th of June near Menstadt fought shoulder to shoulder with Communist and non-party workers under the leadership of the Communist Party. There is no doubt that the ideological influence of the C.P. of Norway has greatly increased; it is now necessary, by a consistent continuation of the mass work, to consolidate this influence organisationally and to develop the Party into a real mass party.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

From the Russia of Thatched Roofs to the Soviet Union of Metal.

By D. S a s l a v s k y (Moscow).

In no other country is there such an enthusiasm for industry as in the Soviet Union. Does that mean, however, that the working class dream of their industry? No, they are building it up. They are building it up with the greatest enthusiasm, with the utmost exertion of all their forces. The Soviet Union is the only country in the world today in which industry is developing and expanding. In all other countries industry is making no progress, and is even going back. Everywhere in the capitalist world one sees arrested development and decline. The factories are not working to full capacity. Everywhere there are "superfluous" hands. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, there is a shortage of labour power.

Whence comes this enthusiasm and tremendous exertion of energy on the part of the ruling working class? It comes from the consciousness that they are working for themselves, that the tasks confronting them can be and are being solved, that their solution will mean the triumph of the working class of all countries, of the whole world.

The working class of the Soviet Union must in the shortest possible time catch up to and pass the most advanced capitalist countries. That is the testament left by the great Leader of the working class. The ruling working class themselves have issued this slogan. This is not a mere sporting affair, a struggle for a championship, nothing of all that which induces the bourgeoisie to enter into international contests. It is simply the imperative law of the fight for existence of the first socialist State Power, a law of the class struggle.

Capitalist Russia was a colossus with feet of clay. The greater half of the dwellings in Russia consisted of mud huts. The other half was built almost exclusively out of wood and straw. In pre-revolutionary Russia metal was a rare thing. A considerable part of the Russian peasantry employed wooden nails in building houses and wore wooden shoes. The capitalist world regarded Russia as its colony. It is true, an industry had developed, the towns grew and big railway lines were constructed. Foreign capital set up factories in Tsarist Russia, but mainly for the first working up of metals and the production of semi-manufactured goods, and at the most the very simplest machines. Lathes, work-benches and complicated machinery were exclusively imported from abroad. The weak electric industry was entirely in the hands of foreign capital; technical drawings were carefully hidden from the Russian workers and technicians. For the outside enemy Tsarist Russia was dangerous by reason of its huge population, but not by reason of its technics. In the imperialist war the Tsarist Generals set up impregnable walls of human flesh. Of this flesh Tsarist imperialism had inexhaustible supplies at its disposal. On the other hand, there was no metal and no technics.

Wood, clay and straw, that is the heritage which the working class took over from Russian capitalism. Wood, clay and straw, and in addition half destroyed coal and iron mines, half and in some cases completely destroyed smelting works and foundries. Upon this "basis" the Workers' Power had to be built and defended against counter-revolution and imperialist intervention; upon this basis we proceeded to create the new socialist society. Therefore all the bourgeois economic experts ridiculed the Bolsheviki and the social democrats and Mensheviki laughed with malicious glee. Therefore they believed in the inevitable overthrow of the Soviet Power. They did not see, and in fact in their blindness could not see that which Marx, with his penetrating vision, had already foreseen: the tremendous development of the productive forces in a society freed from the capitalist yoke and ruled by the working class.

"Catch up and pass!" That was and is no agitational slogan, but definite fighting instructions. Out of the Russia of wood and straw the metal Soviet Union must arise. Iron must penetrate into all organs of the new country. **Stalinit**; that is the name given by the Soviet inventors to a new metal alloy of extraordinary hardness. **Stalinit** everywhere — from the functionaries of the Party of the working class to the ploughshare

of the collective peasants. "We are fifty to a hundred years behind the most advanced countries. We must cover this distance within ten years. We must either do this or be trodden underfoot", declared Comrade Stalin a few months ago.

And we shall do this. A guarantee thereof is the Five Year Plan. We do not wish to burden the memory of the reader with figures. We will merely mention a few facts. In their most flourishing period the capitalist countries were only able to record an annual growth in their industrial production of 3 to 4 per cent. Before the war, Tsarist Russia underwent an intense development according to capitalist standards. Foreign capital was eagerly invested in Russia, as in a colony. In the thirteen years from 1900 to 1913 the national income increased by 35 per cent.

And how is it with the pace of development in the Soviet Union? In the years before the Five-Year Plan the national income in the Soviet Union increased by 10 to 12 per cent annually. The second year of the Five Year Plan was to bring an increase of 15 per cent in the industrial production; the actual increase, however, was 25 per cent. For 1931 an increase of 45 per cent in industrial production is envisaged. This annual increase alone is as great as the total production of Russia before the war. As soon as the plan for the year 1931 is completely fulfilled the Soviet Union will have achieved a threefold increase over its pre-war production.

Today it is no longer a question of fulfilling the Five Year Plan but of fulfilling it in four years, and in some branches of industry even in three and a half years. In the current year the country is to produce 8 million tons of pig iron. That is 80 per cent. of the quantity which originally was to be produced in the last year of the Five-Year Plan. It is already more than the pig iron production in England in the year 1929 and twice as much as the Belgian production, whilst five years ago Belgium produced twice as much as the Soviet Union. In the last year of the Five Year Plan the Soviet Union is to produce 19 million tons of pig iron.

The country of Socialism is greedily absorbing iron; it is becoming steeled in the fire of the new tremendous furnaces which are springing up in all parts of the Union. **Kusnetzstroj**, **Magnitostroj**, **Dnieprostroj**, the **Kertch** works, these are giants of metallurgy such as Europe has never seen.

The ruling working class is also constructing machines; it is proceeding on a gigantic scale to create its own machine tool industry; it is already producing complicated and fine machines which are in no way inferior to those of foreign manufacture. In the production of tractors the Soviet Union already occupies first place in Europe and it will soon win the first place in automobile production. The ruling working class, which feels itself to be master of its fate, is creating things of which the former capitalist economic leaders did not even venture to dream. A short time ago foreign capital had the monopoly of the production of big turbines. The factories of capitalist Russia did not venture to tackle this task. In the Stalin factory in Leningrad 50,000 kilowatt turbines are being built, a single one of which has a capacity as great as the whole **Volchovstroj**, which was recently hailed as the greatest triumph of Soviet construction. The working class of the Soviet union are building rolling mills with first class equipment. The first European factory for the mass production of combines will be a Soviet factory.

Our figures border on the miraculous. Even the capitalist world does not venture to deny that. These enormous successes, unexampled in the history of humanity, are being achieved without foreign loans, which were absolutely necessary for the development of capitalism; they were achieved in a country which was kept for centuries in darkness and slavery by the landowners and capitalists. Our working class is young. We have comparatively few trained workers who have had a practical technical schooling in capitalist factories. Our workers consist for the greater part of new workers who have not yet severed their connection with the village. But they are

enthusiastically taking part in the work of construction; they are taking great pains to learn; they make many mistakes; they are inexperienced and frequently damage tools and machines. Nevertheless in the Soviet State the working class acquire political and technical knowledge a hundred times more quickly and a thousand times better than in the most advanced capitalist countries. They are successfully overcoming all the backwardness which is cunningly taken advantage of by the enemies, the wreckers and counter-revolutionaries.

The stage in which the ruling working class of the world first had to prove that they are capable of achieving the task of developing the productive forces — this stage is past. The wails of despair of the capitalists and their servants show that the class enemies are convinced of this and fear further proofs. Not even the most servile lackeys of capital, the social democrats, venture any longer to deny this. They have now set themselves a new task, to persuade the workers of the world that socialist construction costs the working class very dear, that the workers of the Soviet Union have to perform "compulsory labour", and similar fairy tales.

1st AUGUST: INTERNATIONAL FIGHTING DAY AGAINST WAR

Preparation of the C.P.U.S.A. for Aug. First.

By A. Bosse (New York).

"The Communist Parties have not yet learned how to explain to the masses sufficiently clearly the connection that exists between the war preparations of the imperialists and the growth of the exploitation and suppression of the oppressed masses". In its organisational preparations for the August 1st demonstrations, the C.P.U.S.A. is striving to overcome, among other shortcomings, the serious one pointed out in the above quotation from the resolution of the XI. Plenum — in fact the general detachment of our campaigns from the day-to-day organisational work, and from one another.

Today the Party is leading the fight, in the **Pennsylvania-Ohio miners' strike** against starvation; rallying the white and Negro workers in the campaign for the freedom of the nine Negro boys sentenced to legal lynching in Scottsboro, Ala; rallying employed and unemployed in the struggle for Unemployment insurance and relief, and beginning the "Vote Communist" campaign for the November elections. All these struggles are indissolubly connected with one another and can be considered successful only if they are linked up with the steady day-to-day work of the nuclei, and result in concrete organisational gains for the Party and the revolutionary mass organisations.

The fight against the War Danger is not a separate campaign but one that must be carried on in the closest co-ordination with every other phase of the class struggle. The Central Committee has issued directives to all the Party organisations, emphasizing the absolute necessity of this co-ordination and pointing out how it is to be accomplished.

In particular in the factories, the anti-war committees are to be committees of action, selected by the shop or grievance committees, where such exist, or to be set up directly, where there is not yet any shop organisation, and to carry on the Aug. 1st campaign in the closest connection with the struggle against wage-cuts and worsening of conditions in the shops, as part of the war preparations. The main emphasis, the principal activity of all the Party's preparatory work is to be in the factories and at the factory gates.

United Front Conferences, called by the Party and in some places on the initiative of the Trade Union Unity League, the Friends of the Soviet Union and the Anti-Imperialist League, have already met in many districts to plan the campaign and mobilisation of the widest possible masses for Aug. 1st. Thirty city United Front Conferences have already been reported to the Centre, in which in many cases delegates from organisations hitherto unreached by us, A. F. of L. locals etc. have participated. These Conferences have in general, taken it as their task to impress the delegates with the imminence of the war and of the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, to encourage the initiative of the masses in developing new forms and methods of carrying on the struggle, and to make it the job of each

organisation represented, not only to mobilize its own membership, but to have its members visit other workers and organisations. The United Front Committees elected by these Conferences are in direct charge of the campaign, and in many cities will call a second Conference in the week preceding Aug. 1st, to check up on the organisational progress and make final preparations.

Throughout the country, the attempt is being made to penetrate further into the small towns, not only to have larger demonstrations than May 1st when 600,000 took the streets, but to have demonstrations in many more cities than on May 1st. Thus the **Boston** District which had demonstrations in 7 cities last Aug. 1st, and in 14 cities on May 1st, is planning for 20 cities on this Aug. 1st. The **Cleveland** District is trying for 18 cities as against 10 on May 1st. **Chicago** District plans for 35 cities as against 26. **Minnesota** District, 17 cities compared with 9 on May Day. In all, the Centre has received word of plans for over 130 cities, with several districts yet to be heard from. A feature of the campaign will be four **international demonstrations** at points along the U.S.-Canadian border.

In many cities, the action will take the form not only of demonstrations but of marches and parades also. In every important mining camp in the strike zone, Aug. 1st will be marked by outdoor meetings and demonstrations called by the Strike Committee against the war Danger, pointing out to the miners the intimate connection between their struggle against the coal operators and the impending attack of the imperialist powers led by the Hoover Government upon the Soviet Union. With the new stage of the crisis in Germany and Central Europe, with the frantic efforts of Hoover, Stimson and Mellon to weld together the world counter-revolutionary front, the Aug. 1st demonstrations must be mass mobilisations on an unprecedented scale, rousing the masses to the imminence of their task of defending the Soviet Union.

Defend the Fatherland of the Workers! Defend the Soviet Union!

To the Workers of the World!

To the Toiling Masses of All Countries!

To the Friends of the Soviet Union everywhere!

Twelve million dead, dozens of millions wounded and maimed, were the losses of the toiling masses in all capitalist countries during the four and a half bloody years of the world war. Sacrificed to the profit hunger of world capitalism! Have you forgotten how the warmongers lived on the fat of the land far behind the lines, whilst you and your children suffered shortage, starvation, misery, undernourishment and decline? Under the influence of these things a determination ripened in you to make an end of the slaughter and prevent the possibility of its recurrence once and for all.

To-day the capitalist world is again armed to the teeth. Its armaments are more powerful and destructive than ever before. Neither the pompous disarmament conferences nor the hypocritical talk of world peace can conceal this fact. In 1914 the State Budgets of Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy and Japan totalled 1,182 million dollars. In 1930 the State Budgets of these five countries totalled **2,224 million dollars**, or more than double. Every factory represents a potential unit for war production. Every industrialist is in the direct service of his war ministry. Special "National Defence" laws provide for the mobilisation of the whole of the toiling population in the war services in case of war.

War is an inevitable accompanying feature of capitalism. The present prevailing economic crisis compels the ruling classes to increase their struggle for a bigger share of the world markets. Imperialist war is nothing more than another means of conducting the competition between the various national capitalists. This method is brought into operation when "peaceful" methods have failed in the struggle for the division of markets, such as economic penetration, customs warfare, etc. The disarmament conferences of recent years, which always promptly rejected the real disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union, have led to increased armaments. The Second International and its sections are taking an active part in the armaments of the imperialist States (the voting of war credits, the *Lex Boncour* in France, the building of armoured cruisers in Germany with the support of the social democrats, etc.). The socialist slogan, "No more War!", and the socialist "anti-war

demonstrations" are no more than dust in the eyes of the toilers to prevent them seeing the part taken by the socialists in the preparations for a new imperialist war and above all for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

Comrades! Fellow Workers of all Countries!

The capitalist exploiters have realised swiftly that the present world crisis heralds the end of their domination over the working masses and they see only one way out of the crisis: **an intensification and acceleration of the preparations for war against the Soviet Union for the throttling of socialism!**

The Soviet Union is the only country in the world which is not affected by the crisis. The Five-Year-Plan of socialist construction is being successfully carried out. Even the capitalist robbers are compelled to admit this. There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union; on the contrary, there is a shortage of labour power. In the Soviet Union the situation of the working masses is steadily improving, whilst the situation of the working masses in the capitalist countries is just as steadily deteriorating. Wages are permanently on the upward trend, whilst the material and cultural standard is steadily improving. For the first time in the history of the world an attempt is being made to radically alter the barbaric conditions under which the peasants are compelled to live and work in a capitalist order of society. The lever in this great attempt to open the door to a wider and more generous life for the peasantry is the collectivist agricultural system.

The ruling classes in the capitalist countries have surrounded the Soviet Union with a cordon of weapons. Poland, the Baltic States, the Balkan States and Czechoslovakia are the future war dogs of imperialism and they are armed to the teeth for the performance of their task, the destruction of socialism. The present events in connection with the world crisis (the Hoover Plan, the Franco-German discussions in Paris, the conference of Ministers in London, etc.) show clearly that the preparations for war against the Soviet Union under the leadership of the United States are approaching nearer and nearer to their fulfilment.

The danger of armed intervention has been acute on more than one occasion in the past. In May 1930 the intervention was planned to begin under the leadership of Great Britain and France. This plan was brought to nothing solely by the ferment amongst the working masses in the capitalist countries, by the successful development of the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and by the persistent peaceful policy of the Soviet government. To-day, however, the situation is more serious. The imperialists are striving with all energy towards their aim, because they see no other way out of the world crisis.

The Second International is in the front ranks of those who are preparing the intervention. Every day the columns of the "socialist" press are filled with perfidious slanders against the Soviet Union (the socialist press took a leading part in the "Soviet Dumping" and the "Forced Labour" campaigns) in order to turn the working masses against the Soviet Union. Not only that, but the Second International takes a direct part in the preparations for an intervention. The evidence at the trial of the Russian mensheviks in Moscow showed that the Second International took part in the direct organisation of sabotage acts in the Soviet Union, that it maintains close connections with the capitalist imperialists, with the white-guardist emigrants and with the rich peasants **with a view to starving out the Soviet Union**, that it contributed 280,000 roubles for the work of preparing the way for the armed intervention in the Soviet Union. No amount of ambiguous denials and "solemn oaths" can dispose of these facts.

Comrades! Recognise the danger which threatens the Soviet Union! Close your ranks to protect the socialist Fatherland! Join the great army of the Friends of the Soviet Union! Demonstrate on the 1st August together with the revolutionary workers on the **International Day against Imperialist War and Intervention** under the following slogans:

War against Imperialist War!

Hands off the Soviet Union!

Down with the Interventionist Trinity, Capitalism, the Second International and Fascism!

Join the Front for the Defence of the Socialist Constructive Work!

Long live the Fatherland of all the Toilers! Long live the Soviet Union!

The International Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

The Economic Situation in Ireland.

By Séan Murray.

All classes in Ireland are deeply affected by the economic crisis. The Trade Returns, wages, unemployment figures, Government finances, the plight of agriculture, and the stoppage of emigration — all tell the same tale: Irish capitalism is up to the neck in the crisis now engulfing every capitalist country.

The Trade Returns of the Free State area for the first quarter of this year give the answer to the bourgeois propagandists that the country was escaping the crisis. Imports for this quarter were, £12,534,000, as compared with £14,853,000 for the same period of 1930. These figures are significant in view of the fact that imports for this quarter since 1928 had been practically stationary between the £14—15 million mark. For the same quarter of this year exports dropped from £11 millions to £9 millions. Of the £2,300,000 drop in imports £800,000, or over one third, is accounted for by food, drink and tobacco. Commenting on this situation, "Irish Trade", a bourgeois economic journal, openly accounts for it by the fall in the standard of living of the labouring population. In up-to-date capitalist logic it shows "the way out" by calling for a ruthless drive for further economy.

The agricultural crisis is being rapidly accentuated by the drop in live stock prices. The Government had staked everything on the continuance of the relatively stable prices of live stock. Hogan, Minister for Agriculture, told the grain-growing farmers to drop this form of farming and take up cattle-raising. But the returns of live stock exports for the first four months of 1931 contain poor encouragement for the farmers. These returns show a fall of over half a million pounds on the same period of 1930, or almost 10 per cent. The advance of the crisis is smashing to pieces the basis of the Free State's Government agricultural policy. The prices of fat and store cattle are down by 10 per cent, compared with 1930, lambs by 18 per cent., store sheep from 12 per cent. to 24 per cent., store pigs 35 per cent. For a country in which this form of agriculture plays such an important part in the national economy, these figures are of great significance. All the more so, in view of the fact that this is the first time such a drop has been recorded.

The principal manufacturing industries are suffering all the ravages of the industrial crisis. The Belfast shipbuilding industry is almost at a standstill. Towards the end of last year one of the yards of Harland and Wolff was permanently closed, throwing 3,000 workers on to the Labour Exchange. Workman and Clark's yard took a two months holiday at the new year. Since then the major part of the orders have been completed and no new ones have been procured. The Linen industry presents a similar picture, less than 50% being at present employed. The recent wage cut of 10% for all operatives not earning less than 21/- per week, has increased the competitive capacity of the industry, but only a slight increase in trade is recorded. The economic position in these industries of the North is best revealed by the registered unemployment figures for the area, which reach almost 100,000 out of a population of 1¼ million.

The crisis in the United States of America deeply affects the position of the Irish toilers, particularly the poorer section of the rural population. Many families in partial or total dependence on assistance from relatives in the U.S.A. are now deprived of this source of income in consequence of the impoverishment of large masses of the working class in the States. The figures for emigration tell the tale. For the six months ending June 30th of this year, 476 persons left the Free State for America, compared with 8,468 for the corresponding six months of last year. During the same period 1,080 returned to Ireland from the United States. Well may the capitalist press comment: "not since the Norman invasion has such a situation been witnessed — immigration exceeding emigration". The crisis has destroyed the principal industry bequeathed to Ireland by British Imperialism — the export of labour power to the United States.

The bourgeoisie are reacting to the crisis by a general offensive against wages and social services. Practically every

section of the working class has been in turn attacked during the past six months. The building workers wages were reduced in Dublin — but only after a three months strike struggle. The unorganised linen workers in Dublin resisted a wage reduction of 10 per cent. for thirteen weeks in the teeth of the sabotage and strike-breaking of the whole reformist trade union leadership. In the Belfast area, despite the strength of the trade union bureaucracy and the old-standing divisions in the workers' ranks, one of the largest mills resisted the cut. The new terms in the engineering industry affect the remnant of the workers now in employment in the shipbuilding industry. The railway men have lost 4³/₈ per cent on earnings over £2 per week. Cramp and his colleagues were successful in piloting through the cut, despite the clamour of the men, particularly in Dublin, for a strike. The railway rank and file are drawing important conclusions from these experiences — they have organised in Dublin a rank and file movement under Communist leadership, and fixed August 15th for a wide rank and file conference.

The bourgeoisie has had considerable success in passing a heavy share of the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses. The Free State Government has made heavy raids on the social services. The Unemployment Insurance Fund yields a surplus of a quarter of a million pounds annually and less than £ 200,000 is spent annually on unemployment insurance in the Free State. The unemployment figures are scarcely ever published, and the Fianna Fail (De Valera) and Labour Parties in the Dail (parliament) obligingly fight shy of raising the question of unemployment in their parliamentary bouts with the Government. The extent of unemployment in the Free State is better reflected in the Outdoor Relief returns. These show that in Dublin city 7,000 are in receipt of this form of assistance. The last official unen-employment figures are given at 26,000, but the conditions governing the granting of benefit are such and so bureaucratically administered, that thousands of workers are outside the ranks of those registered at the Labour Exchanges.

The class character of the Free State Government's legislation is shown by its imposition of tariffs on essential articles of mass consumption (boots, clothes, tobacco, etc.), the recent imposition of an additional 1d. in the 1b. on sugar, while at the same time maintaining income tax at ¹/₆d. in the £ below Great Britain. The index cost of living remains at from 12 to 15 points above that of Great Britain. This hits particularly the poorer peasantry, who are obliged to buy tarified goods, while selling their own produce at lowest competitive prices. The Government has rejected the farmers demands for de-rating, but instead advanced £ 750,000 to be distributed according to rateable valuation, over the rural areas.

According to De Valera's figures a peasant with a farm of less than £10 valuation will receive ³/₈d. relief from rates and with an average family of five will pay 15/- extra per annum for his sugar. The defeat of the Government candidates in two bye-elections in the rural constituencies is the answer of the peasantry to the Government's policy.

The objective situation in the country offers favourable ground for the rise of a revolutionary working class movement. Hitherto three important factors hindering the rise of a united revolutionary movement of the Irish working class were: (a) The strength of British Imperialist influence in the North. The main base of this influence, within the working class, was the Belfast aristocracy of labour in the two imperialist industries — linen and shipbuilding. (b) American Imperialism, which, in its upward course, absorbed the "surplus" population of the country, who in turn were able to assist their families at home. (c) Bourgeois nationalism, to whom large masses looked for a solution of the economic and political ills of the country.

The mass unemployment in the shipbuilding and linen industries and the drive against the workers, employed and unemployed, by the British Labour, and Northern Irish Governments, is putting the imperialist loyalty of the Northern masses to the severest test. The economic basis of British Imperialist influence in its Irish Vendee is being rapidly undermined by the capitalist economic crisis.

The crisis is dealing equally heavy blows at American Imperialist illusions among the Irish masses. Dollar imperialism, with its 10 million unemployed, offers no way out to the Irish toilers. And the Free State Government has given the workers a fair inkling of the meaning of bourgeois national freedom by its drive against the former standards of living of the workers and peasants. Thus are the variegated capitalist remedies for

the solution of the Irish toilers grievances standing their trial before the masses in the present crisis.

The Free State Government is confronted by a rapidly developing mass discontent. This is revealing itself in the loss of bye-elections to its national reformist parliamentary opponents, the Fianna Fail Party, in the rise of the Labour Party vote, the growth of the military Republican organisation and the increasing sharpness of its conflict with the Free State Police forces. The rising discontent, especially in the rural areas, is calling forth a renewed regime of oppression by the Government, which is being more and more compelled to rely on naked force to preserve its rule.

The terrorist movement against the Government's agents (policemen and informers) has re-appeared and is rapidly increasing. The jury system is again showing signs of cracking up (refusals to convict republicans, refusals to bring in "murder verdicts" in the case of policemen and informers found shot). The Government sabotages a republican demonstration by prohibiting the running of trains. The republicans sabotage a Government Sports gathering by pulling up the railway lines. The revolutionary upsurge is taking a variety of forms — from support of the nationalist reformist De Valera opposition and the social reformist Labour Party, to the extra-parliamentary Republican radicals and in several areas the Communists.

The bourgeoisie has still, however, a trump card to play against the revolutionary forces in the shape of the Fianna Fail republican opposition. The likelihood is that the present Cosgrave Government will, at the next General Election, give place to a Fianna Fail-Labour bloc, whose task will be to behead the revolutionary upsurge. Outside the Communists, there has been no consistent struggle against national and social reformism. The physical force republicans drag politically in the wake of Fianna Fail, while organisationally distinct from the De Valeraites.

The chief task confronting the Irish working class is the building of a **Communist Party**. This work has made big headway, especially in Dublin, where, despite many bad mistakes by the communists, a good basis has now been laid among the industrial workers. The Party groups have secured a strong footing in all sections of the building industry, on the railways and in a number of factories. In the North, the beginning of organised contact with the workers, hitherto following the Unionist and reformist cliques, has been made. In the West, a start has been made among the rural proletariat by the organisation of the County Council workers. A new Union, under Communist leadership, has been started for miners, quarrymen and roadworkers. Good connections have been made with the Irish workers in the United States.

The situation demands ruthless struggle against national and social reformist illusions and the substitution of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics for that of petty bourgeois adventurism. The organisation of the class conscious workers in a Communist Party is now an urgent necessity, if the present revolutionary upsurge is to find the channels through which it can be successful in the struggle against Irish Capitalism and British Imperialism.

Indonesia in the Grip of the World Economic Crisis.

By A. Dir dia.

In Indonesia the economic crisis is reflected in a tremendous impoverishment of the peasantry and the whole working population, decrease in the state revenue and income from State enterprises and serious budget difficulties. At the Regents Conference, which took place in May last, the Economic Commission estimated that the income of the peasantry had declined by twenty million guilders. The Commission also reported a decrease amounting to millions of guilders in the wages of land-workers employed in the big agricultural enterprises. The report on the State Railways showed a big falling off of revenue during the last few years. The following are the figures regarding receipts from passenger traffic:

1926	. . . . .	Guilders	21,010,000
1927	. . . . .	"	21,143,000
1928	. . . . .	"	20,170,000
1929	. . . . .	"	18,957,000
1930	. . . . .	"	16,928,000

The figures regarding freight receipts also show an uninterrupted decline:

1926	. . . . .	Guilders	546,000
1927	. . . . .	"	516,000
1928	. . . . .	"	459,000
1929	. . . . .	"	435,000
1930	. . . . .	"	405,000

At the opening of the People's Council in Batavia (Java) on June 15th last, the Governor General announced a budget deficit of 91 million guilders. He made special reference to the difficulties under which the main industries in Dutch East India were labouring, and declared that the government's attempt to aid the rubber industry by restrictive measures was hampered owing to a number of reasons, principally the lack of unanimity among the producers. During the discussion of the Budget in the People's Council the Government brought forward a proposal to increase the income tax, the company tax, to raise import duties and to place a tax on property. No arguments were brought forward in justification of the fresh taxation, the Government merely declaring that the money was needed in view of the Budget deficit of 91 million guilders.

The increased import duties and other taxes mean fresh burdens on and robbery of the Indonesian masses. The Dutch imperialists and the Indonesian bourgeoisie are seeking to escape the effects of the world economic crisis by throwing the whole burden on to the shoulders of the exploited working class and impoverished peasantry. The increased import duties spell ruin for the toiling masses of Indonesia, whose average wages range between 50 to 70 cents a day (100 cents equal $\frac{1}{6}$ d.). The plans of the Government, however, are not exhausted by this attack on the working masses. A further reduction of the already miserable wages of the working class is contemplated; at the same time the position of the working peasantry who are already severely hit as a result of the deepening agrarian crisis, is becoming steadily worse.

To this is to be added the mass dismissals of workers employed in the industrial and big undertakings. The British American Tobacco Company recently discharged 2,000 workers in one factory and have also closed down several of their branches. Mr. Soeroso, a member of the People's Council, recently requested the Government to explain the reason for the large number of dismissal of station masters, guards and other employees on the state railways. There have also been mass dismissals of workers in oil and mining enterprises.

Simultaneously with the increased cost of articles of necessity and the growing unemployment, Dutch imperialism is intensifying its exploitation and prolonging the working day and further enslaving the peasantry.

Many Dutch statesmen and retired officials of the Dutch colonial service are of the opinion that the increasing budget deficit and the further financial difficulties caused by the economic crisis will not be easily overcome and will eventually endanger the rule of Dutch imperialism in Indonesia. The seriousness of the situation was admitted by Colyn, a member of the Dutch government, who stated on the occasion of the appointment of Jonkheer de Jonge, as Governor General of Dutch India, that the principal task of the new governor would be to follow the directions given by the Colonial Minister and to solve the financial difficulties of the colony.

At the commencement of the present year Indonesian officials and financial circles endeavoured to create the illusion that before long there will take place an improvement in the economic situation which will offer a way out of the present crisis. But instead the economic crisis in the colony has become more acute.

The C. P. of Indonesia and the revolutionary trade unions which for many years have been leading an illegal existence, are slowly recovering from the severe defeat sustained in the uprising of 1926-27. It is obvious that the increased taxes and duties are depressing still further the standard of living of the broad masses in Indonesia and thereby increasing the hatred of the latter against the Dutch imperialists and the bourgeoisie so that revolutionary developments can be expected.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Significance of August 23rd, Anti-Imperialist Day

By John Bell.

August 23, which follows the August 1st International Anti-War Day, is the anniversary of the brutal murder of **Sacco and Vanzetti** by Yankee capitalist justice. It is an Anti-Imperialist Day throughout Latin America, a day of struggle against imperialism, especially American imperialism.

The defiance by the capitalist class of the United States of the international protest of the world revolutionary proletariat in 1927, that sought to prevent the electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti, was taken up as a challenge by the Latin American oppressed masses. It became a day of revolutionary tradition when the oppressed workers and peasants of Latin America express their solidarity with the working class of the United States and demand in huge demonstrations their national liberation from American imperialist domination. The same imperialist class that murdered Sacco and Vanzetti keeps under its iron heel the millions of downtrodden, starved workers and peasants in Latin America, particularly in the Caribbean region. The same imperialist exploiters of the American proletariat murder and jail the militant workers and deport the foreign-born (Mexicans, etc.).

Thus the struggles of the exploited workers of the United States are intimately linked up with those of the oppressed of Latin America. The combined forces of the exploited in the centres of imperialism and in the subjected countries is the only guarantee for the final success of the world revolution. The workers of Latin America, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, have already taken the first practical steps to bring together the oppressed colonial peoples with the revolutionary proletariat in the United States by setting the 23rd of August as a day of struggle against imperialism.

The anti-imperialist day this year takes place in the midst of a revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed peoples in the **Caribbean**, in an attempt to liberate themselves from the yoke of American imperialism.

The revolutionary liberation movement in **Nicaragua and Honduras** has taken a new course this year. The armed forces under **Sandino** have been swelled by ruined peasants and unemployed workers from the Yankee lumber and fruit companies. Of tremendous importance is the coming to the forefront of the workers in Nicaragua and Honduras against the military control of the plantations and lumber camps. This lays the basis for the organisation of the Communist party and revolutionary trade unions in Nicaragua, and imposes upon the Communists in Honduras the task of the independent leadership of the revolutionary struggles of the masses.

Within the National Guard officered by American marines, great discontent is prevailing and signs of revolt of the rank and file in refusing to shoot their brothers are clearly visible. The movement is taking on considerable proportions, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts. The Washington government has answered the recrudescence of the armed struggle in Nicaragua with warships, more marines, machines guns and airplanes. In Honduras, the guerilla warfare in the districts surrounding Tela, Progreso has been going on for weeks. Workers and peasants from the United Fruit Co., Indians and detachments of workers from the cities are fighting against the Yankee-dominated government of Mejia Colindres. These liberation movements are as yet chiefly under the leadership of petty-bourgeois chieftains such as Sandino in Nicaragua and General Ferrera in Honduras. But the strengthening of the Communist movement in Honduras and the formation of the Communist party in Nicaragua will raise the struggle in these countries to a higher level, leading to the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat in the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution.

August 23rd of this year will find the masses of **Cuba** in huge protest against the Chadbourne Plan and the Yankee-Machado regime of terror and starvation. The Communist Party of Cuba is becoming more and more the leader of all oppressed. Under its leadership the workers are now organizing and fighting for unemployment relief, against the emergency

taxation law and against the Guggenheim-Machado-Menocal peace pact. The leadership by the Communist Party of the present daily struggles of the masses, especially against unemployment, will enable the party to become the leader of the revolutionary fight for national liberation.

The Caribbean countries will greet this year the formation of the Communist party of Venezuela which, under the most difficult conditions by the bloody terror of the tyrant Juan Vicente Gomez, has led unemployed demonstrations in Caracas. The great strides made by the Communist Party of Colombia in cleansing itself of corrupt and opportunist elements, its leadership in the independent strike struggles of the workers and plantation workers, make the party the leader for the uncompromising fight for national liberation.

Anti-Imperialist Day will be a day of struggle against the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the reformist traitors who in Latin America are the bulwark and defenders of Yankee domination and oppression. The American Federation of Labor is working against the freedom of Mooney and Billings, is helping to railroad the 9 Negro young workers of Scottsboro to the electric chair. In the Caribbean, the Pan-American Federation of Labor (social fascists of the CROM) and the anarcho-syndicalists work hand in hand with the fascist governments, against the national liberation of these countries.

The revolutionary workers, particularly the Communists, must rally the workers in the plantations, in the mines and oil fields, in the city and the countryside around the slogans of complete independence, against Yankee imperialism, against the assassins of Sacco and Vanzetti, against the electrocution of the 9 Negro young workers, and for the solidarity of the oppressed of Latin America and the workers of the United States.

THE VIENNA CONGRESS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Disarmament Phrases and Intervention Incitement.

Opening of the Congress of the Second International.

Vandervelde's Programmatic Speech.

Vienna, July 25, 1931.

The Congress of the Second International was opened today in the large Concert Hall in Vienna. With the exception of an Indian and a Japanese, both of whom however were only present as guests, there is not a single member of the colonial peoples present at the Congress. The galleries were for the greater part occupied by participants in the workers Olympiade. The hall was not decorated. Only on the platform a number of uniformed members of the Republican Defence Corps held red flags with the colours of the respective countries inset in the corner.

Vandervelde delivered the opening speech. He was received with a moderate amount of applause. The speech was intended to be not a usual speech of greetings, but a political programme of the Congress. And so it was.

The old comedian this time played the part of Hamlet. For him the world is out of joint. That was the whole tenor of his speech.

Crisis of capitalism, competition in armaments, a new imperialist war, a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, — these are the symptoms of the present situation. And the chairman of the Second International, the International of capitalism and imperialism in the working class, had to draw the conclusions, but in such a way that they would be agreeable to their paymasters, while at the same time not driving away the working class followers.

Vandervelde began by referring to the old International, which was to have held its Congress in August 1914 in Vienna, but was shattered in those eventful days, in the first place by Vandervelde and his friends on both sides of the war front who occupy leading places in the present International. He then went on to speak of the glorious traditions of the 2½ International, whose task it was to repair the rent and to bring back to Vandervelde those workers who had lost confidence in the Second International. After presenting this bouquet to Friedrich Adler as the embodiment of Left manoeuvres, Vandervelde

immediately divulged his new tactic in the coming war. He put forward the theory that something worse had taken the place of the collapsed autocracies; the personal rule of the monarchies had been renewed, the personal regime of the dictators. He expressly applied this to the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, which has taken the place of Tsarist Russia which Vandervelde supported. He further emphasised that these autocracies are faced by the old democracies, the "democracies" of France, England, Belgium — those democracies for the defence of which M. Vandervelde took part so enthusiastically in the imperialist war. It is true, he stated that in place of the autocracies in Germany and Austria a new kind of democracy had been set up, which though it does not stand very firmly on its feet, still remains upright thanks to the social democracy in these countries. Obviously he wants that in the event of a war of intervention, Germany and Austria shall side with the old democracies and fight with them against the successor of tsarism, against the dictatorship in the Soviet Union, which he characterised as a fungus which has sprung up in the midst of ruins. He also described Germany and Austria as the front on which the fight for democracy is taking place. One can say without exaggeration that Vandervelde thereby gave the catchphrase for the attitude of the Second International to the war of intervention by the Western democracies against the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. But Vandervelde did not rest content with giving this catch phrase. He also had the effrontery to inveigh against the Soviet Union in connection with the decline of capitalism. He attempted, in spite of the most irrefutable facts, to treat the land of gigantic socialist industry and agriculture, the land without unemployment, as being part of the foul and decaying system of capitalism.

Vandervelde was obliged to confess that the London Conference had destroyed the hopes of the social democracy of a settlement of the capitalist crisis in Germany by the other imperialist States. Abandon all hope!

And now he came to that point which was to constitute the climax of the Congress — the disarmament question. The position and the inequality of armaments had been retained as a possible starting point for some sort of agreement at the Disarmament Conference which is to meet in February 1932 in Geneva.

And Vandervelde, who as Minister of His Majesty the King of Belgium signed the Versailles Treaty, once again expressly defended the reparations and connected this with an attack on the United States, which he represented as enjoying nine tenths of the reparations. In this connection he justified the armaments of France and England by pointing to the armaments of the United States, and also mentioned in passing the "German danger". He said: "I can understand it when the French and the Belgian governments refer to the superiority of Germany in regard to the number of population and to the offensive force of a cadre army, and before all of the possibility, even if not probability, of secret armaments and of the danger of certain alliances". (Here he was referring to Soviet Russia.)

What, however, shall the Second International do if a war should break out? Vandervelde gave a very simple recipe: the Second International, which in 1914 collapsed like a house of cards and from an instrument of peace became an instrument of capitalist war, shall this time remain intact and put an end to the war. It is true, not in the way the Communists preach, who are longing for a war in order to be able to settle accounts with the capitalists. On the contrary, Vandervelde wishes to avoid war, but should it nevertheless break out, he would resort to the means of — just listen! Civil war! Vandervelde and Otto Bauer in a civil war! To be sure, on the side of the bourgeoisie. Noske, Scheidemann (the latter is a delegate to the Congress by the way), the Mensheviks, the social revolutionaries etc., all fighting in the same ranks with the imperialists against the Soviet Union.

Vandervelde thus gave the programme of this Congress. At the conclusion of his speech Vandervelde was accorded very feeble applause.

Following the tragedy there came the farce. After Vandervelde — Seitz, Seitz, the mayor of Vienna, smote himself on the breast and repeated word for word what Vandervelde had said. If war breaks out we must stick together and put an end to the war. Shortly afterwards he declared, that it was only thanks to chance that this Congress could be held at all. The situation had become so serious that at one time they did not know whether the Congress would be able to meet at all. Fortunately a short breathing pace had been given so that the Congress was able to take place. Fortunately for the second

International, when war breaks out there will be no breathing pace, so that the Second International will be relieved of the necessity of meeting at all; on the other hand the different parties will stand at the side of their governments.

The speeches were not yet at an end when the delegates began to leave the hall, so that no vote could be taken on the change of the agenda. The second item of the agenda has been altered and now reads: The situation in Germany and Central Europe and the fight of the working class for democracy. The rapporteur on this item will be Otto Bauer. De Brouckere will give the report on disarmament.

Second Session.

Vienna, 27th July 1931.

The second plenary session began with a sentimental Franco-German fraternisation scene between the German chairman **Wels** and the French delegate **Bracke**. After this **Wels** tried to persuade the minority in the Disarmament Commission, represented by **Kirkwood** of the I.L.P., to abandon its right to speak before the report on the 1st agenda point "Disarmament". However, **Kirkwood** insisted and **Wels** was compelled to give him the floor. **Kirkwood** demanded that the resolution on disarmament be sent back into the commission for alteration on the ground that it was not in the least cognisant of the present serious situation and placed its trust in the League of Nations. **Wels** interrupted **Kirkwood** continually, and finally **Friedrich Adler** mounted the platform and persuaded **Kirkwood** to withdraw his motion and bring forward his objections in the discussion.

The official reporter **de Brouckère** (Belgium) then took the floor. The main subject of this report on "disarmament" was the February conference of the League of Nations in Geneva. He then declared that the present congress should put forward a "programme of disarmament". However, this programme must be "practical" and therefore "moderate". It must represent "a first step". He was convinced that "radical solutions" which could not be advanced in Geneva would do no good.

The principle of the programme suggested by **de Brouckère** is to be equality of armaments, but not immediately, for fear that Germany would then arm up to the level of the others. Inequality of armaments must continue to exist "temporarily". Armaments are to be reduced, but how and to what extent is not mentioned. Air raids on open towns, chemical and bacteriological warfare are to be prohibited "if possible". An international control is to be established, but this control must not be "humiliating" for the parties concerned.

It has been charged against us, declared **de Brouckère**, that we have confidence only in the League of Nations. I am certainly aware of the "weaknesses" of the League of Nations, but it is the "only international institution which embodies the solidarity of the peoples". Therefore we must make use of it, just as we make use of government institutions; even then if there is only the smallest chance of success it would be a crime not to make use of it.

De Brouckère was followed by **Jouhaux**, who spoke in favour of the resolution in the name of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The last speaker in to-day's session was **Ollenhauer** in the name of the Socialist Youth International. His speech was nothing but a series of empty pacifist phrases, and his solution for the war problem the education of the youth in such a way that "it would make their hearts heavy to shoot at others", which conjured up a vision of heavy hearted workers slaughtering each other for the greater glory of capitalism.

The official report and the discussion on what **Vandervelde** termed in his opening speech "the vital question", the question of disarmament, have been as empty and unconvincing as this whole "international" congress.

Commencement of the "Debate on Disarmament".

Vienna, 28th July 1931.

Tuesday's session of the fourth congress of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International began with the reading of long messages of greetings by **Friedrich Adler**. The absence of representatives from the colonial countries was so obvious that **Adler** was compelled to express regret for it. However, a

Japanese lawyer who happened to be in the hall was put up to speak. He delivered a speech in which he made not one single reference to the colonial problem, but expressed his great admiration for the constructive socialist work being carried on in Great Britain! More time was then taken up with a speech by a certain **Dr. Friedlaender** on the development of fascism at the high schools and universities. His remarks were not very illuminating.

It became increasingly clear that the congress leadership was deliberately wasting time which ought to have been occupied with a discussion of the disagreeable disarmament question. **Bacon** of the British I.L.P. rose to a point of order and complained that the delegates from the body of the hall were not being given a look in. He proposed that a further session should be held in the afternoon to get to grips with the disarmament problem, instead of the proposed committee meetings. The chairman of the congress, **Friedrich Adler** advanced "technical reasons" for not putting this motion to the vote, and instead gave the floor to **Henderson's** parliamentary secretary **Professor Baker**, who declared in **Henderson's** name that he was in complete agreement with the official resolution on disarmament (At this juncture the I.L.P. delegates protested

Winston Churchill On Ramsay MacDonald.

"He is the first Socialist Prime Minister we have ever had, and he has been Prime Minister twice over. Of course he is not a Socialist, and is at this moment in active revolt against Socialism in all its forms." — "Sunday Pictorial," July 26, 1931.

loudly). **Baker** then recommended that the congress should appeal to the signatories of the pact outlawing war calling upon them to keep their solemn promise. Turning reproachfully to the German delegation **Baker** declared that **General von Seeckt's** demand for permission for Germany to arm up to the level of the other Powers should these Powers refuse to disarm, was a misinterpretation of the treaties. The German comrades should leave the task of securing disarmament in the victor countries to the socialists there. The greatest possible measure of disarmament should be obtained by international agreement. Any attempt to discredit the work of the League of Nations was defeatism. Great Britain must not be expected to disarm below the level of other nations.

Anderson (Denmark) followed. He had little to offer, other than what he considered to be the fact that the holding of international disarmament congresses and conferences was the work of the international social democracy.

Kirkwood of the British I.L.P. then took the floor as the last speaker in to-day's session. He again demanded that the official resolution be referred back as totally unsuitable, and repeated his criticisms of it. A Minister of the Labour government had frankly admitted that British armaments to-day were a hundred times more effective than they had been prior to the world war. One of the demands of the official resolution was for the abolition of military air fleets. This demand had been put forward in the House of Commons by the I.L.P. parliamentary group. Was he to understand that the Labour Party M.P.s were now prepared to vote together with the I.L.P. group for this demand in the House of Commons? Up to the present the Labour government had done nothing but talk about disarmament (applause and some dissent), but it had a great opportunity. Disarmament could only be obtained by example. Great Britain could lead the way. Instead the Labour Party preferred to ally itself with the conservatives and the liberals as at the recent **Albert Hall** meeting in order to support capitalism instead of overthrowing it.

At the proposal of six delegations (Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark) it was decided that the voting on the official resolution should take place en bloc according to delegations. Thus the minorities in the various delegations will be previously voted down in delegation meetings and the majority vote will be cast as the vote of the entire delegation. In this way the congress leadership hopes to secure the unanimous adoption of the resolution.

In the International**Important Conference of West-European Communist Parties.**

London, 25th July, 1931.

On 24th and 25th of July there took place in London a meeting of representatives of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, Poland, and Czechoslovakia in order to discuss the political situation arising from the aggravation of the European antagonisms. Following the reports by representatives of the above-named parties and after a thorough discussion, the meeting revealed **complete unanimity in estimating the situation and completely confirmed the political line as laid down by the XI. Plenum of the Executive of the Communist International.** The London Conference of Communist Parties considered it one of the most important tasks of the Parties to popularise the decisions of the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. among the working masses and to devote the greatest attention to **events, especially in Germany, which in the general aggravation of the antagonisms of capitalism and the rapid development of the pre-requisites of the revolutionary crisis has proved to be the weakest link in the chain of the capitalist system of exploitation and rule.** The Conference heartily greeted the proletariat marching under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, and welcomed the decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. to **take part in the referendum against the social fascist government in Prussia as a means of mobilising the broad masses against the starvation regime of capitalist rule.**

The Conference decided on a number of concrete measures for united action of the Communist Parties against the imperialist plans for enslaving still further the German people and suppressing the revolutionary proletariat.

The London Conference of the Communist Parties of the above named countries unanimously adopted an appeal to the working population of Germany, France, England, Poland and Czechoslovakia and to the whole of the international proletariat.

The Appeal of the Conference.

The Berlin "Rote Fahne" publishes the appeal of the London Conference of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, Poland and Czechoslovakia with an editorial note that it has been obliged to delete certain passages in view of the press restrictions contained in the Emergency Decrees. We publish the appeal as printed by the "Rote Fahne", leaving out only one or two sentences.

Editor.

Down with the Versailles Robber System!**Socialism the only way out of the Disaster!****To the working population of Germany, France, England, and Poland!**

The imperialist governments, which 17 years ago let loose the world war and are arming at an accelerated pace for new wars, the governments which at the end of the world war concluded the robber Versailles Peace, meet at Chequers, in Paris and London in order to discuss ways out of the cul de sac in which the imperialist robber-system finds itself. The world economic crisis, which in Germany, as a result of the Versailles system, has already grown to a threatening economic disaster, has led to a most serious shaking of the capitalist system in general. Hoover's fraudulent proposal, which claimed to avert the evil of collapse of economy in Germany, has proved to be a mere soap bubble.

The negotiations of the capitalist governments had only one "result": they showed to all the world the insoluble contradictions and antagonisms of the capitalist system of exploitation, which have become more acute than ever and from which the governments of the imperialist world powers can find no way of escape. The economic disaster in Germany has led to the greatest sharpening of the imperialist antagonisms of the world powers among themselves, especially the antagonisms between America and England, which apart from the chief antagonism between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union have become the most acute.

The capitalist economic disaster affects in the first place the working and peasant masses. The misery and need into which the working masses of the whole world, and especially of Germany, have been plunged is indescribable. In the towns there are millions of unemployed and in the villages there are tens of thousands who have been driven from house and home. The most appalling misery is throttling the working masses; the peasants are being crushed by the burden of taxes. The burdens of the Young Plan and of the crisis are stifling the whole economic life of Germany.

The so-called bourgeois democracy, Parliamentarism, no longer exists in Germany. In Germany, government is being carried on by means of Emergency Decrees. The rights of the working class have been abolished by means of Emergency Orders. The proletariat has been deprived of the right to hold meetings and demonstrations; the freedom of the press has been liquidated. More than 20 Communist daily news-papers and nearly the whole of the propaganda literature of the Communist Party have been prohibited and more than 5,000 Communists and revolutionary class fighters have been placed in prison. By means of Emergency Decrees wages and salaries are being cut down, the unemployed, war invalids and incapacitated, the widows and orphans are robbed of their beggarly relief and pensions.

You workers in the neighbouring countries of Germany, remember that the system of oppression and exploitation which today throttles the working population of Germany does not stop at the frontier; the rapacious bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries adopts the practices of the German bourgeoisie, as is already to be seen in France, England, etc. by the cutting down of wages (mining, textile industry); and if the German bourgeoisie succeeds by fascist measures in crushing the German workers, the same measures will also be employed against you! The resistance and fight of the German proletariat is your fight. Exercise brotherly solidarity with the German working class!

There is only one way out of the disastrous famine and misery into which the workers of Germany and after them the workers in the whole of Europe are sinking, namely, the way adopted by the Russian proletariat.

In the whole capitalist world we see decline and collapse of capitalist economy, in the Soviet Union however there is gigantic progress and tremendous development of economy.

In all capitalist countries bank crashes, financial and credit crisis — in the Soviet Union gigantic industrial works, new towns and centres of culture are being built. In the capitalist countries millions of unemployed are perishing — in the Soviet Union there are no unemployed, but on the contrary there is a shortage of workers. In the capitalist world the working people are starving in the midst of plenty — in the Soviet Union all workers have work and bread. Why is this? Because in the Soviet Union the proletariat rules, because the predatory profit-seeking economy is overthrown and the working people are working for themselves, for their own requirements and are ruling according to their own will.

If the workers of Germany and of the whole of Europe wish to live, then capitalism must die. Only under the rule of the working class is there work, bread and freedom. That is the great historical lesson which the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union have given us!

In order to convert this teaching into deeds, however, the working people of the whole world must recognise their own enemies. These are not only the handful of financial sharks, the bourgeoisie; the agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, the social democracy, the Second International are equally their enemies. The hunger catastrophe in Germany is the result, before all, of the policy of the German social democracy. During the imperialist world war the social democrats of all belligerent countries occupied positions in the ministries of their bourgeoisie. The social democrats of all capitalist countries, together with the imperialists, forged the chains of the robber system of Versailles, and the social democrats of all capitalist countries supply the police ministers and

police presidents in order to hold down the starving working and peasant masses. There is no regime of oppression in Europe in which the heroes of the Second International do not actively take part. MacDonald sends his mercenary troops and warships against the colonial slaves in India and China and conducts an active armament policy against America, just the same as Severing sends his police against striking and demonstrating workers in Germany. Blum and Boncour speak just the same as Poincaré and Tardieu about the right of France to reparation payments and the duty of Germany to furnish political guarantees, which means an intensification and extension of the Versailles slavery.

The social democrats of all countries are equally worthy of one another as the most faithful hirelings and hangmen in the service of predatory world capital against the revolutionary working and peasant masses in all capitalist lands and colonies.

The working and peasant masses in all countries must recognise that the way to emancipation from capitalist bondage and imperialist slavery is via the overthrow and the annihilation of the Second International. To win the majority of the working class for the revolutionary class front under the leadership of the Communist Parties, to win those workers who today still follow the treacherous social democracy is for the revolutionary movement of Europe the need of the hour.

Just as at the end of the murderous imperialist war only the Communist International raised its voice against the imperialist robber peace, so today it is only the Communist International and its Sections who raise their voice against the enslavement and unlimited plundering of the masses of working people in Germany.

The Communist Parties of France and England, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat, solemnly declare before the whole world and their bourgeoisie: The revolutionary proletariat of our countries has nothing to do with the plundering of the working population of Germany by the bourgeoisie of our countries. We, the Communist Parties of France and England, whose imperialist governments oppress millions of colonial slaves in Indo-China, Morocco, Asia-Minor, Egypt etc., raise a solemn protest against the robbery under the Versailles system. We are fighting in our countries against the oppression which imperialist governments of our countries are imposing on working people of Germany and recognise the right and the duty of the working people of Germany, with the overthrow of their own system of exploitation, to declare null and void and to tear up the slave Treaty of Versailles, Germain, Sevres etc. We declare that this is the only way out of the hunger-disaster which is sweeping over Germany and the whole of Europe.

We, the Communist Parties of Poland and Czechoslovakia, protest in the name of the masses, numbering millions, of the revolutionary workers and peasants against the imperialist policy of the governments of our countries, who follow at the heels of French imperialism and are the watchdogs of the intervention drive against the Soviet Power by the world robbers, who at the same time are striving to enslave completely the working masses of Germany. We Polish and Czechoslovakian Communists protest against the policy of national oppression which the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the social democrats and their governments of our countries; carry on against the German, Ukrainian, White Russian, Lithuanian districts in Poland and against the German, Slovakian, Ukrainian and Hungarian districts in Czechoslovakia, and solemnly demand the complete free right of self-determination of these national minorities up to separation from the Polish or Czechoslovakian State.

We, the Communist Parties of France, England, Poland and Czechoslovakia declare that the fight for emancipation of the German proletariat is our fight, and call upon the toilers of France, England, Poland and Czechoslovakia as well as the whole international proletariat, to support the fight of the German proletariat for emancipation by increasing the fight for their own vital interests and for the overthrow of their own bourgeoisie.

In the historical hour in which the preconditions for a revolutionary crisis in Germany are rapidly rising, in which the working population of Germany are preparing to break the power of the exploiters in order to adopt the only way out of the crisis, the only way to salvation through socialism, the Communist Parties in the neighbouring countries of Germany, the various countries of Versailles, call to the mass of the people in these countries: Be prepared in face of the robber intervention plans of the imperialist rulers of France, England and Poland

who wish to suppress the coming proletarian revolution in Germany and are feverishly preparing for war against the Soviet Union.

The coming free, socialist Soviet Germany is the fatherland of the workers of all countries, is the fatherland of the French, English, Polish and Czechish proletariat as well as of the German working class.

The 1st of August, the day on which the working people in all capitalist countries will demonstrate against the danger of imperialist war, must become a powerful demonstration for the emancipation of the working and peasant masses of Germany and of the whole of Europe. Redouble your efforts in order in all countries to bring the whole of the proletarian reserves into line with the advance guard, in order together with them to demonstrate your determination to break the slave fetters of the Versailles system. This is the best guarantee and the most determined fight against the threatening imperialist war.

25th July, 1931.

The Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

(Sections of the Communist International.)

Communist Party of Canada Begins Turn to Mass Work.

By Sam Carr (Toronto).

Only a little over four months passed since the Enlarged plenum was held and we can say to-day quite safely that its resolutions did **not remain on paper**. The party can record **definite achievements in beginning the turn to mass work**, whilst at the same time stressing repeatedly that the achievements we have are insignificant in comparison with the possibilities we have and the tasks we are to measure up to.

The key-note of the resolution addressed by the Comintern to the Canadian Party on the eve of the Enlarged Plenum was the necessity to turn the face of the party to the **economic struggles** of the Canadian workers. As a suitable beginning the Party Plenum discussed the preparations for February the 25th, the International Day against Unemployment. This day was also utilised to initiate the proposed Bill for **non-contributory unemployment insurance** for which 100,000 signatures were to be collected. Coming as it did immediately after the plenum and raising an issue of tremendous interest to all Canadian workers it was to serve as a barometer of the determination of the party and its ability to mobilise the masses. Notwithstanding numerous shortcomings of the Bill campaign which were acknowledged by the Party in many documents, the campaign was a **huge success**. The objective of 100,000 signatures was surpassed, and when the delegation of the **Workers Unity League** took the Bill to **Ottawa** on April 15th, more than 85,000 workers and poor farmers demonstrated from coast to coast in support of the demands the Bill embodied.

For the first time in the history of the Party serious stress was laid on the necessity of organisational results in our campaigns. Although the **National Unemployed Workers Association** is still relatively weak, it is the only nationally acknowledged organisation of the unemployed. Although it is very difficult to stipulate the exact membership, 18,000 membership cards were issued up to date.

The Party mobilised all its forces behind the campaign to win the coal miners of **Alberta** for the Workers Unity League. In spite of the previously committed mistakes (failure to build revolutionary opposition groups) the victory gained at the last District Convention of the union was consolidated and the referendum on affiliation to the **W.U.L.** and support to the "**Western Miner**", resulted in a decisive victory for the revolutionary movement, over 2000 miners voting to join the Workers Unity League and support its miners organ. Only around 800 miners, under the pressure of the united front of the coal operators and social fascists, voted against. The militant leadership of the **Mine Workers Union of Canada** is now carrying out a broad programme of action directed to win over all miners in the field for the revolutionary union.

The Mine Workers Union of Canada which is limited practically to Alberta and is composed only of coal miners will serve as a basis for the unification of all Canadian miners.

The "**Western Miner**" (W.U.L. miners organ in the West) is being transformed into a national miners paper and together

with the "Nova Scotia Miner" now appearing and the paper of the Metal miners in Northern Ontario to be issued in July will be the main weapon in carrying on the ideological preparations for the formation of one miners union in Canada.

On July 15th there will also appear the first issue of the official organ of the Workers Unity League of Canada the "Workers Unity". This new paper of the Canadian revolutionary movement will help a great deal in developing the Red Trade Union movement in Canada.

For many years the Party paid practically no attention to agrarian work. Although agriculture is still decisive in Canadian production, the Party left the work on the farms to a few comrades in the West, without making it an important part of the daily party functions.

Some months before the Enlarged Plenum the Party organised four District Agrarian Conferences in Western Canada where the basis was laid for the **Farmers Unity League**. Since the Party Plenum the F.U.L. developed into an organisation well known and recognised among the masses of poor farmers. It has now well over 3000 members in more than 100 branches. The "Furrow", the official organ of the F.U.L., has about 3500 circulation. One of the most outstanding weaknesses of the agrarian work in Canada was and still remains the fact that it is limited to the wheat producing western prairie provinces, having practically no hold among the thousands of farmers in the East. The party now undertakes definite steps to establish the F.U.L. also in the East. Branches are being set up in Ontario and contacts established in Quebec.

To combat the imperialist propaganda against Soviet wheat exports, carried on by the government among the masses of Canadian farmers and to show the farmer of Canada that his liberation is only possible in a united struggle with the proletariat against capitalism, the Farmers Unity League is now organising a farmers delegation to the U.S.S.R.

Canada, even now being a country of considerable immigration, has hundreds of thousands of **foreign-born workers and poor farmers**. Bringing with them revolutionary traditions of the Central European proletariat, these workers in many cases form the vanguard of the Canadian revolutionary movement.

The fact that the C.P. of Canada is still composed mainly of foreign-born workers speaks for the above at the same time this also exposes the most important shortcoming of the Party work, its failure to penetrate into the broad circles of Anglo-Saxon and French Canadian workers.

During many years past the foreign-born workers have built up a number of mass cultural, sick benefit and sport organisations. Although nominally remaining on the line of revolutionary class struggle, these mass cultural language organisations developed strong legalistic tendencies, petty bourgeois respectability bordering with liquidationism. When the new Party leadership attempted following the 6th Party Convention in 1929 to begin the turn in these organisations it came to open factional struggles and splits.

The special Comintern commissions on the Ukrainian and Finnish mass organisations and the work of the Enlarged Plenum laid the basis for the beginning of a decisive turn in our entire work among the foreign-born workers and poor farmers . . .

Since the Party Plenum the **Ukrainian** mass organisations took active part in all important campaigns of the Party and the W.U.L.: a definite sharp struggle developed inside the mass organisations against the Right tendencies. A new mass organisation of Ukrainian workers was formed (**The Society for Assistance to the Liberation movement in Western Ukraine**) this organisation embraces thousands of workers who have only months ago been under the direct influence of the Fascists and the Department of Militia in Canada. These workers, most of them former soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician army, now see that the liberation of Western Ukraine will only come in a revolutionary way. At present there is in the U.S.S.R. a delegation of 16 Ukrainian workers and farmers sent by the revolutionary mass organisations.

In the **Finnish** Organisation of Canada, the second most important revolutionary mass organisation of the foreign-born workers of Canada, the right wing succeeded last year in introducing a split and capturing for a short while the "Vapaus", the daily revolutionary organ of the Canadian Finnish workers. Through a merciless daily struggle against the renegades led by the social fascist **Tenhunen**, the Party succeeded in basically defeating the renegades whose only hold still remain the co-operatives. However also here they are rapidly eliminated, and as a result of this they embarked on building an opposition

co-operative movement. The Party learned from its previous mistake of mechanical and pure organisational forms of struggle against the Right danger. Thanks to this the **Tenhunen** group was completely isolated. It remained with only a small insignificant clique whilst the Finnish workers and farm reaffirmed at the Convention of the F.O. held in June their readiness to follow the Party and expelled the **Tenhunens** from the organisation.

Since the plenum definite achievements can also be recorded in the organisation of the **Russian, Yugoslav, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Lithuanian** and **German** immigrant workers. One of the greatest weaknesses in the work among the immigrant workers and in their mass organisations is the looseness of the Party fraction apparatus and here also the lack of trained comrades for the responsible work.

The Enlarged Plenum stressed particularly the burning necessity of **consolidating the Party organisationally**.

Immediately following the Party Plenum the central departments were reorganised and placed on a more or less satisfactorily functioning basis. More weight was also placed on the organisational problems of the Party by establishing for the first time the office of an organisation secretary of the Party.

For the last three months there has been a regularly appearing column "Party Life", in the "Worker"; a monthly organisational journal, the "Party Organiser", is also of great assistance to the comrades in building the party organisation.

The main emphasis was laid on building the District Committees of the Party as the central point of live directives to the units and party groups. In spite of the terrible shortage in cadres the Party not only succeeded in placing full-time organisers in every District but also established at least four new sub-districts with full time Sub-District Organisers thus strengthening considerably the Party work in the particular areas.

The main organisational problem of the Canadian party is **shop work**. Prior to the Party Plenum we had only one shop group in the whole Party. The first results of concentrating the attention of the Party on this work in the last months show that in Districts 4 and 5 we already have 20 functioning shop and pit groups.

The Party membership has increased since the Plenum. In District 3 the Party has grown from 385 members to 536, in District 5 from 150 to 222 etc. Whilst stating our gains in membership it is necessary to stress that **the extremely poor national composition of the party still remains the same and we are still faced with beginning to recruit extensively among the Anglo-Saxon and French Canadian workers of Canada**.

The Enlarged Plenum in its resolution on the Y.C.L. pointed out the impossible situation in which our **youth movement** was.

For the last months the Y.C.L. can record considerable achievements as a result of the shock plan. The League membership was doubled, the "Young Worker" begun to appear twice a month instead of once a month as before, and its content is considerably improved. The **Worker Sport Association** was greatly extended far outside the narrow frame of the Finnish sport organisations. The **Pioneer movement**, although still in a deplorable shape, increased its ranks by 400 new recruits.

Since the Party plenum a certain improvement is to be noted in the Party and League relations. However this is not from the top to the bottom, and furthermore the understanding that the Party is directly responsible for building the Y.C.L. has as yet not penetrated the Party ranks.

There are a number of other lesser achievements that can be recorded since the Party Plenum. The revival of the French paper "L'Ouvrier Canadien", the organisation of the **Friends of the Soviet Union** on a national scale, the first steps in building up an illegal apparatus, the organisation of four regional training schools and other activities of the Party show the beginnings of the turn.

The 500,000 army of unemployed with thousands in absolute starvation, the new Hunger Budget, the growing terror, the definite wave of wage cuts and the growing radicalisation of the workers place upon the Party gigantic tasks. The coming winter will see some very sharp class struggles in Canada, the bourgeoisie declares this openly and prepares for this: Communist Party and the revolutionary movement accepted the challenge, and we are sure that the Party will be successful in this fight.

SOCIAL FASCISM

The Participation of the II. International in the Preparation of Intervention against the Soviet Union.

By H. Valetzki.

The trial the "Industrial Party", and even more so, the trial of the so called "All Union Bureau" of the Mensheviks divulged the monstrous participation of the leaders of the II. International in the preparation of armed intervention against the Soviet Union. Caught in the act, these leaders protested indignantly, and denied categorically any connection with the crime.

It is now a matter of proving, with the help of a whole chain of evidence, that the leaders of the II. International, have not only committed and are still committing the crimes which they deny, but that on the strength of their whole former and present activity, they are bound to commit these crimes.

First: the accused are recidivists. This is shown by their role with regard to the armed intervention of the imperialist powers in 1918-20. Wherever the Russian mensheviks came into contact during this period with the imperialist invaders, they welcomed and supported them in the name of "Western Democracy", as saviours from the "Bolshevik Yoke". The social revolutionaries were paid agents of the Entente, they organised dastardly attempts on the lives of the representatives of the Soviet power, including Lenin, participated in Kolchak's expedition, attempted to provoke, together with the white guards, counter-revolutionary kulak insurrections. The Mensheviks of Georgia who established a united front with Denikin's gangs against the Soviet Union, sold their own country to the agents of British imperialism. The West European leaders of the II. International did not confine themselves to supporting the counter-revolutionary interventionist activity of their followers who worked on the territory of the Soviet Union, — they also gave full support to the intervention of their own imperialist governments. The German social democrats constituted a wall around the government of Wilhelm when he forced the predatory Brest "peace" on the peoples of Russia who were exhausted by the imperialist war, they broke off the revolutionary mass strike of the German workers in January, 1918, they furthered the occupation of the Ukraine, and tried to advance into the Caucasus. — The Czech social democrats were in 1918 among the organisers of the Czechoslovakia counter-revolutionary rebellion which was the prelude to the intervention of the Entente. — The notorious P.P.S. supported in 1919-20 Pilsudsky's predatory raid into Soviet White Russia and Soviet Ukraine, undertaken under the leadership of the French general staff, his alliance with the bandit chieftain, Petlura, the attempt to take possession of Kiev.

Second: During the preceding decade the II. International became the organisation of present, former and future Ministers of the bourgeoisie. In Finland, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, in Poland and Czechoslovakia, in Germany and Austria, in Sweden and Denmark, in Belgium and Spain, in Britain, — everywhere the social democrats were invited by the capitalists to take a direct part in the management of their interests. They were removed from the governments when the bourgeoisie preferred other combinations, and were brought back when it just suited it. Just now, 1931, social democratic leaders are in the governments of Britain, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Spain, let alone Prussia. But even in countries where the social democratic leaders are compelled to play for the time being an "oppositional game", they support the governments of their capitalist "fatherlands" in all important affairs, especially in affairs connected with the external and military policy. Alongside of Germany, the most characteristic example of this is France where the social democratic leader, Paul Boncour, carried out the reorganisation of the army for obvious war purposes, and where his friend, Renaudel, is the permanent rapporteur in the Chamber on questions of military aviation. In fascist Poland where the misunderstandings between Pilsudsky and his faithful lackeys, the P.P.S. people, went to the length of the agents of the Marshal striking the P.P.S. leaders in the face, in Poland whose entire war and external policy aims at military intervention against the Soviet Union, the social

democratic leaders fully support this policy, and vote "as one man" for the war budget.

The imperialists, headed by France, prepare the war against the Soviet Union. The social democratic leaders know it, they must know it. The social democratic leaders take part in it, they must take part in it. But simultaneously, they shout that the intervention danger is an "invention" of the bolsheviks. This is the second weighty proof of their guilt.

Third: In their internal policy, the leaders of social democracy look upon struggle against the revolution danger in their countries, and upon defence of the tottering capitalist regime, as their chief task. They declare the Communist Parties of their own countries whose influence embraces millions of proletarians, to be "agents of Moscow". And therefore, the destruction of "Moscow", the break up of the Soviet Union, of the revolutionary fatherland of all proletarians who are fighting capitalism, is their passionate wish. This is one of the chief sources of the intervention policy of the leaders of the II. International.

Fourth: The social democratic leaders in the imperialist countries who defend the rule of their bourgeoisie in the colonies and semi-colonies, shout that the chief reason of the revolutionary movement of colonial slaves in Asia and Africa, is the "Bolshevik plague" which is spreading from the Soviet Union. At the head of the government of the largest colonial power, Great Britain, there have been already twice in the post war period (and are now again) leaders of the II. International who "pacify" India. In France, the Social democrats nominated one of their leaders, Alexandre Varenne, as Governor of rebellious Indo China, supported the war against the uprising in Morocco. In Holland, the social democrats were the direct executioners of the Indonesian rebels. In Spain, one of the first actions of the social democrats in the provisional "revolutionary" government was the dispatch of "republican" troops to suppress the uprising in Spanish Morocco. And therefore, their chief aim is the destruction of this "plague source" as the prerequisite of the "pacification" of the colonies, of the consolidation of imperialist rule over the colonies.

Fifth: The leaders of the II. International take a very active part in the campaigns of infamous lies and slanders against the Soviet Union. The main aim of these slanderous campaigns is — to bring about a new blockade against the Soviet Union, and "moral" preparation of armed intervention.

The Pope's "crusade", supported by Protestant Archbishops, Jewish Chief Rabbis and "Liberal" Free Masons, the campaign in connection with the disappearance of the white guard general Kutiepov, alleged to have been kidnapped in broad daylight in the streets of Paris by agents of the "Cheka"; the campaign against "Soviet dumping" with the obvious aim of an economic blockade of the Soviet Union; the campaign on account of the escape of a few hundred of German and Swedish kulaks from the Soviet Union driven away by the collectivisation; the campaign against alleged "forced labour" in the Soviet Union, etc., — this is the very incomplete list of "subjects" on which bourgeois newspaper writers concoct tens of thousands of articles, feuilletons, poems and dramas. And in all these campaigns the social democratic press occupies first place.

Sixth: A quite ferocious campaign of systematic lies, slanders, and damaging assertions is carried on by the leaders of the II. International against socialist construction in the Soviet Union, against the attainments in the realisation of the Five Year Plan, by defending in every possible way the remnants of the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union which the victorious progress of the socialist industrialisation and collectivisation is destroying; especially by defending kulakdom, the leaders of the II. International take under their protection all the infamous counter-revolutionary criminals, the heroes of the Shakhly and Ramsin trials, the direct agents of the imperialist general staffs. In the Soviet Union they back all the enemies of the socialist construction, and this campaign is a component part of the "moral" preparation of intervention.

Seventh: The II. International embraces, as full fledged sections, a number of counter-revolutionary organisations which try to "work" on the territory of the Soviet Union. Alongside the Russian Mensheviks who are closely connected with the Executive of the II. International, and supply with editors their main organs, we have there the Georgian Mensheviks, the Ukrainian Mensheviks, also the Russian social revolutionaries and the Armenian "Dashnaks". All of them who represent the direct tentacles of the II. International on the territory of the

Soviet Union, try—as this was repeatedly discovered and established—to carry on wrecking, espionage and “diversionist” work, which is being financed jointly from the funds of the II. International itself and from those of the general staffs. **For the activity of all these Menshevist and S.R. Organisations the entire Executive of the II. International is—on its own admission—responsible.**

Eighth: The leaders of the II. International deny not only the fact of their participation in the preparation of intervention but also the preparation of the intervention itself through the imperialist powers headed by France. And simultaneously, they **justify beforehand** this intervention by spreading slanderous legends about “Red imperialism”, by representing the planned armed invasion of Soviet territory by the imperialists with their participation as a “defensive act” against the “aggressive” policy of the Bolsheviks, which is alleged to threaten the independence of the other countries.

Thus it was already in the summer of 1929, during the raid of the Chinese and Russian White Guards on the Chinese Eastern Railway and on the Soviet boundaries. At the Congress of the P.P.S., end of May 1931, the rapporteur on “foreign policy”, Deputy Czapinsky, declared the “defence” of Poland and of the countries adjoining the Soviet Union against the alleged danger threatening them from the Soviet Union, to be the foremost duty of the social democrats. Vandervelde declared in the Belgian Parliament in February, 1930, that the Soviet

Union is the most military state of the world. The Social democratic “pacifists” who sit at present in the governments of Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and Esthonia, the social democratic “peace-barbican”, who work so energetically for the strengthening of the military power of France, Poland and Germany (armoured cruisers A and B!), and who shout at the same time about “Red imperialism”, expose themselves hereby not only as accomplices in the war preparations in general but also as participants in the preparations for armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

if it has been ever possible — already before the outbreak of war — to prove that the war is being prepared, and against whom, and also who carries on the preparations with the greatest energy, stubbornness and by the most unscrupulous means, this is being proved now with regard to the preparation of an imperialist war of intervention against the Soviet Union and with regard to the active participation of the leaders of the II. International in regard to these preparations.

But what about the leaders who parade as “Lefts”? These leaders are no less guilty and no less, but even more dangerous than their other companions. They, too, know everything. They, too, are participants in everything. They, too, are responsible for everything! By their fraudulent “left” phraseology, they try to tie the masses to the leadership of Wels, Blum, Vandervelde and Co. All the more infamous their role, all the more dastardly their crime, all the heavier their responsibility.

XI. Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

Speech of Comrade Losovsky in the Discussion on Comrade Manuilsky's Report.

(Conclusion).

Our comrades showed great weakness in connection with the situation in the French mining industry. The offensive of the employers against the miners began long ago, but what was done in connection with this by the Unitarian and the Miners' Federation? Wages in a number of districts (Gard, Aveyron, Loire) were reduced from March 1st. Our Party and the Unitarian Confederation decided that the districts where wages were reduced must not come out on strike at once, but must wait for wage reductions in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais mining districts, and then organise together a strike on a national scale. Of course, a national strike is better than a district strike, but what tactic is this? Why was it necessary to delay the strike in the smaller districts? Did not the employers make a start on purpose with the smaller districts, to test the fighting capacity of our organisations? And you—under the pretext of a national strike—capitulated, and then the employers directed their attack also against the larger districts. This relinquishment of the partial strike is a big political mistake, which resulted in these districts not responding enthusiastically to the national strike, and dropping out of the struggle after a couple of days.

Another mistake is that we are practically following in the wake of the reformists; we declared a strike for the 16th, and subsequently postponed it, owing to the manoeuvres of the reformists, to the 30th. But as the reformists performed another manoeuvre on the eve of March 30, and some of our functionaries imagine that one cannot come out on strike without the reformists, a demonstrative one day strike was declared for the 30th. According to the press, 49% are on strike in the northern districts. If one takes into consideration that this district has been a stronghold of the reformists for a long time, one can say that this is a considerable success. Nevertheless, by an erroneous tactic, inadequate preparation of this strike and inability to carry on an independent policy, we missed the favourable moment for drawing the majority of the French miners into the struggle.

Can one say that we have made real progress in France since the V. Congress? Certainly not. If in some enterprises the fall in the membership of our unions has been put a stop to, and an influx of new members can even be recorded, there is a whole series of federations where the membership continues to fall, and there are also important branches of industry, such as metallurgy, sea transport, railways, which are in a state of stagnation. There is no concentration of forces on the most important branches of

industry, no reorganisation of the whole basic network of organisations. In this connection the inadequate work of the Party Nuclei in the factories is making itself very much felt. That is why I am not inclined to speak about the successes of Unitarian Trade Unions of France.

Enormous shortcomings and weaknesses were noticeable also in the trade unions of the **United States**. Comrade Browder has said that it has been possible to stop the loss of members, and that there has been even a certain increase. But compared with the loss of membership throughout 1930, and taking into consideration the growing unemployment and destitution of the masses, and the frenzied capitalist offensive in the United States, this increase — a couple of thousand new members — is not a great achievement.

What is the fundamental weakness of our American Trade Unions? They do not know how to intervene in the economic struggle of the toiling masses, and when they do intervene, they frequently do it bureaucratically. Our trade unions lack internal life and trade union democracy: every union has the ambition of going in for high politics, instead of concerning itself with the every day needs of the workers. Party leadership consists in the fractional nuclei substituting themselves entirely for the trade unions: the trade union members suddenly hear that since such and such a date not X, but Y is chairman or Secretary of the union. Functionaries are removed and appointed behind the scenes, as if this did not concern the rank and file members, Party and non-Party, organised and even unorganised workers who follow us. Workers to whom membership in revolutionary trade unions is connected with privations, with the risk of losing their jobs, must have faith in their unions, they must know where they are going and whom they are following. One cannot therefore reduce the trade unions to a few officials and circular instructions. Such a trade union cannot grow. A trade union can grow in the midst of struggle, it can grow through the development of trade union democracy, it can grow, if every worker, every member, knows well his elective leading organ; the union will grow, if the leadership will carry every question to the masses. Nothing of this kind is as yet to be seen in the United States, and it is not surprising that the Seamen's and Miners' Unions have lost most of their members.

True, our trade unions participated in a series of strikes since the V. Congress, but nevertheless our mass work is limping

on all its four legs. I would like to be able to record achievements in the United States but this is more than difficult.

A special situation has arisen in the trade unions of China. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, under leadership of Li Li-Hsian who is present here, conceived the following ingenious idea: since there is a revolutionary situation in China, and an uprising must be prepared (first of all, there is not yet a revolutionary situation in the whole of China, and there was no necessity to prepare an uprising in the whole of China!) trade unions are not required. It was decided to do away with the trade unions, and to replace them by committees of action, which were in reality the committees of inaction. This left deviation cost the Chinese trade union movement dearly. It was already in a difficult situation in connection with the appalling terror, and this self-liquidation cut off our Party still more from the masses.

Insofar as we meet from time to time with the ridiculous attempt to set the tasks of armed uprising against the tasks of trade union construction, I want to quote here a short excerpt from Lenin's letter to Gussev in 1905. In 1905 the Odessa Party organisation conceived the idea that during the preparation of an armed uprising, economic struggle and trade union organisations must take a back seat. This is what Lenin wrote to the Odessa comrades:

"The armed uprising is the highest means of political struggle. Its success from the point of view of the proletariat, i. e. the success of the proletarian uprising led by social democracy, and not an uprising of any other kind, requires a broad development of all the sides of the labour movement. Utterly erroneous is therefore the idea of setting the tasks of the uprising against the task of leading the trade union struggle. This degrades, makes small the task of the uprising. Instead of the success and crowning of the labour movement as a whole, one gets some sort of a setting apart of the task of uprising."

What was correct in 1905, is also correct now. China's experiment with regard to doing away with the trade unions owing to the revolutionary situation, is of international significance. That is why the Comintern and R.I.L.U. have severely condemned this left deviation which has done much harm to the Chinese proletariat and to the Chinese revolution.

The weakest point in the work of the Chinese Communist Party has been its non-participation in the economic struggle. Instead of utilising the illegal trade unions for penetration into the masses, it severed this weak connecting belt which kept it in contact with the masses. The group of the Rights took advantage of this mistake, and attacked the party and the Comintern. This group had the majority in the fraction of the Pan China Federation of Labour. The left deviation turned out to be, as usual, of advantage to the Rights. The trade unions had to be re-established. If revolutionary trade unions were not necessary, it stands to reason that it was still less necessary to work in the yellow trade unions. All this happened because Li Li-Hsian and his followers considered the economic struggle as something secondary, as some very low form of the movement, quite below the dignity of great revolutionaries. Either politics or economic struggle, either uprising or strikes, such as Li Li-Hsian's metaphysical reasoning. Here is what Lenin wrote on this subject in 1911, when summing up the struggle of the Russian proletariat in the period of the first revolution:

"Throughout the three years of revolution, we see at every sharpening of the political crisis the upsurge not only of the political, but also of the economic strike struggle. The combination of the two constituted not the weakness but the strength of the movement. The contrary view is the view of the liberal bourgeois which would rather like the workers to participate in politics, provided the broad masses be not drawn into the revolution and into the struggle against the bourgeoisie".

It turns out that the "frightfully left" tactic of Li Li-Hsian was long ago described by Ilyitch as the tactic of a liberal bourgeois.

One thing is clear, namely, that the harm done to the Chinese Labour Movement by this left deviation can be remedied only by a genuine right-about-face of the Party and Red trade unions towards economic struggles, work in the yellow and Comintern trade unions and careful consideration of the necessity to organise the masses on the basis of their everyday demands.

The Comintern and the R.I.L.U. must pay great attention especially now, to the Labour movement in India. At present, when the National Congress has gone over to the side of British imperialism, a real class differentiation has begun in India. The mass demonstrations and strikes are now directed against the Indian bourgeoisie. But the Indian bourgeoisie is loth to give up its position in the working class. Through the National reformists and active trade unionists who represent in India the point of view of the renegade Roy, it brings disintegration into the revolutionary wing of the Labour movement. Owing to the manoeuvres of the National reformists and all sorts of renegades, the militant union of the cotton operatives, Girmi Kamgar, has deteriorated, but on the other hand, we have throughout India an enormous growth of the revolutionary Labour movement and sanguinary collisions in some cities. It is incumbent on the Comintern and R.I.L.U. to pay now the utmost attention to the struggle of the Indian proletariat. We can see the small Communist party steadily growing. Among the toiling masses there is a growth of the revolutionary spirit and revolutionary consciousness. There is now, more than ever before, the necessity of establishing revolutionary trade unions in India, of winning over to our side the workers who are still in the national reformist trade unions. The strikes in Calcutta, Bombay, and on the Great Indian Railway show that neither the national reformists, nor the Kandalkar group are able to get hold of the mass movement.

I have to point out that the support of the Labour movement in India on the part of the R.I.L.U. sections of the large capitalist countries is very inadequate. Very little is done in this direction by the Minority Movement, though it especially should do more than anyone else in this respect. We must help the Indian proletariat by our political and organisational experience. This is just now the most important task confronting the Comintern and R.I.L.U.

A few words about the trade union work in Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has certainly grown and its campaign of February 25 was successful. As far as one can judge, the influence of the Party has grown in this period. Can the same be said regarding the Red trade unions? The growth of the trade unions is extremely slow, and if we were to ask ourselves the question where the chief cause of this disproportion between the political influence of the Party and the numerical weakness of the Red trade unions lies, we would have to go again to the root of things — the inadequate work of the Party and Red trade unions in the factories. The agitational campaigns are not followed up, although the elections to the factory committees are conducted under the banner of the Red trade unions, they leave no organisational trace in our trade unions, economic strikes frequently spring up without us, and this has even given rise to the theory of the usefulness and progressiveness of spontaneous strikes. We were behind with our leadership, there is in our Red trade unions a peculiar intertwining of „left“ mistakes (for instance, relinquishment on principle of the Ghent system) with a Right-opportunist underestimation of the activity and fighting capacity of the masses. The study of the causes of the inadequate development of our red trade unions in Czechoslovakia brings us face to face with the question of trade union democracy, with the life and activity of the basic organs, with the necessity to carry on the work of the Red factory committees and factory and works sections on revolutionary lines. Finally, we come face to face with the complete neglect of work in the reformist and national socialist unions which have still in their ranks hundreds of thousands of workers. All this combined creates a situation in which our unions are hardly making any progress, despite the very favourable objective situation and the growth of the Communist Party, the inspirer, driving force and leader of the revolutionary trade union movement.

We have an extremely peculiar situation in Poland. The Party has become consolidated, it has become stronger politically, despite the appalling terror, it works among the masses. But when it comes to the reorganisation of the work on the basis of the decisions of the Congress, to leadership in the economic struggles, we find a considerable lagging behind the masses.

We have to do in Poland with two very important facts: 1. most of the strikes break out without us, and (2) our influence is greatest in the small and middle industry. It goes without saying that one cannot draw a comparison between the conditions under which the Polish Communist Party has to struggle,

and, let us say, those of the Communist Party of Britain or America. In spite of the severe attacks of the reaction on the revolutionary labour movement in Poland, the Communist Party there has some achievements to its credit with regard to leadership in economic struggles. But nevertheless, we have still in Poland the state of affairs that was mentioned at the V. Congress of the Polish Communist Party, last September: "At the front of economic struggles the Party lags behind the mood of the masses and their activity".

I should like to deal also with the work of the illegal and semi-legal trade unions in the Balkans, in Italy, in Latin America, and in a series of colonial countries, but this would take up too much time. I will merely point out that a very weak spot in our work is **Roumania** which does not only lag behind the trade union movement of Bulgaria where we have an indestructible mass trade union movement, but also behind that of Greece. Rumania is the weakest spot in the Balkans, a question which will have to be separately discussed in the Comintern and the R.I.L.U.

This schematic picture of the state of affairs in the revolutionary trade union movement makes clear to us the defects and weaknesses of our work among the unemployed, and the enormous weaknesses which were revealed on the international day of struggle against unemployment — February 25.

What is our task in the face of the enormous **unemployment**? Our task is to get hold of the movement, and to keep the fascists, social democrats, etc., out of it. To do this, we must create something which will attract every unemployed regardless of his Party membership. Is the form of the organisation of the unemployed in Germany where groups of unemployed are formed in the R.T.U.O., but only of elements who are followers of the R.T.U.O., such an attraction? Why should it be necessary to formally connect the basic organisations of the unemployed with the R.T.U.O.? The formal connection does not give anything, the main thing is not the formal connection, but actual leadership of the movement, daily activity among the unemployed. And it will depend only on the measure of our work among the unemployed, whether they will or will not get away from our influence.

It seems to me that a **formal connection between the unemployed organisations and the trade union opposition or Red trade unions is inexpedient**. Taking into consideration the numerical weakness of the Red trade unions and trade union opposition, it is essential to establish a basic independent network of unemployed organisations, to coordinate them on a town and district scale, to lead these organisations through the fractions, to establish, wherever necessary, provincial and central organisations (on this point I differ from Comrade Pianitzky), and the main thing, to make by their every day work the unemployed organisations **attractive to every unemployed, regardless of what Party he belongs**.

We are behind with the organisation of our work with the unemployed, and the results bear witness of this: can the movement connected with February 25 be considered satisfactory? With the exception of Czechoslovakia, Germany, and partly Poland, February 25 has not produced what we were entitled to expect. Why? Because we used old methods in our work, wishing to squeeze the millions of unemployed into the frame work which already exists in our organisations, being afraid of exhibiting more elasticity in the creation and utilisation of auxiliary organisations.

One cannot, of course, create uniform forms of organisation for all the countries. We must reckon with the peculiarities, the influence, the forces of our organisations, with the forms of association in every country, but we must also understand that we will not be able to solve the question of coordinating the hundreds of thousands and millions of unemployed, if we cling to the old forms of organisation.

The deepening of the crisis and the growth of unemployment have compelled the Second and Amsterdam Internationals to resort to left manoeuvres. The Amsterdam International was offended by the R.I.L.U. Manifesto with regard to left manoeuvres. It tries to explain our action by the wish to sabotage the "Positive" work of the strike breaking International. But that the Amsterdam International reacts in this manner, is a sign that we were not far off the mark when we exposed strike-breaking under the cloak of left phraseology.

In this connection, just one remark regarding the manoeuvring abilities of the parties of the Second International. The "place d'armes" for the manoeuvring abilities of all the parties of the Second International is becoming more and more narrow. Within the bounds of the more narrow "place d'armes", parties of the Second International should be named in the following order: Britain, France, Germany, and Poland, i.e. the weaker the capitalism, the fewer are the manoeuvring possibilities of the sections of the Second International.

What then are the deductions to be drawn from the brief survey of the state of affairs of the R.I.L.U. sections? They are as follows:

(1) Since the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U., we can record small successes in some countries, but these successes are in no way in accord with the enormous demands made on the revolutionary trade union movement by the development and sharpening of the class struggle.

(2) The lagging behind of the R.I.L.U. sections with regard to leadership in economic struggles continues, despite a whole series of new favourable objective possibilities created by the development of the crisis.

(3) Even the sections which grow organisationally, cannot keep pace with the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties, and the disproportion remains.

4. The chief reason of the inadequate growth is our lagging behind with regard to leadership of the economic struggles and the inadequate work in the factories.

5. In our ranks we have not yet fully overcome the idea that economic struggle is impossible during a crisis. Hence, the absolute necessity of stubborn struggle against this idea which is still to be found in our ranks.

6. The slow growth of the R.I.L.U. sections is also due to their conversion, in some countries, into ordinary sub-departments of the Party, which does not improve Party leadership, and weakens considerably the attractiveness of a non-Party organisation for broad strata of workers. It is therefore essential, on the one hand, to strengthen Party leadership through the fractions, and on the other hand, to raise the prestige of the trade Union Opposition and Red Trade Unions as non-Party organisations which co-ordinate workers of all tendencies on the basis of class struggle.

7. In many countries Communist activity in the reaction trade unions is not what it used to be. With regard to countries where mass reformist trade unions exist, (Britain, Germany, USA, etc.) this is very dangerous. In this respect, a ruthless and resolute struggle must be carried on against any attempts to shirk this work.

We lag behind with regard to the organisation of the unemployed. This lagging behind is chiefly due to the fact that we want to squeeze the organisation of the unemployed into the framework of the Red Trade Unions or Trade Union Opposition. Our work among the unemployed must be reorganised without delay. A whole network of independent organisations must be created, and simultaneously, Party leadership in these organisations must be strengthened.

Such are the conclusions at which one arrives on the basis of the daily study of the mass work of the Comintern and R.I.L.U. sections. It can be said that I laid it on too thick, but it is not so. There is no need for us to conceal our organisational weaknesses, if we do so, we will never get rid of them.

The crisis is deepening, the political antagonisms are sharpening, the counter-revolutionary wave against the U.S.S.R. is rising, ever-growing masses are drawn into the class struggle. Now is the time to prove by our work (this is what Lenin said at the II. Congress of the Comintern) that there is no way out of the present world crisis for the ruling classes. **It is precisely now that our lagging behind the mass movement assumes a very dangerous character**. It is now that we must get particularly busy in the factories, that we must give an impetus to our organisational work. It depends on the Comintern and R.I.L.U. sections not only to make it difficult for the bourgeoisie to get out of the crisis, but to influence events with the view to a revolutionary way out of the crisis. At such a moment the Comintern and R.I.L.U. sections are expected to display special elasticity and ability to change slogans in accord with the situation and the changed conditions. This is the most difficult side of the Bolshevik tactic.