

# The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the World Situation

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts — Please reprint

## INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 12 No. 44

UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

6th Oct. 1932

## CORRESPONDENCE

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## Before the Scottsboro Decision.

### The International Fight for the Rescue and Release of the Negro Boys.

By A. Dombrowski (Berlin).

The fight which the workers and intellectuals have been waging throughout the world for the past eighteen months for the release of the Scottsboro Negro boys has entered on a new stage. Under the mass pressure of the workers, which is expressed in powerful demonstrations in front of the American embassies in all countries, the American bourgeoisie have been compelled to allow a review of the trial of the young Negro workers. **The case comes up for review by the United States Supreme Court on October 10.** This is a great success for the work which the International Red Aid has performed in mobilising the masses of workers against lynch-justice.

How strong the mass pressure of the toilers upon the bourgeoisie of America is, is illustrated by a significant statement in a trial against Negro workers in the town of **Camp Hill**. The Public Prosecutor stated: "**We do not want a new Scottsboro case in our country.**" All the accused, who were defended by the Red Aid (International Labour Defence), were acquitted.

Yes, they do not want a second Scottsboro case. For the cry of the millions of workers, from Scottsboro to Sofia, against lynch-justice is still ringing in the ears of the imperialists. The campaign for the release of the Negro boys has in the course of 18 months become a great battle in the class war, in the course of which new strata of toilers and intellectuals in all countries have been mobilised against imperialist oppression, racial incitement and terror, and drawn into the proletarian united front.

Even if all possibilities have not been by a long way utilised in the fight, nevertheless great successes are to be recorded. In the U.S.A., the Red Aid had an extraordinarily favourable objective situation in its work. The numerous strikes, in which large numbers of Negroes have taken part, their participation in the fight for unemployment insurance, provided the Red Aid with the best opportunity for winning these toilers for the Scottsboro fight. In all these cases the Negro toilers have worked side by side with the trade union

members and the members of other workers' organisations. The Scottsboro campaign was linked up with the **fight for the release of Tom Mooney**. The labour federations sent delegates to the Scottsboro Conferences and mass meetings.

Mrs. Ada Wright and Comrade Engdahl were also present as delegates at the Congress of Seamen and Dock workers. A Conference was held at **Paris** attended by 200 delegates from various workers' organisations.

All the Scottsboro boys are under 20 years of age; all are young Negro workers. From their condemned cells they have issued a special appeal to the young workers of the world in which they state.

**"We ask you young people of the working class to save us from being burned in the electric chair. Help us boys, we have not done anything wrong. We are workers the same as you. Only our skin is black."**

The working youth will not permit this appeal to remain unheard. The Young Communist International has issued a special appeal to the youth of the whole world. Youth Conferences have been held in all parts of the United States, with delegates from organisations of white workers and Negroes. Special Youth sections have been formed in the Scottsboro committees. In **Germany**, in **France**, in **Belgium** and other countries, young workers have demonstrated and greatly contributed to stimulate the fight for the release of their black brothers. In Hungary, the youth demonstration for the Scottsboro boys was broken up by the police and 23 young workers were arrested. A big demonstration was organised in Panama by the Communist Youth.

Realising that the condemnation of the Negro boys was an attack on the toilers of America and on the growing unity between the black and white workers, an intensive agitation against colonial imperialism is carried on. In England Mrs. Wright's tour was carried out in connection with the Negro Workers Welfare Association, and the secretary of the English Section of the Red Aid reports that the prestige of the Red Aid has greatly increased among the Negro workers. The terrible oppression under which the colonial slaves of French imperialism suffer was pointed out at all the Scottsboro meetings. Here work was carried out in close co-operation with the League for the Defence of Negro Rights.

In **Belgium**, the mass movement for the release of the Negro boys assumed such proportions that the royal socialist **Vandervelde** was compelled, under the pressure of the masses, to speak at a Scottsboro demonstration. In Holland, meetings were addressed by Negro comrades from Indonesia.

There is no need to emphasise the extraordinary political importance of work among the intellectuals at a moment when the basest demagogic race-incitement and the wildest chauvinism have become rampant among the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. The work of the Workers International Relief and of the numerous Scottsboro committees has succeeded in winning thousands of intellectual workers for the fight against lynch justice and against racial incitement.

In **Germany** **2,000 intellectuals took part in the protest**. In the bourgeois press of **Holland** there appeared an appeal signed by 100 intellectuals, including many famous writers and artists. In the United States, the Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners, headed by the world-famous writer **Theodore Dreiser**, has rendered magnificent service. Not only have manifestoes and protests been adopted, but 800 dollars were collected for the Red Aid. In the Faubourg Club in **Paris** a special meeting was held which was attended by many intellectuals as well as representatives of the middle class. A protest sent from Cuba to Washington was signed by 30 intellectuals. Professor **Einstein** cabled to America on behalf of the Negro boys. The protest of this eminent scientist was published in all bourgeois papers and made a profound impression.

A strong mass agitation for the release of the Negro workers has likewise been carried on **among the women and children of all countries**. Thousands of working women who had never previously heard anything about colonial oppression were induced to attend a political meeting for the first time in order to hear the Scottsboro mother speak. The appeal to fight not only against lynch justice but also against all imperialist oppression met with an enthusiastic response.

It is necessary in the next few days to **increase the mass movement still further, to strengthen the protest**, so as, under the mass pressure of the working class of the whole world, to **enforce the release of the Negro boys**.

## POLITICS

### The Changes in the British National Government.

By R. Bishop (London).

Viscount **Snowden** (Lord Privy Seal), Sir Herbert **Samuel** (Home Secretary) and Sir Archibald **Sinclair** (Secretary of State for Scotland) resigned from the Cabinet at the meeting held on September 28, following a long period of speculation as to what attitude they would take on the Ottawa agreements. It was believed almost until the last that the "agree to differ" agreement entered into by the Cabinet last year when the new tariffs were being imposed would continue, because, as the Government's supporters in the Conservative press pointed out, Ottawa does not imply any change from the attitude at the time of the imposition of tariffs, but is merely a logical continuation of that policy.

The junior Samuelite Liberals having also resigned from the Government, a number of other new appointments have been announced. **Baldwin** has been made Lord Privy Seal in succession to Snowden. He will combine this post with his present office of Lord President of the Council and will only take the one salary.

**Hore-Belisha**, the National Liberal, has been appointed to the post of Financial Secretary to the Treasury where he has succeeded Major Elliott, the new Minister of Agriculture. **Dr. Burgin**, another Simonite Liberal, has been made Secretary to the Board of Trade in succession to Hore-Belisha. The **Earl of Plymouth**, a Tory, is Under Secretary of the Colonies in succession to Sir Robert Hamilton, a Liberal who has resigned. A Tory, Colonel **Headlam** has been appointed Under Secretary to the Ministry of Transport in succession to the Earl of Plymouth, and a Conservative, **R. A. Butler**, succeeds the Liberal Lord Lothian as Under Secretary for India.

The five other vacancies caused by the resignations have also been filled.

The resignations are not resignations based on any fundamental difference between the dissentient Ministers and their colleagues—they are an expression of the intensification of the crisis. The growing unpopularity of the Government and widespread revolt among the Liberal rank and file has forced the hands of the Liberals to the point of resignation. The last straw in this connection was undoubtedly the Cardigan by-election where a Liberal candidate running on an anti-Ottawa ticket romped home with 4571 majority over a National Conservative, leaving the Labour candidate at the bottom of the poll. The Liberals who follow Sir John Simon, and are now practically merged in the Conservative Party, have decided to remain in the Government.

Snowden is an old man. He has always posed as the sea-green incorruptible defender of Free Trade, although being a party to the agree to differ decision of last year. In these circumstances he could not very well stay in a Government from which the other self-styled defenders of Free Trade have been driven by overwhelming pressure of opinion.

How little the resignation means in the way of fundamental opposition to the line pursued by the National Government is shown by the fact that the Liberal dissidents have no intention of pursuing even the normal functions of Parliamentary opposition. They have announced all along that they will support the Government from below the gangway on all matters but tariffs and Ottawa. As the "Manchester Guardian" commented: "There appears to be no precedent for half-and-half opposition of this kind that went on for long."

Whilst the Liberal Ministers have spoken inside Parliament and out against tariffs and Ottawa, they remained inside the Government until tariffs were passed into law. To have resigned at that earlier period might have served to quicken and mobilise the anti-tariff feeling in the country. By staying in the Liberals helped to lull that opposition into quietude. Now that mass feeling is rising against the Government on every score, the Liberals are coming out. For the general reactionary policy of the Government the Liberal Ministers bear their full share of responsibility. **Foot**, the Liberal Minister of Mines and a follower of Samuel, played the leading role in the negotiations which led to the abandonment of the claim for a 7 hours day by the reformist

leaders of the Miners Federation. **Lord Lothian**, another Samuel Liberal, as Under-Secretary for India, has the responsibility with his Tory chief, for the era of brutal suppression in India, and the framing of the humbugging new Constitution which aims at perpetuating the caste and communal differences on the age-old principle of "Divide and Rule".

**Samuel** himself, as Home Secretary, has proved to be one of the most reactionary of modern times. The tightening up of police regulations, numerous steps towards the militarisation of the force and its increasing use against the working class have been his work.

The **Ottawa agreements** which have been made the occasion for the Liberal resignations provide for:

A tax of 2/- per quarter on wheat and grain; 15/- per quarter on foreign butter; 3/- in £ on cheese; 4/6 per cwt. on raw apples; 4/6 per cwt. on raw pears; 3/6 per cwt. on canned apples; 3/- per cwt. on existing duties dried fruit; 1/- and 1/6 on eggs per 100; 5/- per cwt. increase on duty on condensed milk.

In addition there is a meat quota scheme to force up the price of meat.

In connection with the Liberal followers of **Sir John Simon** despite their high-souled speeches, it must be pointed out that they have solid material reasons for staying in. They represent constituencies which can only be held by Liberals if they receive Conservative support. The Samuelites on the other hand represent seats with long-standing Liberal and Free Trade traditions.

The Samuelite Liberals hope to put themselves right with rank and file Liberal opinion by their move. The Liberal Party has drawn its support from large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and manufacturers who **rely upon the export trade**, as well as from some strata of the more backward elements of the working class. All these have been hit by tariffs.

But the Liberal Party in Parliament will continue to support the attacks on the social services and the unemployed. It will continue to support the wage-cut offensive in a variety of industries. It will support the intensification of police terrorism against the workers at home, and increased imperialist terror in the colonies. The Foreign policy of the Government, its war-making plans, have had the heartiest backing from the self-same Ministers and their followers who are now posing as self-sacrificing martyrs.

**Snowden** has reached his life's ambition. He is now a Peer of the Realm, a Member of the House of Lords. Better for him to retire from office in a fighting pose rather than wait to be dropped as a senile has been. He can see the growing discrediting of the National Government and the mass revolt against it. Snowden will retire with his bourgeois honours thick upon him. It is in line with his whole career that he should now make this gesture.

The Liberal Party and the Labour Party will now talk in the two Houses of Parliament of their determination to fight tariffs and food taxes. But they will both do their damndest to stifle any mass movement of the workers against them, just as they have united with the Government to stifle revolt against the Means Test, and to baton down the masses of demonstrating workers.

The **National Labour group** have issued a statement of continued support for the Government. They say:

"The difficulties of the situation, both at home and abroad, are so great that a return to the old system of partisan Government and of embittered party warfare would gravely prejudice the national interest and be contrary to the national will."

The National Labour group express regret that a breach should have occurred through "a revival of the fiscal controversy that is entirely out of date."

**Runciman**, the President of the Board of Trade, also a Liberal, has issued a statement in which he prates of the "great gains" Britain will secure from Ottawa.

What emerges most clearly from the statement issued by the seceding Liberal Ministers is that a primary point in the Ottawa agreement, is a **breach with the Soviet Union**. In their statement they say:

"A condition imposed upon our delegation in the last stages of the conference will require that immediate notice shall be given to terminate our present trade agreement with Russia.

"Whether we shall be able to enter into any more satisfactory agreement is necessarily uncertain. If not, a further blow will have been struck at our export trade, with a further increase in the number of unemployed."

That the Liberals will do nothing to impede the general reactionary policy of the Government is also clearly shown in the same document issued by the dissentient Liberals, where they say:

"We shall, of course, lend our assistance to the Government in carrying out all those policies with regard to which, we are happy to remember, no differences have arisen."

There has been no Cabinet Crisis, in the sense of fundamental divisions in their ranks on questions of policy. But the split and the changes that have taken place are indicative of the intensification of the crisis and reflect the growing bitterness of the detestation in which the Government and its every action is held by large, and ever increasing masses of workers, small shopkeepers and others who are suffering from the effects of the tariffs imposed by the Government and its actions in every sphere.

## The Government of the „Strong Hand“ in Hungary.

By Gal (Budapest).

The government crisis in Hungary, which arose with the resignation of Count Julius Karoly, was temporarily solved by the appointment of **Gömbös**, the Minister for War, as Prime Minister.

The press describes the Gömbös Government as a government of the "strong hand". This means that the new government will increase still further the bloody terror against the toiling masses, against the revolutionary movement and against the Communist Party. Gömbös is the most suitable person to play the role of fascist hangman and murderer of workers. After the overthrow of the celebrated Hungarian Soviet Republic, Gömbös played a leading role in organising the white terror. He caused hundreds of proletarians and working peasants to be murdered or maimed for life, and committed more than one murder himself. This man is the present Prime Minister, "Horthy's best officer", his bosom friend.

When, 11 years ago, Stephan Bethlen set to work to consolidate the white terror and organisationally develop the fascist dictatorship he had the assistance of Gömbös (who had been promoted from Major to General) first as State secretary in the War Ministry and then as Minister, in carrying out his task. He carried out the elections with open voting and secured for Bethlen the Parliamentary majority. Also as member of the Bethlen Government Gömbös maintained constant contact with the secret terrorist organisations in Hungary and abroad.

The composition of the new government also shows that the Horthy people are preparing for an increased campaign against the steadily growing revolutionary movement. Of the old government, **Keretes-Fischer**, (member of the secret counter-revolutionary organisation "Blood Alliance of the Double Cross" to which Horthy and Gömbös also belong, and organiser of the bloody special tribunal) remains Minister of the Interior. The Minister for Justice in the new Government is Gömbös' best friend, his former State Secretary.

In spite of all this, no single leading section of the Hungarian capitalist class is entirely in agreement with the appointment of Gömbös as Prime Minister. This, of course, is not due to the outspokenly fascist, anti-working class character of the Government, but to other circumstances.

The new Government is nothing else but a Cabinet of officials; all the Ministers come from the ranks of the State bureaucracy. The State bureaucracy have taken advantage of the antagonisms between industrial, banking and agrarian capital in connection with the government crisis in order considerably to increase their influence within the fascist dictatorship of finance-capital. This action is agreeable neither to industrial capital nor banking capital. It renders it difficult to cut down the over inflated State bureaucracy, which swallows more than 51 per cent. of the outgoings, and to balance the budget. The social demagogy employed by Gömbös and his consorts for the purpose of maintaining and extending their present mass basis is regarded by the capitalist groups as being against their interests and dangerous. The

"Pester Lloyd", in its issue dealing with the appointment of the new Government, specially points out that Tyler, the representative of the Finance Commission of the League of Nations in Hungary, "draws attention in his report to the danger which will arise as a result of the protection of certain groups of agricultural debtors". The paper points to the considerable reduction of State expenditure demanded by Tyler.

These capitalist groups consider the Gömbös Government to be unsuitable also from the foreign-political standpoint. Gömbös is the most outstanding representative of the sabre-rattling revision policy of Hungarian fascism, and his appointment as Prime Minister arouses complete mistrust in the countries of the Little Entente and in France. This renders difficult the development of commercial relations with neighbouring countries and a favourable settlement of the amortisation of the 4,000 million foreign debt. The attitude of industrial and banking capital to the Gömbös Cabinet is also illustrated by the fact that not a single representative of these capitalist groups has declared himself ready to take over a ministerial post.

The agrarian wing of the Unity Party, which brought about the overthrow of Karoly, is dissatisfied because Gömbös intended to form the Government without consulting this party and because he entered into negotiations with the agrarian opposition. The differences between Gömbös and the Unity Party were settled by Bethlen, upon whose intervention Gömbös took three representatives of the Unity Party into the Government. Although Gömbös was for several years without interruption a member of the Bethlen Government, he is not yet unconditionally supported by the leaders of the Unity Party.

Bethlen knows that Horthy is behind Gömbös. Horthy insisted on the appointment of Gömbös; he gave him more far-reaching powers than he ever granted to Karoly. It was Horthy who, last year, when Bethlen resigned, insisted that Gömbös should remain. Horthy's confidence in Gömbös is not only due to the fact that they both come from the same petty nobility. It was Gömbös who, at the time of the attempted putsch by ex-king Karl, saved Horthy's rule and caused Karl's troops to be fired on. This circumstance distinguishes Gömbös from the legitimist aristocratic big land-owners. This is the reason why the christian small farmers' party, which is also under legitimist leadership and hitherto supported the Government, only adopts an attitude of "benevolent" neutrality to the Government.

Gömbös himself feels that the parties at present supporting the Government do not constitute for him a firm Parliamentary basis. For this reason he requested far-reaching powers of Horthy. For this same reason he also wants to reorganise the Unity Party and to maintain connection with the agrarian opposition, the open fascist wing of the party of Gaston Gal. For this reason he is seeking, by means of social and national demagogy, to acquire a certain mass basis for himself and the system of the fascist dictatorship.

On the occasion of the formation of the Gömbös Government the social democratic party addressed an appeal to the opposition parties summoning them to a common "fight" against the "system". Whilst the social democratic party wish to act together with the fascist sham-oppositional parties, they are commencing a campaign of annihilation against the revolutionary labour movement, against the Communist Party. The social fascist leaders want to show that they can fight better and with more success than Gömbös against the revolutionary proletariat. They want to prove their fitness to govern, their right to one or two portfolios in an eventual concentration government. Therefore they announce together with the rest of the bourgeois parties, a common Parliamentary "fight", from which the working class is excluded. For the same reason they stoop to the lowest depths in their incitement against and denunciation of the Communist Party and also the trade union opposition.

All this, however is unable to stop the fight of the Hungarian toilers for freedom. The revolutionary movement of the Hungarian proletariat is making headway in spite of the bloody terror of the Gömbös Government, in spite of gallows and prisons, in spite of the treachery of the social democracy and their role of hangmen's assistant. This is proved by the recent strike struggles and demonstrations.

## Increasing Misery—Intensified Oppression in Finland.

By N. D. (Stockholm).

In the last few weeks the bourgeois press of Finland has been attempting to spread the belief that the country will soon experience a new economic revival. The director of the national bank declared recently that we shall shortly experience a definite economic boom. The official statistics, however, show that these optimistic predictions are empty talk. They are based mainly a certain increase in exports at the beginning of the year. But this increase was only brought about by ruthless dumping measures, for which the government granted huge sums in the form of export premiums.

Exports are again declining. Thus the export of timber declined to 863,000 cubic metres in the first half of 1932 as against 967,000 cubic metres in the first half of last year. Thus the Prime Minister Sunila had every reason for declaring in his report to the Parliamentary deputies that there has been no improvement in the economic situation, but on the contrary further difficulties are to be observed.

In agriculture the intensification of the crisis is expressed still more plainly in the growing number of forced sales. These forced sales amounted this year on an average to 211 a month as against 137 a month last year. Unemployment has increased 100 per cent as compared with 1931. Thus the poor law authorities in Helsingfors report that the number of applicants for relief has increased this year to 34,000, as compared with 17,300 last year.

The property tax has been considerably reduced, the big landowners and the industrialists have received fresh subventions from the State, but the indirect taxes, which fall mainly on the shoulders of the working population, were increased this year by a further 102,425,000 marks. Together with the revenue from the customs duties, which are likewise paid by the broad masses, the indirect taxes accounted for 71 per cent of the State revenue. Expenditure on education has been reduced by a further 18 million marks, while expenditure on national defence has been reduced by only 766,000 marks, that is to say, armaments against the neighbouring workers and peasants State are to be continued undiminished at the cost of the starving masses.

According to the Government report, the intensified fascist terror, the result of a compromise concluded last Spring with the insurgent Lappo bandits, is to be maintained. For this purpose the Government obtained a carte blanche, for which all parties in Parliament voted (as is known since 1930 the Communists have been forcibly excluded from Parliament).

The representatives of all parties, from the Lappo fascists to the social democrats, praised the Government in the highest terms "because they had maintained law and order in the country". Tanner, the leader of the social democratic fraction, expressly stated that "the Government would enjoy the support of his party and that the social democrats would also vote for proceeding to the next business in order not to give the Government the slightest pretext for being dissatisfied with Parliament".

The Government are fully aware that in the coming Winter they will have to reckon with the growing resistance of the workers against the terror and the starvation regime. They have adopted various measures in order to crush this resistance; they have provided the police in the capital town with armoured cars for dealing with street rioting. The sharpening of the situation is also expressed in the increased activity of the class courts. Thus in the first half of September the court in Abo alone passed sentences on revolutionary workers and peasants amounting to 90 years imprisonment. In four "Communist trials", 7 of the accused were sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment. Among the condemned were also three women.

The Swedish Section of the International Red Aid has commenced a comprehensive solidarity action on behalf of the political prisoners in Lappo Finland.

## THE BALKANS

### The Communist Election Victory in Greece.

By Kostas Grypos (Athens).

Never before in Greece have elections been carried out under conditions of such terror against the working masses as in the Parliamentary elections which took place on September 25 last. The oppressive measures which during the preceding period of four years were the usual methods of Venizelos, were tremendously intensified on the eve of the elections. Thousands of proletarian fighters are in prison or banished. The delivery of the Communist press through the post is prohibited, so that large districts of the country are without any Communist paper. Most of the 106 candidates of the **united front of the workers and peasants**, led by the Communist Party, were arrested.

The central committee and many local election committees were arrested on the charge of "high treason" on account of the slogan "Right of self-determination for the Macedonian people up to complete separation", and the Communist central organ in Athens and the district organ in Salonica were persecuted. Special permission had to be obtained from the local authorities in order to hold any election meeting. In many districts, chiefly in the agrarian districts where the influence of the Communist Party is relatively weak, participation in the election was rendered almost impossible by the prevailing terror. In Macedonia, the fascist bands on the day of the election closed and partly plundered the election committee rooms of the Communists. The Communist election helpers at the polling booths were all arrested and detained for 24 hours.

All this did not prevent the Communist Party from carrying on a magnificent agitation before the election. **Over 130,000 working people were mobilised under the Party flag.** The terror in Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly collapsed as a result of the resistance of the masses. In these provinces the Communist Party mobilised larger masses than any bourgeois party. Also in Athens and Piraeus thousands of working people took part in the big legal meetings and in the illegal street demonstrations. The working youth actively participated in the election agitation; they put forward four of their own candidates. Many quite rural districts, especially in Thessaly, Mytilene, Macedonia and Thrace, took an active part in the fight. The agrarian party, whose programme is indistinguishable from that of Venizelos, was compelled to come before the peasants with a demagogic Communist mask and declare: "When we seize power we will bring Communism".

The final results of the elections are as follows: Liberal party (Venizelos) 102 seats, formerly 218; Monarchist People's party (Saldaris) 96, formerly 16; Progressive party (Kafendari) 15, formerly 3; Communist Party 10, formerly none, and, a senator returned in Thessaly; the agrarian party 10; the "peasants and workers" party (Papanastassiou) 6, formerly 18; the national radical party 5 and the other parties 6. The complete figures of the votes cast for each party are not yet known. It is certain, however, that the Communist Party of Greece, under conditions of frightful terror, has increased its poll **2½-fold** compared with the last election in August 1929. It has thereby polled the highest vote in the history of the Party and sent its representatives into Parliament and the Senate; a thing it was unable to do at the last election. But the most characteristic feature of this election is that the Communist Party has achieved the position of **third or second**, and in some cases even **first**, party in nearly all the proletarian districts which are of great importance in the political and economic life of the country. Thus it has advanced to the third party in the capital town of Athens with over 7000 votes and two seats, as third party in Salonica with over 7000 votes and three seats. It has won half of the total votes of the Jewish nationality of Salonica and captured one of the two Jewish seats.

Characteristic of the turn of the masses to Communism is the collapse of the Republican party of Papanastassiou, which was able to retain only six seats. In order to catch votes, Papanastassiou recently changed the name of his party from Republican Union to "workers and peasants party". The agrarian party suffered a similar collapse. It had, on the

one hand, actively supported all the measures of Venizelos against the poor peasants, on the other hand, however, it came before the various strata and categories of the peasants with a number of mutually, contradictory programmes and demands. But with all this demagoguery it was unable to return more than 10 candidates, of whom several have already announced their allegiance to Tsaldaris and Kafandaris, so that it is very questionable whether the party will be able to form a Parliamentary fraction.

The rest of the Republican parties have suffered a severe defeat. Not even the Republican leaders Kondylios and Zavitsanos have been elected. The leaders of the reformist trade unions, who months ago founded a "socialist" party, ran their candidates on the lists of the Papanastassiou party, the agrarian party, and in Salonica even on Venizelos' party. In spite of this they did not obtain a single seat.

Whilst in the proletarian and progressive districts of North Greece and Thessaly the Communist Party has become the most important factor after the Venizelos party, in the backward, mainly agrarian, districts of Peloponnes, Epirus, Rumeli and the islands, the monarchists received nearly all the votes of the masses who are disappointed in Venizelos.

The big success of the Communist Party is to be appreciated all the more as for two years it was torn by factionist struggles, and it was only a short time ago, with the active support of the Communist International, that it obtained a united leadership and was able to liquidate factionalism. The recent even more splendid election success of the Communist Party of Bulgaria shows, together with the election success of the Greek party, the rapid turn of the oppressed working population of the Balkans to Communism.

## FASCISM

### The Fascist Offensive and the Anti-Fascist Action in Austria.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

The grand rally of the Austrian Nazis, and therewith their long announced and prepared "Autumn offensive", is at an end. The result is characterised not only by the bloody heads which the Nazis received when encountering the determined resistance of the Austrian workers. Of essential importance is the form which this resistance assumed.

The intention of the Nazis to bring Hitler to Vienna aroused a storm of indignation among the workers. The slogans of the Anti-fascist Action were taken up more and more by the masses. In all localities anti-fascist committees were founded, in which Communists, social democrats and non-party workers sat together. The meetings held by the Antifa were crowded. The great demonstration attended by 10,000 in the Engelmann Sports arena on September 4, was an imposing review in this first phase of the anti-fascist defence action.

This more than sufficed to convince the Nazis that the Vienna workers would not allow Hitler to appear in Vienna with impunity. The Nazis sounded a retreat. The Austrian national socialist party Congress was abandoned. Hitler did not come.

The Austrian workers did not rest content with repelling this provocation. They opposed the Nazi bands with increasing determination wherever they ventured to show themselves. There followed the fights in Graz, Leoben, Hallein, Bruck and in many other Austrian towns, where the fascists everywhere came off second best.

Under these circumstances Goebbels' meeting, which took place on September 18 in the same Engelmann's sport-arena in which two weeks previously the anti-fascist action had mobilised the masses for the fight against fascism, resulted in a miserable fiasco. In a town in which in April, at the municipal elections, the Nazis had polled 201,000 votes, they only managed to bring a few hundred men to receive Goebbels at the railway station, scarcely 10,000 to the Goebbels' demonstration and a further 1000 for a very superfluous parallel meeting, and finally only 22 came to see their hero off at the railway station in the evening.

However, the Vienna workers were also this time to the fore.

In the working class district of Hernald, in which Göbbels' meeting took place, the anti-fascist action had summoned the workers to a "red rally", which summons the workers followed in masses regardless of party. Groups of provocative Nazis were beaten up and a display of the German Gymnastic association was broken up as it was regarded as a piece of Nazi propaganda. On the same day, in the Leopoldstadt district of Vienna, a group of Nazis were so severely beaten up by social democratic workers that two of them had to be conveyed to the hospital with considerable injuries.

In order to make up for these setbacks the Nazis announced a great Vienna rally to take place at the end of September. The Vienna Nazi leader **Frauenfeld** boastfully declared that the streets of the town would be brown with the uniforms of the whole of the national socialists of Vienna.

The anti-fascist action, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Austria, replied to this by calling an Anti-Fascist Week to coincide with the Nazi rally.

The social democratic party Central Committee issued a manifesto in which they stated that they could not forbid the Nazis to go about the streets with brown shirts and the swastika badge, but the Republican Defence Corps and the members of the Socialist Jungfront, as also of the socialist Youth, were called upon to wear uniforms and blue shirts and the other comrades to wear the badge of the Iron Front (three arrows), during the Nazi rally. In addition, a big mass demonstration against the fascists was announced.

This "mass demonstration" took the form of five meetings in the courts of the Vienna municipal dwellings, the main

object of which was to keep the workers off the streets precisely at the time for which the Nazis had announced their provocations. If the social democratic leaders hoped by these slogans to satisfy the workers and to hold them back from the fight against the fascists, they were disappointed. When the fascists attacked the workers with weapons, they were paid back in kind. It came to street fightings during which shots were exchanged on both sides.

The police openly sided with the fascists. When some hundreds of Nazis, out of revenge for a beating up they had received, tried to force their way into the "Trade Union House" in Königsegg-Gasse, in which a number of smaller trade unions have their offices, they were ejected by some members of the Republican Defence Corps. The police, who were then called up, placed themselves of the disposal of the Nazis, and fascists and police together attacked the Trade Union House with drawn revolvers and searched the premises for weapons.

In summing up the result of the Nazi rally we can say that it ended with a complete failure for the fascists. Even the christian socialist "Reichspost" states: "The intention of the national socialists to give the town of Vienna the stamp of a brown town has failed." But not only that. This Nazi rally was the baptism of fire of the Anti-Fascist action in Austria. It has stood the test. And the attitude of the social democratic party, which at first avoided any fight and then attempted to seize the leadership in order to divert it into harmless channels, has taught thousands of social democratic workers to fight in the red united front with the Communist workers against fascism.

## **International Strike Movement**

# **The Strike Wave in Germany is Still Rising.**

**By B. Steinemann (Berlin).**

On October 1st the traffic workers on the Hamburg tramways and underground railway, the busmen and the Alster Steamboatmen went on strike. The underground railway management, which is under the control of the Finance Committee of the Hamburg Senate, demanded direct wage reductions as well as indirect reductions by means of a shortening of hours without wage compensations. The State Arbitrator pronounced an award according to which wages are to be reduced by 5 per cent from 1st of October. At the same time the working hours were to be reduced from 48 to 44 hours a week, which meant a further wage reduction of 8.3 per cent. Thus wages were to be reduced by 13.3 per cent.

The social democratic trade union bureaucracy, who right from the outset were in touch with the Senate, half of the members of which are social democrats, were also right from the beginning for the wage reduction by means of a shortening of hours, and in addition also for the direct wage reduction. The indignation of the traffic workers, however, against the wage cuts was greater than the trade union bureaucracy had imagined. The victories which have been achieved in other enterprises in Hamburg and in Germany in general served further to encourage and radicalise the traffic workers. The trade union bureaucracy did not venture, in view of the mood of the workers, simply to decree the acceptance of the arbitration award. The vote on the strike resulted, in round figures, in 4000 for and, only 200 votes against. Together with the unorganised workers the number of strikers amounts to 6000. The most important means of communication in this town with a million population, are completely at a standstill.

The strike wave set in two weeks ago in the smaller and middle enterprises where the employers commenced their attack in the hope of meeting less resistance. The strikes in the factories employing 60 workers were followed by strikes in enterprises employing 600 workers, as for instance in the Yarn factory Berlin-Zehlendorf, the firm of Göritz in Chemnitz, Alexander works in Remscheid. And a few days ago over 2000 workers employed by the firm of Kempinsky, restaurant proprietors, by threat of a strike, compelled the firm to withdraw a wage cut.

On October 1, 3000 seamen and fishermen employed by the steam trawler companies in the North Sea and the Baltic went on strike under the leadership of the Red Trade Union Opposition. At the same time the 6000 traffic workers in Hamburg went on strike. The strike wave is beginning to assume larger dimensions to spread to the bigger enterprises and advance to a higher stage.

The Hamburg strike (although here, as also in the case of the seamen, the wage reduction was not undertaken on the basis of the emergency order) emphasises the political aspect of the strike movement. The bourgeoisie and the Reichs Government are following the strike movement with growing concern. The bourgeois Berlin "**Zwölf-Uhr Blatt**" rightly describes the situation when it writes:

"It is feared that in the event of a strike-prohibition, these partial strikes could degenerate into a general strike movement. . . For this reason there is a disinclination in government circles to issue a strike-prohibition. It is believed that before long it will be possible, with the support of the trade unions, to avert strikes."

The "**Berliner Börsenzeitung**", which is in close touch with the Papen government, writes:

"From the recognition of the political character of these strikes as a combating of the decree of the Reichs Government, there follows the political conclusion: no government can permit its measures for an energetic and definite combating of the enormous unemployment, to be sabotaged for political reasons or for the purpose of 'election tactics'."

The bourgeoisie cannot now allow the social democratic party bureaucracy too much room for election manoeuvres, they demand of the trade union leaders that they openly combat strikes. It is in this sense that the significant statement of the "**Kölnische Zeitung**", the organ of big industry, is to be understood. In its issue of September 30 it writes:

" . . . Increased attention to the developments in the next few days is necessary. This movement is still at its commencement. The government programme requires the aid and co-operation of all who aim to improve our economic situation. At the same time criticism of minor

details is permissible. The trade unions do not feel responsible for the government programme . . . Perhaps a way can be found to include them in this responsibility and co-operation . . . Should, however, the trade unions decline such responsibility, then it is the task of the Government to make the position clear regarding the carrying out of their emergency decree. Then they will have definitely to face up to the question of a **strike prohibition** which, it is said, had already been raised in the Cabinet."

The trade union bureaucrats do not even dream of sabotaging the Papen programme and the emergency order. The A.D.G.B. has now expressly stated (Abend-"Vorwärts" of September 27) that the strike movement against wage cuts is not directed against the whole of Papen's plan, and that it is in favour of a wage reduction in the form of a reduction of working hours to 40 without wage compensations. There are already rumours of conversations between the Government and the representatives of the A.D.G.B. More important than the rumours are the facts which express the increased sabotage and combating of the strikes by the trade union bureaucracy. We cite a few of these facts: In the Hamburg transport workers' strike the Senate declared that they would employ the Technische Nothilfe (strike-breaking organisation) on a part of the Underground railway. The trade union bureaucracy did not reply to this challenge with intensified struggle, but called upon the workers to resume work on the part of the railway in question. In Weissenfels, where the bootmakers' strike ended with a complete victory for the workers, with the withdrawal of the wage reductions and the abandonment of victimisation, the trade union bureaucracy, in the agreement with the employers' federation assented to a clause which leaves it open to the employers to appeal to the Courts and thus bring about a wage cut and a strike prohibition. The trade union bureaucracy, the social democratic chairman of the factory council, together with the head of the Nazi nucleus, throttled the strike in the Scherl printing works in Berlin. The workers return to work under unheard-of conditions. Negotiations will commence regarding wages after resumption of work; there is to be no victimisation, but at the same time the firm refuses to dismiss strike breakers. This calling off of the strike at Scherl is a severe blow dealt by the trade union bureaucracy to the strike movement.

With the further development of the strike movement the Red Trade Union Opposition is coming more and more to the front. The strike of the fishermen is under the leadership of the red unity union. The strike of the Kohlsdorf textile mill in Russdorf (Saxony), carried out under the leadership of the Red textile workers' union, resulted in a complete success. The victorious strike in the Pannier shoe works in Cleve, Rhineland, as well as many other struggles, were under the leadership of the Red Trade Union Opposition.

## The Big Strike of the Oil Workers in Western Ukrainia.

By H. K. (Lemberg).

During the last few months the Western Ukraine has witnessed a considerable rise of the revolutionary wave both in town and country. After the big strike of the municipal workers numbering 10,000 in Lemberg, we have to record a fresh big class battle fought by 15,000 oil workers against the oil capitalists. This strike, which lasted three weeks, means the raising of the class struggle in Western Ukrainia to a higher level.

The oil wells in West Ukrainia form the most important industrial centre. Whilst in West Ukrainia the whole of the timber, metal industry etc. is almost dead owing to the economic crisis, the occupation and colonial policy of the fascist government, the oil industry is still in a fairly good position. This is to be understood when we remember the war character of the oil industry and the importance of oil in connection with the preparations for the approaching imperialist war.

The past year was a year of uninterrupted offensive by the oil barons against the oil workers. Between 1931 and Spring of 1932, the real wages of the workers were reduced, by direct and indirect means, by 25 per cent. In addition, there were continual dismissals, murderous rationalisation and short time. These are the further most important, but not

all the forms of the offensive of capital. Half of the oil workers are unemployed. The exploitation of the workers still employed is increased by means of rationalisation.

This offensive of capital was carried out with the aid of the social-fascist trade union bureaucrats. It was they who, by negotiating with the oil barons, fixed the new conditions of work and pay, which mean for the workers a descent into the abyss of misery. It was they who used every means in order to hold back the workers from the fight. The capitalists, however, were not yet satisfied with the results of the attacks hitherto.

In the Summer the employers' association terminated the collective agreement concluded in the year 1922. At the same time a 26 per cent wage cut and shortening of holidays was announced.

A ferment, however, commenced among the working masses. The strike slogan went from mouth to mouth.

In the face of this ferment the leaders of the P.P.S. and of the central union of the mine workers (G.Z.G.) were compelled to proclaim a strike. The fascist trade union (Z.Z.Z.) also announced its entry into the strike.

The P.P.S. has once again shown its manoeuvring capacity. Its aim was not to permit the strike to be called. As soon, however, as it saw that the strike was inevitable, it proclaimed a strike in order to place itself at the head, to get the leadership into its hands and to throttle it. The P.P.S. applied this method not only in the strike of the oil workers; it is a tactic which it has applied on a large scale in the recent strike struggles. In addition, during the strike of the oil workers, it made use of another trick which is characteristic of the latest methods of the P.P.S. In a number of refineries in Drohobycz the P.P.S. set up strike committees as they knew how popular these are among the working masses.

On the 11th day of the strike negotiations commenced with the employers in Lemberg, at which delegations comprising an overwhelming majority of social fascist and fascist nominees took part. The lackeys of the employers soon found a basis of understanding, of course at the cost of the workers. A 10 per cent. wage cut—that is the result of the work of the agents of the bourgeoisie. This is all the capitalists wanted—they only announced a bigger wage cut in order to facilitate the task of the social fascists.

In the meantime, while negotiations were proceeding, the ferment and the militant spirit of the masses increased still more. At a meeting in **Boryslav**, attended by 4000 workers, the P.P.S. speakers were shouted down, spat upon and then driven out. The opposition speakers of the Red Trade Union Opposition, on the other hand, were greeted with enthusiasm. At this moment the meeting was dispersed by the police. The same thing happened at a meeting in **Drohobycz**.

The course of the strike in the Polmin State undertaking, hitherto a stronghold of the fascist union Z.Z.Z., was very characteristic. In spite of the strike-breaking attempts of the leaders of the Z.Z.Z., the workers went on strike and drove away the strike-breakers. On the 18th day of the strike, 200 women gathered in front of the Polmin works and put the strike-breakers to flight. When the police approached, the women threw themselves in the way of the police autos. When the P.P.S. attempted to break the solidarity and the united front of all workers by concluding a special agreement with the owners of the small and middle enterprises, the workers in these enterprises answered with a further strike. In this way the perfidious trick of the P.P.S., who thought they could drive a wedge between the workers in the smaller and middle enterprises and those in the larger enterprises, was frustrated.

The last days of the strike were characterised by increased tenacity on the part of the masses and increased mistrust towards the reformist leaders. This is expressed in the decision adopted on the motion of the opposition to intensify the strike, in the enthusiastic reception received by the delegate of the opposition, who left the negotiations in Lemberg when he saw that they would only lead to a betrayal of the interests of the workers. The representatives of the Opposition withdrew from the strike committees and called upon the workers to elect new militant committees. There existed no doubt that the leadership of the strike would pass from the hands of the P.P.S. into the hands of the R.T.U.O. At this moment the P.P.S. concluded the bargaining and announced the 10 per cent. wage reduction as a victory, and called upon the workers to resume work. Among the workers there prevailed great indignation which was expressed in the

fact that a part of the workers refused for some days to return to work. How great was this indignation was also proved by the attitude of the fascist Z.Z.Z., who also wished to make capital out of this affair. They announced everywhere that they did not approve of the new agreement as it meant a worsening of the position of the workers. At the same time, however, they warned the workers against continuing the strike as this was "harmful to the State".

The Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. won great popularity during the strike. The workers realise that only the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. can and will lead the workers to fight and victory.

The strike of the oil workers is a big blow against Polish fascism and a step on the road to the decisive fight for power.

## The American Farmers Strike Against Starvation.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

After the unemployed workers, the miners, and the war veterans marches, come the farmers. They are marching and picketing in a number of states in the middle west, long known as the most prosperous agricultural region in the world. The chronic farm crisis of the past dozen years, intensified by the general economic crisis, and the propaganda of the Left wing **United Farmers League** and the **Communist Party**, have at last resulted in a mass strike and boycott of the market. Its immediate purpose is to bring higher prices for grain, dairy products, livestock, etc. The farmers do not ask much—merely that they receive prices equal to the cost of production.

During the spring the Iowa Farmers Union began discussing a "farmers' holiday". That is the cautious way in which they wish to indicate a withholding from the market of products. Among workers it would correspond to a Ghandist strike whereby the workers would stay at home, do no picketing nor interfere with scabs and pray for victory. Agitation for this defeatist programme of the reactionary leaders of the farmers' organisations continued throughout the summer, with signing of petitions, much talk, etc. It was based upon a "bank holiday" which the banks had declared illegally, but with the permission of the authorities; they closed down, preventing all withdrawals, and even preventing those farmers who still could pay taxes and interest from doing so. On August 8 a 30-day holiday "strike" was declared, but its first week was completely ineffective. During the second week militant mass picketing was begun by the dairy farmers of northwestern Iowa in an effort to keep their products out of Sioux City, the chief city in that part of the state.

As to the economic background of the strike, these farmers were getting \$2.50 for a fattened hog into which they had put more than twice that amount of feed alone. Many got a statement that they owed money for freight, commission etc. after "selling" the animal. The demands of the strike were 92 cents a bushel for corn; on August 8 they were getting 22 cents; 49 cents as against 11 for oats; 35 for eggs as compared with 15 cents; 62 and 18 cents respectively per pound of butter fat. Similarly with wheat, milk, barley, chickens, etc. Even the reactionary N. Y. Times correspondent from that section of the country, R. M. Jones, had to admit that they were trying to repay with 20 cent corn and 4 cent hogs money borrowed on an income standard of 60 cent corn and 10 cent hogs; that it is under such conditions that "the pinch comes".

The rank and file of the farmers, under militant influence in many sections, set out to make their strike effective by simply stopping produce from entering the cities. Armed with guns, clubs and rocks, stretching log-chains across the road, puncturing tires with pitchforks, tearing out the ignition systems, cracking automobile windshields, turning their cars sideways to block the road, they either forced trucks to turn back or dumped their contents into the road. Where deputy sheriffs and armed thugs tried to convoy scab trucks through picket lines, there were clashes, and as often as not the scab guards were sent to the hospital.

In **Sioux City** on Aug. 17 some 500 farmers stoned the stockyards, battling the police and special deputies and dispersing only after a sharp fight. By the 19th receipts of livestock in that city were cut to half, and along two roads the number of trucks with produce dropped from 200 to 2 in 24 hours. At Emerson, Nebraska pickets stopped freight cars,

releasing the animals. In **Sioux City** they stopped two milk trains, but on the advice of their leaders let them continue. The federal authorities threatened prosecution, charging interference with interstate commerce and violation of the "anti-trust" laws.

Sixty special deputies clubbed and arrested 24 pickets near **Sioux City** but later 500 farmers ambushed the deputies, stoning them and injuring a number. In **Cherokee County** deputized thugs gassed and shot 14 pickets. On another occasion 50 deputies attacked 300 pickets and 11 of the former were sent to the hospital. A number of times farmers numbering as many as 1,000 forced the release of jailed pickets by threatening to storm the prison. Demonstrations were held in which 10,000 and 15,000 farmers participated. Jones, in an article in the N. Y. Times on September 18, admitted,

"If the farmers' strike is to continue it will not be by 'lawful voluntary co-operation', but by a resumption of picketing . . . Picketing, however, is fruitless save where it is carried out to the extent of a market blockade by force or the threat of force".

The leaders of the strike thought otherwise, however. **Milo Reno**, national leader of the holiday movement, ordered a 9-day truce at the end of August, but militant picketing continued in Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota. On Sept. 7, over 500 pickets repulsed 100 deputies trying to escort 22 trucks and turned the trucks back. Yet a few hours later the leaders of the holiday movement declared a truce on all roads except the one where the encounter occurred, where the farmers refused to abandon the strike.

The capitalist press tried from the beginning to call the strike a failure. The Times (Sept. 4) said that only the idle and irresponsible were attracted to the strike, but admitted that it had the "considerable following of the tenantry and of farm labourers" and that "there is a vast degree of discontent throughout the Corn Belt". An editorial two days earlier contained the following comforting programme,

"Like the unemployed in the cities the underpaid and hard-working farmer must await the swing of economic laws and the orderly efforts being made by the government and private citizens to spread and increase the purchasing power of the people. Force can only delay recovery."

Large masses of farmers are becoming wise enough to realise that if they do the exact opposite of what such papers counsel they will be on the right track. Interesting to note is the fact that in the news columns of this paper on the very same date (Sept. 2) appeared a statement to the effect that at the strike centre, **Sioux City**, "the blockade continued to be 100 % effective, all highways leading from Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota being blockaded against all farm products except milk."

A trick of the authorities and reactionary farm leaders was to call a conference of 9 governors of midwest states and their representatives. It was intended to cripple the strike by a fake truce. They met early in September, listened only to local businessmen, real estate owners, bankers, etc. and ended with a series of recommendations to Congress which were the usual sort of hokum: tariff reform, sound currency expansion, orderly marketing, a national credit system, and other sonorous phrases. The pressure of the striking masses forced them to include also a request for a year's moratorium on foreclosures and evictions and on repayment of government seed and feed loans. These, however, will remain on paper except insofar as mass action forces their realisation. Mr. Jones of the N. Y. Times, reporting on the conference, had to state that the holiday leaders "received plenty of sympathy" from the governors, "but little else except rather carefully guarded endorsement of the objects of the strike, but not the method." The reason for the endorsement, he admitted, was "the impending elections."

With the failure of the governors' conference to end the strike and an increasingly militant attitude on the part of the farmers, the "holiday association" officials, national and state, are becoming active again to castrate the movement. On Sept. 20 these misleaders announced that 2 million farmers in 11 midwest states would be asked to strike the next day. They characterised the non-selling campaign which began Aug. 8 as "the biggest success in agricultural history" and urged its extension—but peacefully, by methods of "persuasion", with no picketing or blockading of highways. At **Worthington**, Minnesota, where militant picketing completely



closed 9 roads to cattle shipments, the holiday leaders demanded that the picketers leave the highways.

A special correspondent of the Times, L. Stark, said the farmers were disillusioned with the Republican and Democratic Parties and favoured direct action and organisation: "The word 'revolution' fell from the lips of an elderly farmer with two sons . . . with the argument that nothing could be worse than present conditions." Stark wrote that cash was so scarce that many farmers had not seen it for months. Labourers were working without wages, from 5 a. m. to 9 p. m. Schools were unlikely to open. He even quoted the Mayor of Sioux City as saying that thousands would default taxes this year: "the farmers can no longer support themselves and their families on an American standard of living, much less pay taxes and interest, to say nothing of debts."

This strike is teaching many farmers solidarity with labour for the first time. The Des Moines Unemployed Council declared its readiness to aid the strikers. The Central Bluffs Central Labour Council voted full sympathy and support, and a number of union members who had been sworn as sheriff's deputies resigned. The farmers distributed thousands of gallons of milk free to the unemployed city workers, rather than sell it at the prices they were getting. Many times the only milk that went through the picket lines was for babies and the unemployed. Stark says of this, "Among indigent families it was said that this was the first milk they had had in six months."

The Left Wing United Farmers League in a leaflet to the farmers denounced the treasonable leaders of the holiday movement and exposed the role of finance capital as played through the two old parties and the Socialists with their fake programmes of "aid". After setting forth the programme of the League they urged support of the C.P. candidates in the coming presidential elections. Its programme for the strikers and the rest of the poor and middle farmers is as follows: Organise mass picketing to win their demands. Hold township meetings to discuss the demands not only for higher prices, but also for a tax strike, against attempts to sell farms for unpaid taxes, for a moratorium on mortgage and interest payments, for emergency relief, etc. The township committees of action to be elected were in turn to send delegates to the county and state committees. These committees were urged to send delegates to the Farmers National Relief Conference to be held in Washington early in December, upon the opening of Congress. The purpose of the latter is to spread the strike movement throughout the country and broaden its objectives. It will meet there at the same time as the unemployed marchers, and will greet Wall Street's representatives in that august parliament as a "smichka" of militant American peasants and workers. Following the almost complete neglect of work among the farm masses by the C.P.U.S.A., this movement promises to awaken the leadership and membership to the great importance of agrarian work, just as it took the veterans' march and massacre to bring home the vital necessity of that branch of work in this period of impending war.

## The Struggle of the Fur Workers in the U.S.A.

By James Lerner (New York).

The furworkers of New York have recently gone through struggles which have left the International Fur Workers Union affiliated to the American Federation of Labour bankrupt. They have built up a strong revolutionary union. The history of the struggles in this section of the American needle trades industry offers important lessons to the revolutionary labour movement.

Last summer the worsened conditions plus the beginning of the correct application of the united front tactic; the union decision to send its members and sympathisers into the ranks of the workers in the reactionary unions, pushed the first wedge into the latter outfit. Strikes were called and led by the revolutionary unions. A great number were settled with wage increases won.

All during the past year the **Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union** has carried on its fight for a united front of all workers. This forced a conference with leaders of both unions present. The hall was packed to the street with several thousand fur workers. Our comrades put forward the demand for the united front based on an immediate struggle in the shops for better conditions. The struggle to be led not by union

leaders, but by a committee of rank and file workers, elected in shops controlled by both unions. The social-fascist leaders laughed at this and left the conference. Throughout the fur market the word spread that only the left-wing was for peace in the ranks of the workers. The renegades from the Communist movement, the Lovestoneites, sided with the A.F. of L. They together with the socialists branded the slogan of a united front from below as a Communist trick.

The revolt was spreading fast. Dues payments to the right wing union dwindled to practically nothing. The leader of the union, drawing no more fat checks because of this, resigned. A few months later he committed suicide. There were no more plums to be picked.

The Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. called a conference to plan methods of attack. Workers came and drove out the conferees.

This summer the dog-skin workers struck. There were only 20 shops with 600 workers in the whole line. Four of these were partly controlled by the left-wing union. Fourteen shops were called out. After a five week strike four hundred workers won the following:

1. A 40 hour week.
2. 23% wage increase for some workers 20% for others.
3. Pay for legal holidays including May 1st.
4. Three percent of weekly pay roll to be given by boss to an unemployed fund to be controlled by a committee of workers. (These were the first workers in the United States to win such a demand.)

The strike spread to other sections of the fur trade. Building after building, block after block with dozens of shops were paralyzed. The union was surprised by the mass response. So were the officials of the A. F. of L. and the "socialists". Deportation agents were sent for. Gangsters began to pour into the strikes area.

It started with a demand for wage increases in one line. It ended with union conditions and the smashing of the right wing in a great part of the trade.

There were no scabs to be seen. In spite of the huge unemployment in this "luxury" trade the unemployed were not in the shops but on the picket lines.

Negotiations started. For the first time in the short history of the revolutionary union in America a whole group of manufacturers had been forced to beg for peace. By August 25, 4,000 workers had won. Two thousand were still out. As shop after shop went back to work the Socialist Party press barked that the settlements were not showing gains for the workers. The union replied by publishing in the revolutionary press the names and addresses of several hundred shops where wage increases raging from 2 to 15 dollars had been won.

The contract signed with the bosses' association called for: Time and a half for overtime, taking in of 1 unemployed worker in every shop, no discrimination against Negroes, a forty hour week, equal pay for equal work for women workers, thirty days after settlement of strike a conference to be held to establish unemployment insurance fund.

The strike was carried on by the rank and file of both unions. When there was no money to pay strike expenses, the strikers peddled ice cream. Gangsters were driven from the market by mass action as soon as they appeared. The rank and file were in the various committees, and held leading positions in these. It is interesting to observe that at the meeting where the contract was discussed by the workers a member of the Socialist Party, who was a former member of the Joint Board, exclaimed amidst great applause: "The fur workers have won a union."

At the same meeting a handful of renegade Lovestoneites attempted to fight against the settlement and throw turmoil into the ranks. The workers hurriedly gave them the proper answer. They were scorned as partners of the reformist traitors.

Now the struggle must be fought to a finish with the bigger of the bosses' associations. Already about 450 members of the latter have been forced to settle.

The application of the line of the R.I.L.U. has brought healthy fruits to the American labour movement.

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An example of what the furriers had to contend with while in the A. F. of L. union is seen in the recent "strike" carried through by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for the **cloakmakers**.

Here too a pogrom had been made on the left-wing. A whole series of fake two and three days "stoppages", whose

purpose it was to fool the workers into believing that their union was fighting for them and to collect dues, had been carried through in recent years. This year the union wanted to try a little variation on the theme. The plan was to have the bosses declare a lock-out which was to be answered with a "strike". In this way thousands would be held in the net of reformist treachery a little longer. But the opposition stepped in and smashed the plans with an extensive expose. At a meeting called by the fakers workers denounced the scheme in spite of the police and thugs present. And when several were beaten up and many forcibly thrown out of the hall thousands followed them out.

The usual stoppage was called. The bosses and the union officials tried hard to mask it as a genuine strike. After a short period during which the Needle Trades Industrial carried on a struggle for better conditions an agreement was signed.

The cloak-makers went back to work with a:

1. Wage cut.
2. Legalization of abolition of 40 hour week. (Although previously the 40 hour week was supposed to be in existence, the workers had to put in as many hours as the boss wanted.)
3. Production of standards. (The union had stated that it would fight against "scientific management of production" which is a glorified system of rationalization and wage cuts. In order to blind the eyes of the workers, the new name was adopted.)

As in the fur trade this latest sell-out adds more munition to the arsenal of the revolutionary union. Combined with the correct united front strategy the revolt started in one branch of the needle industry is bound to spread throughout.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Save the Lives of the Scottsboro Negro Boys!

On October 10th the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. will take up the appeal on the case of the Scottsboro Negro Boys.

October 10th has been proclaimed **International Scottsboro Day** by the I.R.A.

These Negro boys are the victims of one of the most atrocious frame-ups in the sordid lynch history for which the white ruling class of America are notorious. They symbolise the deep unrest that is beginning to stir the Negro masses, especially in the Black Belt of the South. By legally murdering them the white ruling class aims so to terrorize the toiling Negro masses that they will be afraid to resist oppression.

Black and white tenant farmers are uniting in struggle against the white landlords who rack-rent and rob both groups alike. Black and white toilers in the mines of Pennsylvania and Kentucky stand shoulder to shoulder in bitter strike struggles. The judicial murder of the Scottsboro Negro boys is designed to break the unity in struggle between the black and white workers.

The American Supreme Court of class justice is a part of the ruling white landlord and industrial class. Its decisions are made in the interests of the class of which it is a part. We cannot forget the legal assassination of **Sacco and Vanzetti**, **Mooney** and **Billings** remain in prison when the whole world knows they are innocent of the "crime" with which they are charged. **Paul** and **Gertrude Ruegg** are serving prison sentences for life because they led the fight against the robber imperialists in China. The **Meerut labour leaders** have been found guilty because they organised and led the fight against British imperialism and the Indian bourgeoisie.

Comrades! Toilers! It cannot be too strongly emphasised that **mass pressure** has already forced four postponements in the execution of the Scottsboro boys, it was **mass pressure** that compelled the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. to consent to review the case.

Now, on October 10th, the Supreme Court in Washington must hear the thunder of your protests. Join the demonstrations! Picket American embassies and consulates! Send a stream of protest resolutions to the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. voicing your indignation and horror and demanding the immediate release of the Scottsboro boys!

**Save the Lives of the Scottsboro Negro Boys!**

**Executive Committee of the International Red Aid.**  
**Negro Dept. of the R.I.L.U.**

## Ada Wright Issues Scottsboro Appeal to all Social-Democratic Workers.

I want to appeal to all social-democratic workers to join in the protest against the Scottsboro judicial lynching to the United States Supreme Court at Washington that will hear our appeal on **October Tenth**.

The **International Red Aid**, that is leading the fight to save our children from the electric chair in Alabama, calls for all-day picketing of United States' embassies and consulates everywhere. It calls for the setting up of Workers' Juries everywhere to sit simultaneously with the highest court of the **American boss class** to give the workers' decision about the verdict to burn alive our children.

In hundreds of meetings and demonstrations, during the five months of the Scottsboro Tour of sixteen European countries, I am sure there have been tens of thousands of social-democratic workers participating. I have met many of these personally, received their assurances that they were in this struggle until the children were freed and restored to their parents.

In **Germany** hosts of social-democratic workers assured me they were bitterly opposed to the policies urged by their leaders that resulted in some of our meetings being prohibited, others broken up by the police, and where many meetings were permitted, in my being refused permission to speak.

You, social-democratic workers know, many of you, that while your leaders have been party to the mobilization of the police against our meetings (Austria, Switzerland and other countries), that you, yourselves, have come to the meetings and voted for the resolutions of protest and many of you joined the **International Red Aid**.

You agree with me that **mass protest** is necessary to force favourable action for our boys from the American boss class. I am criticized by your leaders, the Vanderveldes and Blums; when I go among the masses, and when I am arrested in Belgium, in Czechoslovakia, in Bulgaria, the leaders of your social-democratic party and your social-democratic press made no protest. But you protest.

Your social-democratic leaders in the **Scandinavian** countries refused me the right to speak over the government radio that they controlled. You joined in the protest against this denial.

You protested against the denial for three weeks, of a visa by the British government headed by the social-democrat premier **J. Ramsay MacDonald**. You helped secure for me the right to come to **England**, if only for ten days.

I am sure that this is also true of many countries I have been unable to reach. The social-democratic newspaper in Budapest, **Hungary**, said, I was carrying on an "extreme left propaganda". If fighting for the lives of my two sons and the other Scottsboro boys is an "extreme left propaganda", then I am sure that all honest social-democratic workers are in favour of it.

I learned first to understand this attack of the social-democratic leaders, in the alliance of the Socialist Party leadership in the United States with the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People against our mass campaign.

The Scottsboro Campaign is broad enough to enlist all right-thinking workers. Many millions of you, I know, vote social-democratic on election day, but on **October Tenth**, Scottsboro Day, I appeal to you to join militantly, effectively in the struggle against the electric chair in the United States that took the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927, as you all know.

**Support the October Tenth Scottsboro Action of the International Red Aid in all your cities, in all your countries!**

**Help free the Scottsboro Negro Children and thus win a tremendous, historic victory, not only for my race but for our class—the working class.**

Signed: **Ada Wright, Mother of Roy and Andy, two of the Scottsboro Negro children.**

Vienna, Austria, Sept. 26, 1932.

## Dollar Diplomacy in the Balkans and the Scottsboro Campaign.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

American dollar diplomacy sent a servile editor from the "Altoona Times" in Pennsylvania, the state of steel, coal, war munitions and transport, to be its ambassador to Bulgaria. And in the capital, Sofia, the biggest electric sign is that of the Singer Sewing Machine Company in the letters of the Slavic alphabet. And there is a "Rockefeller Institute" trying to tell an impoverished peasantry how to till the soil scientifically.

American labour sent a Negro Mother from Chattanooga, Tennessee, as its ambassador to the Balkans to raise the "Scottsboro" issue of Negro and workers' rights; not the plea of the dollar for greater profits, the task of the "Altoona Times" editor.

The Scottsboro Negro Mother comes from "The South", where the crushing poverty makes almost impossible the enjoyment of the Singer sewing machine luxury. But the great electric signs of high pressure salesmanship are there as well as in Bulgaria. Ten thousand Bulgarian worker and peasant dead, during the last ten years, shot down, beaten to death, buried alive, burned alive, hanged upon the gallows ceaselessly busy, in order that the Zankoffs might rule and the Singer Sewing Machine electric sign continue to sparkle over Bulgaria. Here every workers' effort is illegal,—the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the Red Trade Unions, the International Red Aid, the Workers' International Relief; newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, leaflets. It is a five year prison sentence even to be caught with a copy of the International Press Correspondence. The strangling effort of capital punishment, imprisonment even until death, police torture until life itself gives way, censorship in all of its most vicious forms, all seek to blot out the thoughts and the efforts of the masses for a better day.

But it was exactly in this land where the Scottsboro Negro Mother found one of the best functioning Scottsboro Committees, ready and eager to give her every possible assistance. They came—men, women, children—to the railroad station upon her arrival and showered with red flowers and the greetings of the workers and peasants. On the reception committee one could show the horrible scars of red hot needles driven through the fingers under the nails as the Bulgarian "third degree" method of forcing the confession the Bulgarian fascist state desired. Unsuccessful it had hurled its victim into prison for three years; not a worker or peasant,—but a writer. Another could show the wound of the gendarme's bullet that had pierced his shoulder. These were the living. Hatred for the Bulgarian murder regime. Burning hatred for the judicial lynch murder system that seeks to burn alive in the electric chair the Scottsboro Negro children in Alabama, almost on the other side of the world.

Meetings had been proposed in a dozen cities from the Black Sea to the River Danube, from the Greek to the Yugoslavian borders. But these were prohibited by the fascist terror; first by the police of Sofia, then by the minister of the interior for all of Bulgaria.

The interior minister, Guirgonoff, was forced to listen to the demands of the Scottsboro Mother that she be allowed to speak in Bulgaria. But it was like trying to speak to the lynch mob in Scottsboro on the day of the trial, April 6, 1931, when ten thousand demanded that their eager appetites for the blood of the Negro children be satiated.

To be sure, the interior minister, in the best chosen words protested his humanitarian instincts were aroused by such an unrighteous verdict. But he had complete faith in the courts of the United States. Bulgaria could not interfere. It was too weak. It must not touch such foreign questions,—with an eye to the "Singer" electric sign on the roof of Sofia's tallest building,—and actually declaring, in his own words, "The American government wouldn't like it".

So the gendarmes on horseback, with loaded rifles, were posted before the American embassy and around the meeting hall where the Scottsboro Mother was to have made her appeal. In spite of prohibition the billboards and walls of the town, the kiosks on the boulevards had been placarded at

night with a huge poster that the Negro Mother would speak. Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed. Many came to the meeting hall and were driven off. The throng converges in a street nearby and a speaker—a candidate in the municipal elections then in progress, is raised in the midst of the multitude. For fully ten minutes he speaks before the gendarmes with horses' hoofs, spurred boots, rubber clubs, sabres, rifles and every other accoutrement of war manage to break up the gathering with its bloody beatings and the arrest of the speaker. The throng is forced in the direction of the Zankoff Club, the bloody Zankoff of the days of 1923 and 1925, when militant workers and peasants were hunted like beasts and slaughtered by the thousands. "Down with the Murderers!" was the slogan raised by the workers, "Down with the Zankoff Murderers!" and as the gendarmes attacked again, aided by fascists, and the workers began singing "The Internationale", the American ambassador, the "Altoona Times" editor, cowering in his own embassy behind the guard of Bulgarian gendarmes, could well feel that "murderers" applied as well to his own "lynch law" regime. Another effort was made to start another meeting in another street but it failed to hold against the police attack. Under these conditions it was impossible for the Negro Mother to be heard.

She was arrested the next day and expelled from the country. The arrest took place at a gathering with workers' children in a public park, called "The King's Garden". As the Negro Mother arrived in the park, the children, shoulder to shoulder, raised their little fists and gave the "Red Front!" salute in German, then singing "The Internationale" in Bulgarian. Then the gendarmes, on horse and afoot, seemed to come from all directions. They took the Negro Mother away under police escort. The children tried to follow but were driven off as they hurled back their cries of "Shame! Shame!" And in the evening they came in great numbers, in spite of the gendarmerie, to the railroad station.

While the Scottsboro Mother herself was denied the right to speak, and only uttered the few words to the children, nevertheless, she got her message to the whole nation through its own bourgeois press. Her "Scottsboro" story crowded the publicity over the visit of a British naval squadron to the Black Sea port of Varna, not far from Soviet Odessa, another move in the war preparations. In general, the press publicity, in articles and pictures, was sympathetic and did not at all, even after the fashion of the social-democratic "Népszava" in Hungary, follow the lead given by the interior minister, Guirgonoff, that the Scottsboro Mother was merely a "Communist propagandist".

"You know", the interior minister had declared, "the Communists always take up these humanitarian questions. I know absolutely that the International Juridical Association that is supporting the Scottsboro Campaign is a Moscow organisation. And you know, what we think of Communists here in Bulgaria, and what we do to them".

No doubt, this was intended as a threat crystallized out of his fear and servility before Washington, and his fear and hatred of Moscow.

The Scottsboro Mother had also put her case before the head of the Bulgarian Woman's Federation. But there was no desire here to protest against the government's decision or make an effort to change.

There was hope, however, in the greeting of the militant mother of the murdered secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, herself sent to prison for three years merely for showing the picture of her dead son.

And in the "Red Front!" salute of the Bulgarian children at the railroad station, who kept their little fists raised until the train disappeared on its journey to the border with the Scottsboro Mother in police custody. But she had managed to send back her reply, "Keep up the Fight!" And there is no doubt that they will—in Bulgaria.

Thus the struggle sharpens against the United States Supreme Court that listens to the appeal—on **October Tenth**—against the judicial lynch verdict of the Scottsboro courts. The International Red Aid, supported by the many tens of millions in all countries, demands the overturn of the electric chair death verdicts of the Scottsboro and the Alabama lynch courts.

## The White Terror in Japan.

### An Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan.

The "Humanité" of September 29, publishes the following two documents:

"Dear Marcel Cachin,

I have received from Japan the following appeal from the Communist Party of Japan, which has appeared in the illegal Communist organ. The possibilities of saving the unfortunate victims are exceedingly remote. But their comrades are addressing a stirring appeal to the whole of humanity in order to cause it join in its cry of indignation. I am convinced that "Humanité" will publish this appeal in its columns.

Romain Rolland."

#### "Appeal to the International Proletariat!

Comrades, workers, peasants, employees, proletarians of the whole world! On July 5, the Public Prosecutor demanded before the Supreme Court of the Mikado (which is only a puppet in the hands of the military fascists) exceedingly severe sentences for 191 of our comrades: death sentences, life-long imprisonment and prison sentences. In all, our comrades are to be sentenced to 1000 years imprisonment!

These 191 prisoners are only a portion of the victims of white terror in Japan. Since the mass arrests which began in 1928 (mass arrests of Communist functionaries on March 15, 1928, mass arrests on April 16, 1929), ten thousands of Communists have been thrown into prison. These 191 comrades are the advance-guard of Communism in Japan. They have courageously fought against the bourgeois government and defended the cause of the workers, peasants and employees of Japan. They have led the toiling masses on to the path of establishing a new government, a Soviet Government.

Among them are comrades who have participated in the organising of the C.P. of Japan, who are among the founders of the Communist Party. The Supreme Court of the Mikado tried them under the imperialist terror-law. Twenty of the imprisoned comrades have already died as a result of the bestial tortures and the bad food, after having been in prison for several years, whilst the court proceedings had not yet started. Six of the comrades have been driven insane. Others again have become seriously ill as a result of the terrible tortures.

In spite of everything, our comrades have fought with unbroken courage before the Supreme Court. They have behaved as real Communists. Their admirable fight has awakened the class consciousness of the exploited workers, peasants and employees, but it has also provoked the hatred of the imperialist government.

The sacrosanctity of the two-thousand year old monarchy is nothing else but a screen masking the suppression and exploitation of all Japanese proletarians and the persecution of their party.

For years all meetings and demonstrations of the working class have been attacked or forbidden. Nevertheless the workers and the toiling peasants have sent hundreds of letters to the government protesting against the savage measures of oppression and have organised demonstrations for the release of the proletarian prisoners. Thus on July 19, a great demonstration took place in Tokyo, which was at once forbidden, nevertheless the toilers rallied again and again to new demonstrations.

Comrades, in your countries also terror and oppression is raging against the revolutionary workers. With us, in the Far East, in China, Korea and also Formosa, you can witness lynching scenes in broad daylight, where revolutionary workers and peasants are murdered without any court proceedings.

But we shall go over to counter-action if we are supported by a great people's movement in the whole world, by the protest of the international proletariat against the imprisonment of our comrades, for the release of our 191 comrades. Therefore we appeal to you proletarians of the whole world to give us your powerful aid in our struggle for the release of the victims of Japanese imperialism.

We demand the release of the 191 Japanese Communists, several of whom are sentenced to death and the others are

sentenced to a total of thousand years of hard labour and imprisonment.

We raise our protest against the white terror!

We declare before the whole world, that we are defending the Soviet revolution in China, that we are opposing with all our might the Japanese colonisation of Manchuria!

We demand the immediate withdrawal of the Japanese land and sea forces from China!

We declare that we are deadly enemies of the imperialist war!

20th July 1932.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan."

## The Chinese Soviet Government Demand the Release of Paul and Gertrud Ruegg.

*A declaration sent out by wireless by the Chinese Soviet Government from the Soviet capital town of Suiking in the Central Soviet District of Kiangsi\*).*

The Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China addresses the following declaration to the broad public, to the peoples of the whole world: for five years the Nanking Kuomintang Government have been ruling in China. Their policy has constantly aimed at crushing the revolutionary movement by means of the most brutal weapons of the white terror. They have always sold and betrayed the national independence of China to the foreign imperialists. The Nanking Government, true to the wishes of the imperialists, signed the armistice with the Japanese imperialists and surrendered Shanghai to them in order to be able to make a fresh attack on the Soviet districts, on the Soviet districts which have succeeded in entirely freeing themselves from the yoke of imperialism. The Nanking Government compelled the heroic soldiers of the 19th and 4th armies in Shanghai to abandon their resistance to the Japanese and to turn their weapons against the Red Army, in order to prevent the Red Army and also the Soviet Government from developing the revolutionary fight throughout the whole country against Japanese imperialism.

In the Ruegg trial also the Nanking Government complied with the demands of the imperialists. They worked hand in hand with the Shanghai police in order to arrest the best friends of the Chinese revolution.

The Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China solemnly declare that they will always defend these two friends of the Chinese revolution. They will exert all their forces on their behalf, together with the movement for the release of the Rueggs, which has spread over the whole world. The Soviet Government are ready, in return for the release of the Rueggs, to grant the release of all missionaries arrested by the local Soviets. These arrested missionaries, the advance-guard of the imperialists in the subjugation of China, succeeded by lies and fraud in exploiting the Chinese population. They played the role of military spies of the imperialists; they rendered them active assistance in combating the Chinese Red Army. The Soviet Government have sufficient reasons for arresting and punishing these reactionary elements.

The Soviet Government call upon the working masses of the whole world to oppose the white terror of the Nanking Government and to demand the release of Paul and Gertrud Ruegg. In order to give effective emphasis to these demands of the working masses of the whole world, the Soviet Government request the Ruegg International Defence Committee to enter into negotiations with the Nanking Government, and submit as a condition for the release of the missionaries arrested by the Soviet Government the release of Paul and Gertrud Ruegg.

\* This declaration, which was sent out by the Chinese Government by wireless telegram, was received in Shanghai on July 19. The bourgeois press maintained complete silence regarding this declaration or published only a few lines regarding it. None of the bourgeois telegraph agencies published the full text of the declaration.

Editor.

## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# Questions of Soviet Trade, Food Supply and the Heavy Industry.

## Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

*A plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place in Moscow from the 28th September to the 2nd October inclusive. The session heard reports on the activity of the Central Co-operative Association, from the People's Commissariat for Food on the development of soviet trading, a report on the development of the manufacturing and heavy industries, a report on the production of articles for daily mass use. All reports were accompanied by parallel reports from the Central Control Commission and the People's Commissariat for Workers and Peasants Inspection. The session adopted the following decisions.*

### **Resolution on the Development of Soviet Trade.**

The resolution of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the development of Soviet trade first of all places on record that the People's Commissariat for Supplies, acting on the decisions of the C.C. on the development of retail trade, has opened 7100 state shops in 1932. 2800 of these are in the towns, the remainder in the rural districts. At the same time 5900 retail vendors' stalls have been opened. Hence the total number of retail undertakings increased in the first seven months of 1932 by 67%, reaching the number of 26,300 shops and 9000 stalls.

The "Centrosoyus" (co-operative central) has opened 13,100 shops in 1932, 4500 of these being in the towns, and besides this 22,500 vendors' stalls. This means that the retail enterprises of the cooperative central have increased in the current year by 20%, to a total of 167,700 shops and 49,700 stalls.

The wholesale trade centres of the industrial associations and of the Supplies Commissariat can also record great progress. Between 1st May and 1st September, for instance, there were 635 wholesale trading centres opened in the remoter regions of the Soviet Union alone—in East and West Siberia, Central Asia, and Kasakstan.

The resolution goes on to criticise the system of distribution of the wholesale centres, the Supplies Commissariat, the consumers' co-operative societies, and the trading companies, and points out that these are still working too mechanically, although on the other hand successful efforts have already been made enabling the retailers of Moscow, Leningrad, and other towns, to be supplied directly from the factories with articles of daily consumption. But in spite of the considerable growth of the network of trading enterprises, and the extension and acceleration of the circulation of goods, the great shortcomings of the trade apparatus have not yet been overcome, as pointed out in a number of the decisions of the C.C. The purely mechanical distribution leads to mass supplies in certain places, whilst in others there is a shortage of these same goods; it leads to accumulations of necessary articles in one place and lack of them in another. The activities of all co-workers are inadequately checked up, and the result is that the costs of trading are increased.

The decision of the C.C. on the extension of the original supplies schedule for a number of industries, from 1500 million roubles to 1800 million roubles—a decision only carried out to a limited extent in the first half of the year—will be fulfilled during the next few months at a rate guaranteeing the yearly quota for the provisioning of the rural districts on the scale originally envisaged by the C.C.

The resolution further states that the amount of goods supplied during the last three months has developed in accordance with the decisions of the C.C., enabling the subsequent supplies to be improved.

The C.C. of the C.P.S.U. resolves upon the following measures for the further development of Soviet trade:

1. The further development of trading facilities in the towns, especially in the newly built workers' quarters. The national economic plan for 1933 is to include the building of new premises for trading purposes. Trading facilities in the rural districts are to be ensured special development.

2. The committee appointed by the "Council for Labour and Defence" for checking up goods supplies is commissioned to investigate, in the course of a month, the territorial distribution of the wholesale trading centres, and to take steps towards the rapid transference of goods from producer to consumer and towards eliminating all double work. The "Council for Labour and Defence" is commissioned to take decisive measures at once ensuring the acceleration of the transport by rail and water of articles of daily consumption. From 1st January 1933 onwards the ordering in advance of articles of daily consumption will be introduced, and extended to 50% of the goods supplied. In order to improve qualities, factory marks will be introduced, and the undertakings are compelled to take back faulty goods. All trading organisations will be instructed to reduce trading costs. The local Soviet and Party organisations are commissioned to ensure an even greater development of collective farming trade, by means of inducing the participation of larger numbers of collective farms in trading, by increasing the facilities for collective farming trade, and by supplying larger numbers of industrial goods to the collective farmers' markets. All middlemen's trading and all speculation must be combatted with the utmost severity, in order to accelerate a price drop on the collective farming markets.

The Party, Soviet, and trading organisations are commissioned to aid the consumers' co-operatives and factory kitchens to buy direct on their own initiative, and to ensure these organisations especially advantageous conditions for this purpose, by means of enabling them to conclude long-term supplies contracts with collective farms and village co-operatives. The minor units of the supplies apparatus must be further developed.

Further improvement in the food supplies for the population of the towns must be ensured, not only by the carrying out in their entirety of the centralised supplies plans, but at the same time by the organisation of the purchase by the state of agricultural products at contract prices, and especially by means of the non-decentralised purchases of the co-operatives, the dining rooms, etc., by means of the development of the collective farming markets, and by the organisation of auxiliary agricultural enterprises in connection with the industrial and other undertakings (vegetable gardens, dairies, pig, rabbit, fish, poultry breeding, etc.).

The factories, transport services, and other undertakings must not only organise their own "closed co-operatives" and factory kitchens, but must further promote the food supplies by organising agricultural undertakings of their own. The dining halls and factory kitchens must be further developed.

The C.P. of the C.P.S.U. advises the trading organisations to fill up the ranks of their apparatus with the best forces of the Party and the Young Communist League, to improve the standards of living of their workers and employees, and to intensify Party and trade union work among the workers and employees employed in trade.

Soviet trade must be freed of every vestige of the "N.E.P". Hence the main task is the struggle against higher prices and against losses in trading.

The Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection are commissioned to check up the application and carrying out of these decisions.

The Plenum of the C.C. states in conclusion:

The gigantic development of heavy industry, and the growth of socialist agriculture, have enabled the light and foodstuffs industries to develop rapidly, and the production of

articles of mass consumption to be increased. But the extent of this production is by no means sufficient to meet the growing needs of the toiling masses. The comprehensive increase of the output of articles of daily use, as produced both by the light and foodstuffs industries and by heavy industry and the home handicraft co-operatives, forms one of the leading tasks of economic policy at the present time.

In order to promote a closer rapprochement between the working class and the peasantry, and in order to ensure the further improvement of the standards of life of the workers and peasants, Soviet trading must be developed to the utmost, in particular collective farm trade. The Plenum of the C.C. decisively condemns the anti-Party "left" under-estimation of Soviet trade. A point of special importance is the measures, taken in accordance with the decisions of the Polit-Bureau of the C.C., for the increase of the market reserves of articles of daily consumption, for the increased output of the whole of the industries manufacturing such articles, and for the energetic restriction of the "closed" circle of consumers in favour of the free market, hand in hand with the development of the circulation of goods.

The Plenum of the C.C. points out that the development of Soviet trade, especially of the trade with the collective and individual peasant farms, does not signify, as the Right opportunists and kulaks would like to interpret it, the throwing open of free markets permitting the N.E.P.-men and the speculators to take up their activities. On the contrary, it signifies "the elimination of the private trader, of the middleman and speculator, who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of collective trade".

The Plenary Session of the C.C. imposes on all Party, economic, and trade union organisations the duty of aiding in this struggle, and of combatting determinedly both the anti-Leninist underestimation of the importance of Soviet trade, and the liberal-bourgeois interpretation put by the Right opportunists on the tasks of the development of Soviet trade. The Plenary Session of the C.C. proposes that an energetic struggle against the speculator element in the trading apparatus be taken up, in order to ensure that Soviet trade develops along the lines demanded by the interests of the better provisioning of the workers and peasants.

## Resolution on the Production of Articles of Daily Consumption.

Moscow. 3rd Oct. 1932.

The resolution on the production of articles of daily consumption begins by enumerating the measures taken by the C.C. for the extension of this production: the organisation of special departments in large-scale undertakings for the production of articles of daily use, and the formation of a special department in the People's Commissariat for heavy industry. The further development of this production is then laid down as the most important political-economic task.

Although these measures have been carried out to an insufficient degree, the production of articles of daily consumption nevertheless increased in the first half of 1932 by 28.5 per cent as compared with the same period last year.

The resolution then enumerates the various branches of light industry which have not exploited the local resources of raw materials, and points out the causes which have led to the non-fulfilment of the planned tasks for the production of the necessities of life.

In order to remove these faults and to increase production, the personal responsibility of the leaders of production is laid down; the People's Commissariat for Labour and Defence is commissioned to lay special emphasis on articles of daily consumption when drawing up the economic plans of production and to draw the attention of the People's Commissariats for light and heavy industries to the production of articles of daily consumption, and the press is commissioned to check up daily the carrying out of these tasks. Detailed measures are laid down for the Light Industry Commissariat, for the purpose of increasing the output of articles of daily consumption, the formation of a special Bureau in connection with the People's Commissariat for heavy industry is resolved upon, this Bureau to check up quality. Further measures resolved upon are a wide development of trading and consumers' co-operatives in town and country, and their provisioning with raw materials. The People's Commissariats for light and heavy industry are to submit their plans for the development of the production of

articles of daily use within a month to the trading co-operatives.

The Plenum of the Central Committee records the perfectly correct and opportune increase of the attention of the whole Party to the greater production of articles of daily consumption. The setting of this important political task has been prepared for by the whole course taken by the carrying out of the general line of the Party towards the industrialisation and economic independence of the country, and especially by the enormous successes attained in the restoration of technical industry and the reconstruction of heavy industry. After counter-revolutionary Trotzkyism had been shattered and anti-Leninist kulak Right opportunism unmasked, the Party, headed by its Leninist C.C., developed a truly Bolshevik tempo in the restoration and reconstruction of heavy industry, and has to-day attained decisive success in this field of work. With this the Party formed the firm basis for the further development of the fresh upswing of that branch of industry providing us with articles of daily use, and created the pre-conditions for the complete and unrestricted fulfilment of the Party directives on the production of articles of daily consumption. The C.C. Plenum stresses the great political importance of the production of articles of daily consumption for the consolidation of the alliance between town and country, and proposes that all Party, Y.C.L., trade union, and Soviet organisations should give every possible support to the economic organisations and to the trading and consumers' co-operatives, and should check up monthly the development of the production of articles of daily consumption and the carrying out of the instructions of the C.C. and of the Council of People's Commissars.

## Resolution on the Smelting Industry.

The resolution of the Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the smelting industry places on record that whilst the 16th Party Congress was obliged to admit that the smelting industry was lagging behind in its development, since then great successes have been achieved.

A new coking industry has been established on the basis of up-to-date technics. Seventeen new coking plants have been set working, with an output of 4 million tons. Six further coking plants with a capacity of 1.7 million tons are about to be opened. In the undertakings in the South of the Soviet Union the blast furnace plant has been completely renewed, and the capacity of a number of blast furnaces increased. Large new blast furnaces have been set working in the Makeyevka, Chersinsk, and Kertsch works, and in the Voroschilov works there are great blast furnaces nearly ready to start work. Great progress has been made in a thorough reconstruction of the undertakings working in the South of the Soviet Union: a new Martin furnace plant and the first Soviet Russian blooming mill are being erected, the latter to have a capacity of one million tons.

In Makeyevka a new Martin furnace department is being made ready, and the second Soviet Russian blooming mill, with the same capacity as that in Chersinsk. In Central Russia, a large blast furnace has been set working in Kossogorsk, and a new Martin furnace will presently begin work in Vykupok. The Electro-Steel works are undergoing a thorough reorganisation. The reorganisation of the "Red October" works is nearly completed.

In the Ural district, a number of undertakings are being reorganised, and are adapting their plant to the production of high grade metals. New smelting works are being erected on a large scale—in Magnitogorsk, Kusnyetzk, Novotagilsk, Saporoshye, Asov Steel, Krivoyrog, Tula and Lipezk. In Magnitogorsk and Stalinsk the first blast furnaces have already been blown in. The blast furnaces of Asov, Saporoshye, Krivoyrog, Tula, and Lipezk are in course of erection. The Martin furnaces of Kusnyetzk works have been set working. The blooming mill and the rail rolling mill are about to be opened. The Martin furnace department and the blooming mill at Magnitogorsk are being made ready at an accelerated pace. The departments for the manufacture of tool steel and iron alloys at Saporoshye are on the eve of starting work.

The work accomplished since the 16th Party Congress means that 8 blast furnaces have been reconstructed and their capacity increased. 12 new blast furnaces have been set working, nine of them in 1932. These 12 blast furnaces include 6 gigantic furnaces on an American system. 20 new Martin furnaces have been set working. 16 blast furnaces are in course of construction, besides dozens of new Martin-steel plants and

4 blooming mills, and a number of pipe manufacturing works (Mariupol, Taganrog, Liebknecht works, Vyksupok works, Pervo Uralsky works, and the works at Nikopol).

First class sorts of steels for new branches of the machine-building industry are being produced (for motor cars, tractors, aeroplanes, tools). Plants are being erected for the manufacture of chrome and nickel steel, non-rusting metals, steel for ball bearings, etc. In 1932 a total of 530,000 tons of special steels will be produced, as compared with 330,000 tons last year and 100,000 tons in 1928/29.

During the first eight months of 1932, the production of the smelting industry rose by 22 per cent as compared with the same period the year before. This success does not, however, suffice to fulfil the schedule of the Plan for the smelting industry. Hence the fulfilment of the Plan lags behind in the other branches of metal working as well.

The resolution points out the causes of this non-fulfilment of the plans, and goes on to state the reasons rendering the increase of the production of the smelting industry, as also the fulfilment of the production and building programs for 1933, absolutely necessary. In order to ensure the realisation of these plans, the Central Committee resolves upon: The removal of the existing deficiencies, the rationalisation of the old smelting plants, the supplying of the main centres of the smelting industry with raw material, the strengthening of the technical staff, the elimination of the causes of breakdowns, the opening of all plants when completed, the training of skilled labour, the devotion of special attention to ensuring skilled technicians and foremen for the process of production, measures for improving the standards of living of the workers, mechanics, and engineers with respect to dwelling accommodation and food supplies. Further measures for the strengthening of Party and trade union work, of cultural activities, and of the transport service supplying the smelting undertakings.

The resolution draws special attention to the large-scale undertakings, to the production of high grade special steel, and in conclusion to the tasks of the People's Commissariat for heavy industry with regard to the supplying of the necessary machinery and equipment to the smelting works. With reference to the tasks of the smelting industry, the resolution stresses that a thorough re-organisation of the whole technical basis is necessary, as also the opening of the numerous undertakings, some of them among the largest in the world. These tasks require shock brigade work. It is the duty of all Party, trade union, and Soviet organisations to promote the development of the smelting industry, and to do this most especially by means of the accomplishment of all tasks set the smelting industry, and by the most energetic possible mobilisation of the growing activity of the workers of the smelting industry, who furnish a model example of readiness, and are striving Bolshevistically for the fulfilment of the Plan.

## THE WAR

### After the Recognition of "Manchu Kuo" by Japan.

By Tang Shin She.

On August 25, the Japanese Foreign Minister Ushida, the initiator of Japan's aggressive Manchurian policy which brought about the occupation of Manchuria and of "Manchu Kuo", delivered a speech in the Japanese Parliament on the formal recognition of "Manchu Kuo", in the course of which he stated that the Japanese action on September 18 last year in Moukden was only a defensive measure against Chinese aggressiveness and that the "Japanese Government is convinced that the recognition of this new State is the only means of stabilising conditions in Manchuria and establishing a lasting peace in the Far East". A few days later Mr. Araki, the Japanese Minister for war, declared to the Chinese Ambassador in Tokyo, in reply to the latter's remonstrance regarding the settlement of the Manchurian conflict, that Japan regarded the Manchurian conflict as already settled and in the meantime "China should put its own house in order." At the same time the London "Daily Express" published a report from Tokyo that the Japanese intended to secure to Pu-Yi, the President of Manchu-Kuo, control of the whole of North China. This means that Japanese imperialism has ordered: If the Kuomintang is not able to destroy the Chinese Soviet Republic, then the whole of China will be annexed to "Manchu Kuo" and the Manchu empire restored.

It is ridiculous to maintain that the Kuomintang regime, which is so faithful to the imperialists, and the imperialist puppet Chang Hsue liang, who at the time of the occupation of Moukden was amusing himself in a Peiping pleasure resort, blew up the South-Manchurian railway on the eve of September 18 and launched an attack on the Japanese garrison troops. Even the imperialist newspapers appearing in China, such as the "Peking and Tientsin Times", regard it as impossible for Chinese to have blown up the bridge, as the railway is strongly guarded by Japanese troops (at one time 22,400 strong). After three days all the Chinese railways in Fengtien and Kirin were occupied by the Japanese. One could clearly see from the September events how the Japanese prepared the occupation of Manchuria. By the Wampaoshan affair they stirred up a racial conflict between the Koreans and Chinese in Korea and Manchuria. It was intended by means of the Nakamura case to increase the fighting enthusiasm of the Japanese, especially of the Japanese soldiers. At the end of June, a new governor of Korea was appointed and Count Ushida was appointed President, in place of Dr. Sengoku, of the Southern Manchurian railway company, which here plays the same role as the British East-Indian Company played in its time in India. Nobody apart from the imperialists would maintain that the action of September 18 was a defensive action on the part of Japan.

Ushida solemnly declared in the name of the Japanese Government, that Japan has no intention of annexing Manchuria, that it respects the sovereignty of Manchu Kuo and will endeavour together with this State to maintain peace in the Far East. This declaration is just as hypocritical as that of September 24 last year, when Japan gave assurances that it was not pursuing any territorial aims in Manchuria. After the occupation of Manchuria, the Japanese immediately brought the ex-emperor Pu-Yi from Tientsin to Dairen in order to prepare for the setting up of the new State of Manchu-Kuo. On November 19 last year the Japanese Government officially denied the assertion that they wished to reinstate the ex-emperor Pu-Yi. On March 9, the puppet government of Pu-Yi was solemnly formed in Changchun. General Honyo and Ushida were present as the only official foreign guests. Ushida, the present Japanese Foreign Minister, delivered a congratulatory speech. Who can maintain, in view of the presence of Honyo, the representative of the Japanese War Ministry, and Ushida, the representative of the Japanese Government, that the formation of this new State was not instigated by the Japanese.

As the Japanese newspapers themselves report, 800 high Japanese officials are in the service of "Manchu Kuo". Not only the police and the economic organisations are under

### Paris Socialist Workers for Anti-War Congress.

Paris, 2nd October 1932.

The disciplinary action being taken by the Central Committee of the French Socialist Party against those of its branches and members who answered the appeal of Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland to take part in the preparation of the International Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam is meeting with strong resistance from the rank and file of the Socialist Party. A number of branches have adopted protest resolutions and yesterday a meeting of 700 members of the Socialist Party took place in Paris and listened to speeches on the issue. A resolution was adopted by 700 against 40 votes expressing complete approval of the action of those members and officials of the Socialist Party who co-operated in the International Anti-war Congress, protesting against the measures of the Central Committee and against the one-sided reporting of the official party organ "Le Populaire", and calling for space in the "Populaire" for the articles of the pro-congress elements, and for the immediate holding of a national congress in order to discuss the whole question and affiliate the party to the permanent anti-war committee. Up to the present "Populaire" has not even mentioned this most important meeting and resolution.

Japanese control, but the governor of every little district has a Japanese adviser. The Japanese adventurer Komyi, the present State Secretary of the puppet government, is generally regarded as being the real head of the new State. The Japanese had actually intended to appoint their General Moto governor of Manchuria. In order, however, to avoid for the moment a collision with the other imperialists, General Moto was only appointed special plenipotentiary in Manchuria. Simultaneously with him a number of high Japanese militarists and diplomats were appointed members of the State Council of Manchu Kuo. A treaty is being prepared according to which Japan takes over the inner and outer defence of Manchu Kuo. This means practically the annexation of Manchuria by Japan.

Inner and outer defence of Manchu Kuo by Japan means a fight by Japan for the destruction of the Chinese revolution and a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. More than half a million Chinese and Korean armed peasants and workers are already fighting against this Japanese counter-revolutionary action. They not only helped in May last to prevent the commencement of the action against the Soviet Union, but they are also proving to be the forces preventing the Japanese from establishing "law and order" in Manchuria. The towns of Moukden, Changchun and Harbin, which are surrounded by barbed wire entanglements, are being constantly attacked by volunteer troops. Even traffic on the Southern Manchurian railway was stopped by them.

Only these powerful forces of the toilers in Manchuria are conducting a defensive action against Japanese imperialist greed and for defence of their country and of the Soviet Union, the natural ally of the Manchurian peasants and workers. The big landowners and bourgeois in Manchuria are already working hand in hand with the Japanese.

## Shanghai Workers Support The Red Army.

T. H. (Special Correspondent).

The recent heroic struggles of the Chinese Red Army against the 4th and 5th "anti-communist campaigns" of the Kuomintang generals supported by the imperialists, its brilliant victories on all fronts, particularly the capture of Changchow, Fukien, gave a great impetus to the Shanghai workers and toiling masses. Spontaneously a great campaign for the support of the Red Army is being launched by the workers. Men, women, and children all are very enthusiastic about it.

**Contributing Half-day Wage:** The Shanghai workers, in spite of the double exploitation by foreign and Chinese capitalists, willingly save their pennies and coppers to support the Red Army. For instance, three workers of the Tayen Textile Factory consider that "the Red Army is the only armed force that fights against Japanese imperialists and for the emancipation of the workers and peasants, so every worker should support it and encourage it marching to Shanghai immediately". They had a short meeting in which they decided to contribute their half-day wage—20 cents to the Red Army. A worker of the 3rd Cotton Factory saved his tea-money.

**"One-Copper-Campaign"** was started by the workers in western Shanghai. In the first three days a total amount of 5 dollars were collected. The Sino-Japanese Factory workers contributed 102 coppers. 50 coppers from 50 small wheel-cart pullers, 2000 from 180 oil workers. In the first two days about 760 workers participated in the campaign. On July 22 about 30 workers in front of the police station of the South Liverpool Road (International Settlement), all took coppers out when they saw collectors were coming. Those who incidentally had no money on hand very politely apologised, asking, "friends, will you come to our factory gate tomorrow?"

**Old Women and School Children Active:** Four old women about 60 years of age in a coal shop, after hearing that "the Red Army is fighting for the poor and against the rich immediately get coppers from their sons to make up their share in the campaign, 13 children of the elementary school on the Laffayette Road (French Concession) sacrificed their money for morning tea to help the Red Army. Some students of the Tungwen School saved the amount of two days milk.

**Embroidering Red Banner:** The enthusiastic workers express their solidarity with the Red Army in different ways.

About 20 girls of Shenhsen no. 9 Factory utilised their little spare time and together embroidered a beautiful red banner for the Red Army in Changchow with the wording: "Fight for the interests of the workers and peasants." The reading classes of the Tungshing, Hsetung, Tashien, Shenchu Factories also each made a red banner with black flannel wording: "long Live the Red Army." Besides, wood workers, ricksha coolies, longshoremen, the Tungwen students etc. all had their banners for the Red Army. Restaurant workers in the Western Shanghai collected money to buy 3 compasses. A girl from the Sino-Japanese Textile Factory made a medicine pouch. This was immediately followed by other girls. One day, in spite of the 12 hours work they made 15 pouches and about 10 more next day.

**Ricksha Coolies Words of Greeting:** When the news of the capture of Changchow, Fukien, by the Red Army reached Shanghai, the Ricksha coolies immediately held a huge mass celebration meeting in which they unanimously decided to send a telegram of greetings to the Red Army with the wording "we, ricksha coolies have no other way out, we wish to fight shoulder to shoulder with you to overthrow the capitalists".

**Join the Friends of the Red Army:** Besides wholehearted response to the campaign for supporting the Red Army, the Shanghai workers also actively join the Friends of the Red Army. The oil workers in Northern Shanghai, besides contributions, wished to join the Friends of the Red Army. They said that "the Red Army are heroic fighters, that they are fighting for the interests of the workers and peasants and that it is an honour to be their friends". Thus about 210 already joined the organisation. In Eastern Shanghai about 200 metal workers, besides contributions, also joined the Friends of the Red Army and are actively carrying on a recruiting campaign.

**Join the Red Army:** In this period of threatening imperialist war against the Soviet Union and repeated attacks of the Kuomintang imperialists against the Soviet Districts, the class-conscious workers of Shanghai are very anxious to join the Red Army to fight for the victory of the Soviet Power over the whole of China. For example, 40 workers of the Sino-Japanese Textile Factory already organised themselves into "The Yuhua Workers Company" of the Red Army. A few days ago a part of them, including two girls, already left Shanghai for the front.

**Buying Airplane for the Red Army:** In reply to the air raids of the Kuomintang imperialists against the Soviet Districts, the workers of the "Truth" (a revolutionary newspaper) initiated a campaign to collect money to buy an airplane for the Red Army. It will be named "The Shanghai Worker". This campaign is well responded to by the workers. Within several days, about 211 dollars were received. 20.40 dollars from the workers on board S. S. Monroe, 1.60 dollars from 29 press workers. This campaign is just developing.

**5 minutes Interruption of Work:** In some factories the workers organise 5 minutes stops of work to celebrate the new victories of the Red Army. In many places the workers let off fireworks. Often the celebration develops into struggles against the bosses and the foremen.

**Growth of Revolutionary Organisations:** The campaign for the support of the Red Army is closely connected with the strengthening and consolidation of the revolutionary organisations. Up to now, the Red Aid Society already organised two big mass meetings and also 26 smaller meetings with 60 attendance at each. 3700 workers answered the collection campaign of the International Red Aid. 440 joined the Friends of the Red Army. 41 joined the Red Army. 80 became candidates for the partisan groups. Red Aid gained 782 new members. 700 joined the Red Unions. 150 joined the Young Communist League. The membership of the Communist Party in Shanghai has trebled.

The above facts show the mass character and wide scope of the campaign for the support of the Red Army. It clearly demonstrates that the working class and toiling masses of Shanghai realise that the Soviet Government is their own government, that the Red Army are the real armed forces of the workers and peasants and the real armed force against imperialism. The campaign for the support of the Red Army must penetrate into every industry and factory and be closely connected with the anti-imperialist, anti-Kuomintang movement and the everyday problems and struggles of the workers.



## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### The International Women's Conference at the Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam

By Traute Hölz (Berlin).

Working women from printing works, metal and chemical factories, from textile mills, women agricultural workers, teachers, women doctors, nurses, editors and women artists, mothers from the most varied strata and parties met together at the Amsterdam Women's Conference.

The subject of discussion was the organisation of the fight against war, the practical anti-war work which the Congress had to initiate on an international scale. It is necessary to make use of the forces of women on all fronts at which they can work. The Conference made it clear that the women do not think of conducting a separate struggle, but realise how necessary it is to mobilise the women and mothers for a determined fight against war and to draw them into the broad front of the militant toilers.

A special Conference was held on Sunday, August 28, for those women workers who had to be back at work on the following Monday. 78 delegates participated in the discussion and spoke of the situation in the factories, how, under the cloak of seemingly harmless production war material is already being produced. The broader women's Conference took place immediately after the conclusion of the general Congress. It was attended by 229 delegates representing 16 countries, of whom 38 came from France, 51 from Germany, 2 from Austria, 108 from Holland, 2 from Latvia, 1 from Spain, 4 from Belgium, 5 from England, 2 from Denmark, 1 from Japan, 1 from Poland, 1 from Alsace, 3 from the United States, 5 from Czechoslovakia, 4 from Switzerland and 1 from Sweden.

After the election of the Presidium and the greeting of the Conference by the young pioneers, Madame Duchesne spoke on the unity of the women: "We must jointly fight for peace, which we can only achieve by Socialism".

A miner's wife from Brůx (Czechoslovakia) stated in simple words, that it is necessary, in the economic fights against wage cuts, in the strikes in the mining districts or in the munition factories, to link up the wage questions with the question of the fight against a new war. She showed that in the co-operatives the fight against high taxes and customs duties must be connected with the fight against war, which brings in its wake still higher prices, plague, famine and death.

A French working woman reported that 80 per cent of all factories in France are producing war material. Steffi **Siberer**, member of the social democratic party of Austria, told of the hindrances and obstacles they encountered in the preparation for the Anti-War Congress. After a Dutch working woman and an authoress from Brussels had spoken, Karin **Michaelis**, the famous Danish authoress, delivered a speech. There followed the report of Comrade Maria **Reese**, who dealt with the subject of war being politics in another form. She described how capitalism in peace time murders proletarian children and workers, and declared:

"Whoever is opposed to the horrors of war, must also be opposed to the horrors of capitalism. The broader our front, the more numerous the forces which are preparing for the decisive fights, the quicker, the less sanguinary and the more certain of victory will be the final battle which will put an end to all wars."

After her appeal to form the red united front against war, hunger and fascism, the Conference resolves to send a letter of greetings to Comrade Clara Zetkin. The veteran leader, **Sen Katayama**, then conveyed to the Conference the revolutionary greetings of the Japanese working women. He was followed by **Mrs. Ada Wright**, the mother of the Scottsboro Negro boys condemned to death, whose speech was listened to with great emotion.

In the discussion, which lasted for six hours, all the tendencies, professions and opinions found expression. It often happened that the different world views clashed with one

another but the delegates endeavoured by all means to emphasise not what separated them from each other, but what united them in order to reach a common working basis.

Comrade Martha **Arendsee**, the collaborator of Comrade Clara Zetkin from the year 1915, concluded the discussion. The resolution of the Conference, indicating the tasks of the working women in the fight against war, was read out by **Mrs. Paulsen** and adopted unanimously.

The writer of this article, who was unanimously elected as intermediary for all national committees for the mobilisation of the women, summed up the lessons and results of the women's conference and showed the common aim in the fight against war.

Every delegate was conscious of the responsibility imposed on her by this Congress of drawing the toiling masses of women in all countries into the united front for the fight against the capitalists of their own country, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

It is now necessary to enlighten the working women and mothers in regard to their role in the fight against the imperialist slaughter and to carry out in practice the pledge given at Amsterdam.

## FROM SOVIET CHINA

### The Life and Struggle of the Youth in the Chinese Soviet District.

We received the following letter from a young worker in the Soviet district of China on the border of the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan and Kiangsi.  
Editor.

The establishment of the Soviet Power has freed also us, the working youth, from the exploitation and oppression which prevailed before. The wages of the young workers have been increased and the peasant youth have received land from the Soviets. Formerly, crowds of young men and women workers, clothed in rags and starving, wandered begging through our district. To-day they disappeared.

Our working day, no matter whether we drive the plough or wield the hammer, is 6 to 7 hours. In every locality we have our youth club; in every town and village, no matter how small, we have at least a sports ground on which we can play to our heart's content.

Formerly, under the Kuomintang government, when we were still exploited by the capitalists and landowners, although we worked from early dawn till dark we had not even enough to eat or sufficient clothes to wear, not to mention learning or sport.

Now, however, conditions have completely changed. A whole number of red elementary schools and "Lenin middle schools" have been set up, even if they do not suffice to meet the demand. Our Soviet government, however, is now endeavouring to introduce a red elementary school in every village and a "Lenin middle school" in every small and large town, and in addition a higher school in every district. As a supplement to this there exist in every locality, evening and winter schools for the young and older workers and peasants. The youth in the Soviet district are enthusiastically taking part in the fight against illiteracy.

The Kuomintang always opposed the participation of the youth in politics. Now, however, under the Soviet Power, everything has been changed in this respect. We cannot, in our own interest, refrain from taking active part in the political life of the Soviet district, from participating in the Soviet government and protecting it from all its enemies. In fact it was the Soviet government itself which opened wide the door of political life to the broad masses of youth. Many young workers are working in the different departments of the Soviets, and we are happy to be able to say that many of us are even chairmen of Soviet committees.

Yes, we are the masters! We not only participate in the work of the Soviet government, we defend our Soviets with all our might. In the Soviet district there still exist some remnants of feudal customs and superstitions, as for example the belief in god and spirits, or the custom of "foster-daughter-in-laws", i. e. girls who, right from their early

childhood, are brought up by the parents of their future husband. As all such customs and usages have nothing in common with the Soviets, we form shock troops, who make it their task to do away with idols, the rendering of services to the dead and the treatment of sick people by "wizards".

At the present time of armed intervention by the Kuomintang army against the Soviet district, the chief work of the revolutionary youth consists in fighting with the Red Army and the red defence corps. We young workers and peasants have always taken part in these fights, be it in attack or defence. I should like to point out that in the Summer of 1930 a detachment of 30,000 armed youth from the two districts of Pingkiang and Liuyang fought in the front ranks in the fight of the Red Army to capture the town of Changsha, the capital of the province of Hunan. In every district we have an armed formation of the youth, named "model brigade".

We feel in our inmost hearts that we are linked with the Red Army by indissoluble ties. Many of us are members of the Red Army, for instance in the 16th Red Army there are very many youths. We support the Red Army in every way. Wherever they come we immediately organise provision and transport troops, and in addition we help the families of the Red Army men to cultivate the land allotted to them. On the occasion of victories or successes of the Red Army we organise processions and send them presents.

Our smaller brothers and sisters are no less enthusiastic than we. They also organise provision troops and special agitation groups, detachments for frontier control, sentinels etc. Everywhere in the Soviet district there exist pioneer organisations, which last November held their first delegate congress for the whole Soviet district. The pioneer organisations have a very large membership; in Pingkiang for instance over 23,000 and in Siushui over 13,000.

Our "Young Guard", which numbers 108,547 members in the whole Soviet district, likewise held its first delegate Congress for the whole Soviet district in November last. At this congress the Commission of the Chinese Young Guard for the whole Soviet District with an Executive Committee of 11 members at the head was formed.

The Kuomintang, the landowners and the kulaks are endeavouring by every possible means to split and disintegrate our ranks. Thus they organised a whole number of secret associations, such as "Love Club of the Young Men", "Love Seekers' Club", "Secret Boys League", "Young Men's Association for National Salvation", "Epicurians' Club" etc. All these associations were founded and directed by the A.B. Clique (Anti-Bolshevist Clique) and the Reorganisationists of the Kuomintang. The secret associations and plots were, however, discovered and liquidated. The landowners and kulaks are still dreaming of restoring their rule in the Soviet district. We, the youth, however, will never for a moment relax our vigilance; we shall do everything in order finally to overcome them.

## Obituary

### Pierre Degeyter.

By Daniel Renault (Paris).

Pierre Degeyter, the composer of the "Internationale" died on September 27, in red St. Denis near Paris.

Degeyter was born in Lille in the year 1848. He was the seventh child of his parents. He began to work already at the age of eight. He became a turner, like Eugène Pottier who wrote the text of the "Internationale". Thus two workers wrote the words and the music of a song which was destined to become the fighting song of the toilers in the whole world. But there existed no collaboration between the two, as Eugène Pottier and Pierre Degeyter were unknown to each other.

"The revolutionary songs" of Pottier, the Paris Communist, appeared in a small volume which the old revolutionary workers still preserve like a treasure. Pottier's songs were all inspired by veneration for the Commune and hatred against the Versailles hangmen. But all these songs of a vanquished

worker were full of hope of revenge, for the final victory of the proletariat. The appeal "Arise, ye starvelings from your slumbers!", the verses which praise the idea of the class struggle and stigmatise the crimes of the bourgeois State, the suppressed verses in which active anti-militarism is glorified, as well as the triumphant cry at the conclusion of the song: "We peasants, artisans and others, enrolled among the sons of toil, let's claim the earth henceforth for brothers..." that was Socialism, genuine Socialism, which forty years later was to capture a sixth of the earth. The Paris worker, Pottier, glorified this Socialism after the hecatombs of May 1871 in an admirable expression of his belief, which nothing could shake. But the "Internationale" and all the other verses which Eugène Pottier had written, still waited the master composer who would set it in music.

In the meantime the labour movement in Lille, Degeyter's birth place was growing; trade unions and co-operatives were set up. The workers party set up its local branches. This was in the year 1888.

Gustave Delory, who towards the end of his life became chauvinistic, but who at that time was an admirable proletarian organiser, together with Jules Guesde, headed the movement in North France. The worker of Northern France is a lover of music. The proletarian bands grew up together with the proletarian fighting organisations. Pierre Degeyter was one of the musical workers who had placed their art at the service of their class.

One day Gustave Delory, who had just returned from Paris, handed over to Pierre Degeyter several revolutionary songs with the words: "Select one of these and set it to music, so that we can sing it at our festivals and demonstrations."

Pierre Degeyter made a good choice and composed the music of the "Internationale" according to Pottier's verses.

Never before did a song catch on like this. From the workers' quarters of North France it spread over the whole of France, and after it had been translated in all languages of the world, the "Internationale" became the battle song of the toilers of the whole world.

Since 1917 it has become the national anthem of 160 millions of emancipated proletarians of one-time Tsarist Russia.

And whilst the music which he had composed captured the whole world and achieved a tremendous revolutionary success, Degeyter, who had grown old, sank into poverty and misery. A miserable intrigue had robbed him of his work, the creation of which was wrongly ascribed by the social democrats to one of his brothers. In the year 1921, at the Congress of Tours, at which the Socialist Party of France was split and the Communist Party founded, the miserable situation of Degeyter became known. Our comrades of St. Denis invited the old worker to take up his residence in this proletarian city in which he was surrounded by brotherly solidarity. In this red town, where he resided in a modest little house, he spent the last years of his life.

The Communist International invited Pierre Degeyter to the 6th World Congress in the year 1928. The delegates to the Congress, who had sung his song in all parts of the earth, gave him a tremendous ovation. The toilers of Moscow wanted to keep him in their midst. They allotted him a room in that palace which is now the home of the veterans of the revolution. But the Moscow Winter was too rigorous for the old man. After a long stay in Moscow he returned to France. A street in Moscow was named after him.

The municipal council of St. Denis decided to arrange a solemn funeral celebration for him at the cost of the town.

The toilers of all countries of the world will preserve the memory of the old revolutionary whom they have to thank for the stirring melody of the immortal song of fight and victory.

\* \* \*

Paris, Sept. 29, 1932.

The Municipality of St. Denis near Paris has decided to name a park in the town after the composer of the "Internationale".

The "Humanité" points out that the "Populaire", the chief organ of the French socialist party, has not printed a single line regarding the death of Degeyter. The "Humanité" calls upon the social democratic workers to attend the funeral in masses.

## **Documents of the International**

# **The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.**

Statement of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The XII. Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International took place in Moscow at the beginning of September.

The following reports were considered by the XII. Plenum:

1. Report of Comrade **Kuusinen** on the international situation and the tasks of the sections of the Communist International.
2. Report of Comrade **Thälmann** (C.P. of Germany) on the lessons of economic strikes and the struggle of the unemployed; also joint reports by Comrade **Lenski** (C.P. of Poland) and Comrade **Gottwald** (C.P. of Czechoslovakia) on the strike movement and the struggle of the unemployed in Poland and Czechoslovakia.
3. Report of Comrade **Okano** (C.P. of Japan) on the tasks of the Communists in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention, in connection with the war which has commenced in the Far East.
4. Report by Comrade **Manuilsky** on socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. in connection with the completion of the First Five-Year-Plan and the proposed fundamental principles of the Second Five-Year-Plan.

The Plenum received information from Comrade **Bela Kun** on the forthcoming fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx (March 13, 1933) and instructed the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. to prepare and carry on in connection with this anniversary a mass campaign to popularise Marxism-Leninism.

The Plenum elected supplementary members to the Presidium and endorsed the financial report of the E.C.C.I.

All the decisions of the Plenum were adopted unanimously.

The theses, resolutions and decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are being published simultaneously with the press statement. Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

## **The International Situation and the Tasks of the Sections of the C.I.**

### **Theses on the Report of Comrade Kuusinen.**

(Adopted by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

#### **I. The end of capitalist stabilisation and the growth of the U.S.S.R.**

The sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism is proceeding with enormous strides which are carrying this crisis to a new stage. The fundamental changes which are taking place in the world situation are characterised by a number of recent important facts.

1. A tremendous change has taken place in the relations of forces between the socialist and the capitalist worlds, due primarily to the increase in the relative importance of the U.S.S.R., which is carrying out its great programme of socialist industrialisation, collectivisation and the cultural revolution at a tremendous rate. That country has completely established itself in the position of socialism; the second Five-Year-Plan provides for the final abolition of classes and for the conversion of the whole of the toiling population of the country into active and conscious builders of classless socialist society. The successes achieved in socialist construction are securing to an increasing degree the economic independence of the Soviet Union in relation to the capitalist world, and its international power, its revolutionising influence on the toilers and the exploited of all countries and its significance as the basis of the world socialist revolution have increased.

2. Meanwhile, in the capitalist world there has been a continuation of:

a) **the sharpening of the economic crisis**—industry has contracted to such a degree that more than half of the working class is partially or totally unemployed; the expropriation and impoverishment of the peasants has reached unprecedented dimensions;

b) **the growing revolutionary upsurge** both in imperialist and colonial countries (stubborn and turbulent strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, fierce clashes between the workers and the police and fascists, militant activity by the peasant masses, etc.); the sharpening of the struggle of the colonial peoples against the imperialists;

c) **a further sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers** (trade war, acceleration of the imperialist race for armaments, rifts in the Versailles system, the Japanese war against China, an acute sharpening of the relations between Japan, and U.S.A., between Great Britain and U.S.A., between Italy and France, between Germany and France, etc.);

d) **intensified preparation for a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.**

3. The domination of monopolist capital which, at the present day, has brought under its sway almost the whole economy of capitalist society, makes it extremely difficult, in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, to overcome the economic crisis in the way that was usual for

capitalism in the period of free competition. The more the financial oligarchy succeed in grabbing for themselves, at the expense of others, the larger share of the declining aggregate profits of the upper stratum, the more they rob the toilers, and the higher the tariff walls are raised, to this extent home and foreign markets are still further restricted and the crisis is further deepened. This, however, does not imply that capitalism will break down automatically; it implies the inevitable further growth of the revolutionary upsurge and a further sharpening of the fundamental antagonisms which drive the bourgeoisie to seek a violent solution of these antagonisms, both within their own countries and on the international arena.

4. All these facts taken together completely confirm the estimate of the tendencies of development given in the decisions of the X. and XI. Plenums of the E.C.C.I., and also reveal, in the course of the development of the general crisis of capitalism, a definite **change**, a peculiar swaying of the antagonistic forces, very rapid in some places and slow in others. In certain extremely important key points, the antagonistic forces are already becoming unleashed for the conflict. The end of relative capitalist stabilisation has come. But a directly revolutionary situation has not yet arisen in the important and decisive capitalist countries. What is taking place at the present moment is the **transition** to a new round of big clashes between classes and between States, a new round of wars and revolutions.

This transition, which in international relations is especially accelerated by the military aggression of Japan and France, is taking place in the form of an uneven process in the various countries. In Spain a revolution is taking place. In China there is a revolutionary situation, and a Soviet revolution has been victorious over a large territory. In Germany there is a tremendous sharpening of class antagonisms—on the one hand the growth of fascism, and on the other hand, the growth of the revolutionary mass struggle, the accelerated maturing of the prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis. Certain other countries are either approaching very closely to a revolutionary crisis (Poland), or, as a result of the extreme sharpening of antagonisms at home and abroad, may find themselves in the situation of a revolutionary crisis in the near future (Japan). In India and the Latin American countries the development of the revolutionary crisis is retarded, primarily by the low degree of organisation of the proletariat and the immaturity of the Communist Parties. In all capitalist countries the forces of the international proletarian revolution are steadily growing, but in such important countries of world capitalism as the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, the upsurge of the revolutionary movement although developing, is still greatly lagging behind the high intensity of the whole international situation

## II. The Danger of a New World War, the War of Japan against China, the New Phase in the Preparations for Intervention Against the U.S.S.R.

1. The fierce struggle the imperialists are waging for markets and colonies, the tariff wars and the race for armaments, have already led to the immediate danger of a new imperialist world war. French imperialism, in developing feverish activity in the struggle for hegemony on the European continent, is trying to strengthen its old military and political alliances and to form new ones (Danube Federation), but encounters the resistance of Germany, U.S.A. and Italy. Germany demands the equal status of an imperialist power (the annulment of reparations, equality of armaments, the revision of Eastern frontiers, etc.), while Poland is preparing to seize Danzig and East Prussia. Thus Germany is one of the main centres of the sharpest and most intense world imperialist conflicts.

2. The seizure of Manchuria by Japan and the attack on Shanghai have upset the compact that has hitherto existed between the USA., Japan and Great Britain regarding the establishment of spheres of influence in China. Japanese imperialism, in alliance with France and with the actual support of England, is converting Manchuria into its colony and has thus put the armed struggle for the partition of China and intervention against the U.S.S.R. on the order of the day. The League of Nations, acting at the behest of France and England, supports Japan. The United States, in pursuing its imperialist aims in the Far East, openly threatens another race for armaments. The agglomeration of antagonisms in the Pacific form the chief hotbed for breeding a new imperialist world war.

3. For the purpose of **preparing a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.**, under the cloak of the peace declarations of the League of Nations and the II. International there is proceeding the concentration of the Japanese army in Manchuria, the formation and arming of white guard units in the Far East, and also the organisation of an expeditionary army in France, feverish preparations of the army in Poland, Rumania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland, and the strengthening and activation of specially selected fascist formations, unceasing provocation, etc. It is only the firm peace policy pursued by the U.S.S.R., and the fears the bourgeoisie entertain of the prospects of imperialist war being converted into civil war and of colonial uprisings, that restrains them from slipping into war and intervention.

4. Under these circumstances of rapidly approaching criminal war, especially hastened by fascism, the Communist Parties must, as an offset to the abstract and hypocritical pacifist statements of the social-democrats, commence a real struggle against the preparations for war. The E.C.C.I. imposes the duty upon all Communist Parties to apply with the greatest persistence and energy the decisions of the Comintern on the question of struggle against imperialist war and intervention.

## III. Bourgeois Dictatorship, Nationalism, Fascism and Social Fascism.

1. The bourgeois dictatorship continues to undergo transformation in the direction of the further strengthening of political reaction and the fascisation of the State and in this is revealing a contraction of the basis of bourgeois rule and manifestations of fissures and disintegration. The bickerings in the camp of the bourgeoisie frequently result in splits into hostile camps (Germany, Finland, Yugoslavia), in some cases—the assassination of prominent bourgeois politicians (Japan). As a rule, the bourgeoisie are finding it more and more difficult to smooth over the conflicts which arise among them.

In most capitalist countries, the big bourgeoisie are organising fascist units for civil war, are making a system of political banditism, white terror, the torture of political prisoners, provocation, forging documents, the shooting down of strikers and demonstrators, the dissolution and suppression of the organisations of the workers. But while doing this, the bourgeoisie do not cease to utilise parliament and the services of the social democratic Party to deceive the masses.

In Germany, in an atmosphere of sharpening antagonisms abroad and extreme tension in class relations at home, the von-Papen-Schleicher Government, with the help of the Reichwehr, the "Steel Helmet", and the national socialists has established a form of fascist dictatorship, for which the social

democrats and the Centre prepared the way. The further development or breakdown of this dictatorship depends on the revolutionary struggle of the working class against fascism in all its forms.

In those countries where a fascist dictatorship existed before the world economic crisis, a **process** of disintegration of fascism is observed as a consequence of the growing revolutionary mass upsurge (Poland, Yugoslavia, Italy).

2. The destruction caused by the present world economic crisis, the breakdown of the economic contacts of world capitalism and the sharpening of the struggle for markets favour the spread of **nationalism and chauvinism** among the ruling nations. In Germany a wave of chauvinist sentiments and passions has arisen out of the hatred which has accumulated against the humiliating and predatory conditions of the Versailles peace treaty, and out of the impotent desire for "revenge" combined with fear of the prospects of the further decline and collapse of German capitalism. In France, chauvinism is cloaked by the slogan of "safety of the frontiers", in Great Britain, by the theory of "unity of the Empire", in Japan, by the pan-Asiatic idea, in Italy, by the theory of over-population, etc. A stubborn struggle must be carried on everywhere for internationalism and against the dangerous ideology of chauvinism, and account must be taken of the peculiar character and the special forms of chauvinism in each separate country.

3. **Both fascism and social fascism** (social democracy) stand for the maintenance and the strengthening of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship, but from this position they each adopt different tactical views. In view of the fact that the position of the ruling bourgeoisie of every country is one of inherent contradictions at the present time, which compels them now and again to manoeuvre between a course for determined struggle against their enemies at home and abroad, and the more prudent course, this inherent contradiction in the position of the bourgeoisie is also reflected in the difference in the positions taken up by fascism and social-fascism. The social-fascists prefer a moderate and "lawful" application of bourgeois class coercion, because they do not want to contract the basis of the bourgeois dictatorship; they guard its "democratic" drappings, and strive chiefly to preserve its parliamentary forms, for without these, the social-fascists would be hampered in carrying out their special function of deceiving the **working masses**. At the same time, the social-fascists restrain the workers from revolutionary action against the capitalist offensive and growing fascism, play the part of a screen behind which the fascists are able to organise their forces, and build the road for the fascists dictatorship.

4. To the extent that the economic policy of monopolist capital is adapted to the special conditions and difficulties of the economic crisis, **social democracy adapts its ideology** to the requirements of the crisis policy of the financial oligarchy. The social-democratic leaders are again unearthing their threadbare slogans of the **nationalisation** of certain branches of industry. In reality, in capitalist countries, the nationalisation of private enterprises is not increasing. On the contrary, state and municipal undertakings are being handed over to private capital. In those places where so-called state interference does exist, state subsidies and other government measures are employed, not for the purpose of establishing state control over private monopolies, but for the purpose of establishing the direct control of the private monopolists over the state. The leaders of the II. International not only disguise, but even give direct support to this policy of Finance oligarchy (in the name of "Socialism"! ) and invent new theories for its justification. They even draw up for the bourgeoisie ultra-reactionary schemes of forced labour and present these quack schemes as plans to establish socialism under capitalism.

5. The mass influence of the social-fascists has declined. For that very reason their manoeuvres have become more energetic and varied (leading the strikes with the aim of throttling them, in some cases even demonstrative declaration of general strikes, sham fight against fascism, for peace, in defence of the U.S.S.R., etc.). In these manoeuvres particular zeal is displayed by the "left" social democratic groups, who simultaneously carry on a frenzied campaign of slander against the Communist Party and the U.S.S.R. Only by taking fully into account the variety of the forms of the policy and manoeuvres of the social-fascists in all their concreteness will the Communists be able really to expose and

isolate the social-fascists. Only by directing the main blows against social democracy, this social mainstay of the bourgeoisie—will it be possible to strike at and defeat the chief class enemy of the proletariat—the bourgeoisie. And only by **strict differentiation between social democratic leaders and workers** will the Communists be able, by means of the united front from below, to break down the wall which often separates them from the social democratic workers.

#### IV. The development of the revolutionary upsurge and the preparation for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

1. The growth of the revolutionary upsurge has become particularly evident since the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in the following countries:

**China:** A mass upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle, the development of the Soviet movement and great successes of the heroic Chinese Red Army. **Spain:** a rapid growth of the mass movement with the tendency to develop into a popular armed uprising. **Poland:** a wave of mass strikes, numerous militant actions by the peasants, and the rise of a new wave of the national revolutionary movement in the outlying regions of the country. **Germany:** an increase in the mass influence of the Communist Party; social-democratic workers, in spite of their leaders, have begun to resist the terror of fascist gangs. **Great Britain:** strike in the Navy; turbulent workers' demonstrations in Autumn 1931 and the strike movement in Lancashire. **Czechoslovakia:** general miners' strike in North Bohemia and a revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in Carpatho-Ukraine. **France:** big strikes in the North; disruption of the military air manoeuvres. **U.S.A.:** big strikes and unemployed demonstrations, the march of the war veterans to Washington and the militant actions of the farmers. **Belgium:** the General Miners' strike, which is of foremost international importance. In most capitalist countries, the strike struggles were accompanied by fierce clashes with the police and strike-breakers. **Japan:** the militancy of the workers, peasants, soldiers and students has broken through the military and police terror. **India:** an increase of revolutionary unrest in the towns and villages, and stubborn mass strikes. In many countries the struggles of the proletariat is inter-woven with the mass revolutionary fights of the peasants.

2. During this period the Communist Parties have increased their strength. In Germany, the Party achieved great successes in the last Reichstag elections, and the anti-fascist struggle is developing under the leadership of the Party on the basis of the united front from below. A growth of the mass influence of the Communist Parties is observed in China, Poland and Bulgaria. In France, in spite of the fact that the Communist Party lost considerably in the Parliamentary elections and that the membership of the Unitary Confederation of Labour has declined, there is a considerable upsurge of the revolutionary anti-war, movement. In a number of countries (Czechoslovakia, Spain, Finland) development is uneven as between district and district. Despite the weakness of the mass influence of the Communist Parties in a number of countries, the Communists in all parts of the capitalist world, in numerous fights and trials, under conditions of merciless terror, have shown themselves to be courageous and truly revolutionary, advanced fighters of the proletariat.

3. The end of capitalist stabilisation, the rapidly growing pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis in a number of capitalist states, and the international situation in general, sharply raises the problem of solving the main task of the Communist Parties at the present time, i. e., of preparing the working class and the exploited masses, in the course of the economic and political struggles, for the impending fight for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Precisely because little time remains before the revolutionary crisis matures it is necessary, without losing a moment, to **intensify and accelerate our bolshevist mass work** to win over the majority of the working class, to increase the revolutionary activity of the working class. The opponents of the revolutionary movement have not yet lost the support of an enormous section of organised and unorganised workers, and this circumstance, which enables them to impede the revolutionisation of the proletariat, constitutes the fundamental danger from the point of view of preparing for the victory of the proletariat. Hence the necessity for really carrying out the task of winning over the majority of the working class,—which was put in the forefront at the X. and XI. Plenums of the E.C.C.I.

4. The successful accomplishment of this task requires that every Communist Party shall establish, extend and strengthen **permanent and intimate contacts** with the majority of the workers, wherever workers may be found. For this it is first of all necessary: a) to organise on a sound basis constant Bolshevik work among non-Communist workers in the factories, in the reformist and other trade unions, and among the unemployed and systematically to expose the treachery of the social-democratic and reformist leaders, and to win over the workers who have come under the influence of the fascists; b) to defend the everyday interests of the workers, to be able to respond to every attack of the class enemy, always putting forward **concrete slogans** as will effectively mobilise the masses for struggle; systematically to pursue the policy of the **united front from below**, to establish an alliance between the proletariat and the small farmers, to draw into the struggle the office workers and exploited sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat; c) to **strengthen the Communist Party itself**, by training cadres, who are closely connected with the masses and trusted by them.

5. In the practical work of our Parties it is necessary to put an end to a number of repeated weaknesses and mistakes which hinder the development of their mass work. The chief of these shortcomings and mistakes are as follows: most of our Party workers are isolated from the reformist and other non-Communist workers; work in the reformist unions meets with actual resistance; agitation is abstract and stereotyped, and this applies also to the press, and especially to slogans; there is a lack of ability to defend in a practical manner the vital interests of the workers and to take advantage of practical causes which specially excite the workers, for the purpose of organising the activity of really broad masses, using various forms of the struggle according to the situation; there is a lack of bold application of the forms and methods of proletarian democracy for the purpose of building up the united front from below; and on the other hand, there is an opportunist slurring over of differences of principle when applying the tactics of the united front; there is a lack of ability to combine the struggle against the employers, the government and the fascists, with the struggle for winning the workers away from the influence of the social-fascist agents of the bourgeoisie; there are shortcomings and mistakes in the tactics and strategy of strikes; there is a lack of ability to develop the movement of the broad masses from comparatively elementary movements to higher and higher forms of struggle, big economic and political strikes and other revolutionary actions.

6. The XI Plenum emphasised the importance and the urgent necessity of overcoming these shortcomings and mistakes in the practice of the Communist Parties. There must be determined dissociation from Right opportunist "tailism" which frequently manifests itself in capitulatory moods, in disbelief in the possibility of revolutionising the reformist working masses, and from "left" opportunist subjectivism which wishes to substitute for the necessary, difficult work of the Bolshevik education and mobilisation of the masses and of really developing these struggles by the organisation and the winning of the leadership of the everyday struggle of the workers and peasants by empty phrases about developing revolutionary struggles. The correct Bolshevik mass policy can be carried out only in an irreconcilable struggle against the Right opportunism as the chief danger and against "Left" deviations from the line of the Comintern.

The present situation is pregnant with unexpected outbreaks and sharp turns of events. This makes it necessary for every Communist Party to be prepared to change the forms and methods of struggle in the event of a rapid revolutionisation of the situation, and if sufficient contacts with the masses are lacking, to secure in the process of the struggle itself, the establishment and strengthening of contact with the majority of workers.

#### V. The Immediate Tasks of the Sections of the C. I.

1. The general task of the Comintern and its sections in all capitalist countries at the present time is to wage a concrete struggle. 1) **Against the capitalist offensive;** 2) **against fascism and reaction;** 3) **Against the impending imperialist war and intervention in the Soviet Union.**

The proper conduct of this struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie is closely linked up with the **winning over of the majority of the working class**, the undermining and

smashing of the mass influence of **social democracy**. The main link which the Communist Parties must seize upon in solving this problem is the struggle for the everyday economic and political interests of the broad masses against the increasing poverty, against oppression, violence and terror. This is particularly important in the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilisation, of the sharp contraction of the material basis of reformism and the cynical betrayal of the interests of the workers by social democracy and when the struggle for the elementary needs of the masses brings the masses into conflict with the very foundations of the existence of capitalism. Only by relying on the struggle for the everyday interests of the masses can the Communist Parties defend and strengthen the position of the working class, and lead it up to ever higher forms of struggle and to the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the proper conditions for it exist, the preparations and calling of a mass political strike is one of the most essential and immediate links in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. It is necessary to conduct systematic propaganda about the proletarian dictatorship and to popularise the **Soviet Union**, where the proletariat is successfully building a classless socialist society.

2. The specific tasks of the major Communist Parties are as follows:

**C. P. of Germany:** To mobilise the vast masses of toilers in defence of their vital interests, against the bandit policy of monopolist capital, against fascism, against the emergency decrees, against nationalism and chauvinism, and by developing economic and political strikes, by struggle for proletarian internationalism, by means of demonstrations, to lead the masses to the point of the general political strike: to win over the bulk of the social democratic masses, and definitely overcome the weaknesses of trade union work. The chief slogan which the C.P.G. must put forward to offset the slogan of the fascist dictatorship (the "Third Empire") and the slogan of the social democratic party (The "Second Republic") is the slogan of the workers and peasants republic, i. e. Socialist Soviet Germany, which will guarantee the possibility of the voluntary affiliation of the people of Austria and other German territories.

**C. P. of France:** To turn its work in the direction of defending the interests of the workers and peasant masses (fight against wage cuts, for social insurance, for immediate relief for the unemployed, against the burden of taxes, etc.) and to link up this defence with the struggle against the Versailles system, against the subjection of Alsace-Lorraine and the colonies, and against the war policy of French imperialism. To re-orientate the Party, the Unitary trade unions and the Young Communist Leagues in this direction; to overcome the sectarianism of its young cadres by persistent mass work, and re-educate them on the basis of a broad policy of elections and of winning the confidence of the rank and file masses, and patiently and tirelessly fight for the liberation of the syndicalist and socialist workers from their reformist, parliamentary and pacifist illusions.

**C. P. of Poland:** To widen the front of economic and political strikes; destroy the mass influence of the P.P.S., to lead the peasant activities throughout Poland; to overcome the weakness of the Party in the big factories, on the railroads and in the army. If suitable conditions arise, the Party must take the initiative in calling a general strike. It must mobilise the broad masses of town and country against the criminal policy of anti-Soviet war and conduct a persistent ideological struggle against the nationalist prejudices of the Polish workers, peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie.

**C. P. of Czechoslovakia:** To further develop economic and political struggles on the basis of the united front from below, linking up this struggle with the exposure of the role of the Czechoslovakian government as the tool of French imperialism. Intensify the struggle against social democracy, systematically overcome all tendencies towards passivity and "tailism", win the leadership of the struggles and organisationally consolidate the mass influence the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions have won in the course of the struggles.

**C. P. of Italy:** The Party must come out from underground by developing the mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship on the basis of the defence of the everyday interests of the toilers, taking advantage of fascist meetings, organising impromptu meetings in the factories, penetrating into the fascist trade unions, cultural and cooperative organisations, preparing and carrying on strikes and demonstrations. Mass illegal work must be increased to the maximum extent.

**C. P. of Spain:** Steering a course for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants in the form of Soviets, the Party must create basic organisational strongholds for the mass movement of the toilers in the form of factory committees, unemployed committees, peasant committees, elected committees of soldiers; it must overcome sectarian aloofness and anarchist habits of work.

**C. P. of Great Britain:** A sharp turn must be made towards work in the reformist trade unions and in the factories, and to rouse the working masses, on the basis of the united front from below, for a struggle: 1. against the new capitalist offensive on the wages of the workers and unemployment insurance benefits; 2. against the government policy of supporting and encouraging the anti-Soviet aggression of Japanese and French imperialism; 3. for the independence of the British colonies and Ireland.

**C. P. of U.S.A.** The American Party must mobilise the masses and concentrate chiefly on the struggle 1. for social insurance, against wage cuts; for immediate assistance for the unemployed, 2. for assistance for the ruined farmers; 3. for equal rights for the Negroes and the right of self-determination for the Black Belt; 4. for the defence of the Chinese People and the Soviet Union. It is necessary to carry out the decision on the turn in the work of the Party and the Trade Union Unity League.

**C. P. of Japan:** The Japanese Party has the task of transforming its struggle against war and the seizure of the territory of China into a real mass movement of the workers and peasants, linking it up closely with the struggle for the immediate needs of the masses. Workers' and Peasants' Self-defence Committees and the combined action of villages must be organised against the forcible collection of rents and taxes from the peasants and the seizure of land from tenants; the Party must explain to the masses the necessity for a revolutionary struggle for the confiscation of the land of the landlords without compensation for the benefit of the peasants.

**C. P. of China:** 1. To mobilise the masses under the slogan of the national revolutionary struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists and for the independence and integrity of China; 2. to develop and unite the Soviet territories, to strengthen the Red Army; 3. to fight for the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime; 4. to pursue a resolute policy of converting the Red trade unions into mass organisations, to win over the workers belonging to the Kuomintang unions; 5. to develop the guerilla movement, putting forward in Manchuria slogans calling for the formation of peasant committees, for boycotting taxes and government decrees, the confiscation of the property of the agents of the imperialists, the establishment of an elected people's government; 6. the popularisation of the achievements of the Soviet districts and the slogan of the fraternal alliance of the workers and peasants of China with the U.S.S.R.

**C. P. of India:** To strengthen the Communist Party, politically and organisationally; to train Bolshevik cadres, to wage a stubborn struggle in the reformist trade unions, develop a wide anti-imperialist front, to liberate the masses from the influence of the National Congress, to make agitational and organisational preparations for a general strike, to give the greatest possible support to the peasant movement for the non-payment of taxes, rent and debts, to popularise the basic slogans and tasks of the agrarian revolution.

3. In regard to **organisation**, the chief tasks of the sections of the C.I. are: a) carefully to conceal the Communist nuclei in the factories, combining this with fearless mass work; .....; c) to wage a determined struggle against provocation in all forms; d) to take measures to ensure that the Party can promptly pass to an illegal basis in case of necessity; e) to transform the Party press into real mass organs which must deal with all questions that concern the workers in simple language intelligible to the workers; f) There must be a thorough elimination from the leadership of all branches of Party work of **Super-Centralism**, of the mere issuing of orders. The maintenance of a big central apparatus while the local organisations are bereft of forces must not be permitted.

The E.C.C.I. insists on the Y.C.L. being converted into a real mass organisation, and imposes on all the Communist Parties the duty of securing an improvement in the political mass work among the youth and the strengthening of the Party leadership of the work of the Y.C.L. Equally, the Com-

intern insists on the conversion of the sports leagues, and the I.L.D. (I.R.A.) into real mass organisations. Once and for all an end must be put to the underestimation of work among proletarian women, which is specially important at the present time. Working women must be mobilised on the basis of delegate meetings. This work being regarded as general Party work. A chain of Party schools must be organised for the purpose of educating the newly recruited Party members and the new **Cadres** who must also be drawn into the everyday revolutionary work among the broad masses.

Inner Party democracy, Bolshevik self-criticism, the discussion of the most important political problems in the lower Party organisations, concrete leadership of their work, all this must be the basis of all Party activity. This also is a necessary condition for strengthening iron Bolshevik discipline in the ranks of the Party.

A relentless struggle must be waged against all distortions of Marxism-Leninism, for the purity of Party theory in the spirit outlined in Comrade Stalin's letter. Propaganda must

be carried on for the principles of Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet State.

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The crisis has shaken the capitalist system to its very foundations. In the Soviet Union socialism is achieving victories of world historic importance. The forces of social revolution are growing and rising the world over. But at the same time the attack of world counter-revolution is becoming fiercer. The imperialist governments are ready to plunge the nations into the most criminal of all criminal, predatory wars.

The Sections of the C.I. must answer this challenge of the world bourgeoisie by intensifying to the utmost their Bolshevik work, by hastening the revolutionisation of the broad masses, developing and leading the class struggles of the toilers on the basis of the united front from below, by leading the working class to mass political strikes, winning over the majority of the working class and directing the whole movement of the exploited classes and the oppressed peoples along the channel of the world socialist revolution.

## ***The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries***

# **The Situation of the Working Class in Austria.**

By **Guido Zamis** (Vienna).

### **3. How the Industrial Workers Starve.**

Many unemployed in Austria to-day—perhaps half the total number—do not receive any unemployment benefit.

If an unemployed worker has not worked twenty, or in some cases twenty-six, weeks without interruption before his discharge, he has no claim whatever to unemployment benefit. After having drawn benefit for 12 weeks, however, an unemployed worker, in order to be able to draw emergency benefit, must prove that during the past ten years he has been engaged for at least five as an industrial worker. As a result of this provision all young workers are excluded from emergency benefit. Further, seasonal workers are excluded from emergency relief (although among this category of workers—building workers, waiters, tailors etc.—unemployment is just as rampant as among others) as also are those who happen to have any relations still earning a few pence. The Industrial District Commission, consisting of an equal number of social democratic trade union secretaries and employers' representatives under the chairmanship of an official, will declare in such cases that "here there is no actual distress". Finally, any unemployed worker will be struck off emergency benefit if he has been drawing it too long. If he has been unable to find any work in the meantime, it is of course his own fault.

Among the unemployed who do not receive any benefit are also those young lads and girls who have never had any work, whose unemployment commenced with the day they left school.

In the larger municipalities these unemployed workers who receive no benefit apply from time to time to the Poor Law authorities for a little relief. But this does not amount to more than a beggar's dole. In Donavitz, for example, the centre of the Styrian heavy industry, an unmarried unemployed who has run out of benefit gets two Austrian shillings a month. In other places it is somewhat more. In Vienna, however, in "Red Vienna", this Potemkin village of the Second International, an unemployed worker who has run out of benefit receives a whole shilling a month! The town council of Salzburg, on the other hand, under the pressure of the hunger march organised by the Communists on 31st July, decided to grant to all unemployed who have run out of benefit relief amounting to 6 shillings, with 3 shillings allowance for the wife and 3 shillings for each child. This, however, is only an exceptional case, and even then the relief granted hardly suffices to stave off starvation.

A worker who has migrated from a rural district to the town receives no relief whatever in the event of his running out of benefit. This is done in order to drive the unemployed back to their native villages and thus depress the wages of the agricultural workers. This is called "reagrarianising". The only relief afforded in the villages, even in the best cases, consists in sending the unemployed to the big peasants, for whom they have to work, receiving only board and lodging

in return, or they are set to perform public work for which they receive only their food.

There are, however, also small industrial districts in which relief is no longer paid out to anybody, as the municipality is bankrupt.

It is obvious that nobody can live on the beggarly relief provided by the poor law authorities. The question therefore arises how do hundreds of thousands of people in Austria live?

The young workers go on tramp. They take to the road and beg their way from village to village, singing or playing music. As, however, there are already too many roaming the countryside, many remain in the town and sing in the streets with voices grown hoarse from privation. When they are taken up by the police, they are punished by the Vienna social democratic authorities "for performing in public without a license". Others go about selling postcards, matches, or boot laces.

For these unemployed who are delivered over to starvation there is nothing left but to steal. Prisons are unable to frighten them, as there they at least get regular meals. Thus the peasants are robbed of potatoes and fruit. In Vienna there are people who pick up a living by sneaking into the central cattle market and there either secretly pull the bristles out of the pigs, which they sell to the brush makers, or milk the cows. In addition, on the frontiers of Austria smuggling is being carried on as never before.

What proportion these unemployed workers who are deprived of benefit constitute of the total population is shown by the case of Neunkirchen. This is a small town of about 13,000 inhabitants, the centre of a considerable industrial district situated about an hour's train journey from Vienna. Here there are 1,700 unemployed in receipt of municipal relief. As the greater part of them are married, together with their families they must number about 5,000. To this number are to be added about 500 unemployed who are receiving no relief, many of whom, however, have families, parents or other relatives to maintain. We should not be overestimating if we say that half of the population are directly hit by unemployment.

Of the unemployed 300 go every week to the villages hawking. The young people go away on Monday, returning home Friday or Saturday. The fathers of the families go out each day returning late at night. The shoe laces or other articles which they take with them are of course only a flimsy cloak for actual begging. These 300 people, together with their families, are maintained by the peasants in the surrounding district.

Their food consists in the morning and evening of malt coffee and bread which they have managed to beg, at dinner time of hominy, potatoes or cabbage. Most of this is served up without any fat. These people never see flour or meat, ex-

cept when they occasionally manage to catch a cat or a dog. Cats' and dogs' flesh has already become a delicacy in the hunger districts of Austria.

The results of this chronic wholesale starvation are already to be seen in the outbreaks of diseases which accompany starvation. The doctors record a large increase of tuberculosis. Hallucinations and insanity as a result of hunger have become quite common.

Dr. Paul Habetin, the head of the tuberculosis clinic in Wiener Neustadt, writing in a Vienna daily, stated:

"In the tuberculosis clinic we have very many and relatively serious cases of late. There are several reasons for this. First, it is a consequence of the bad nourishment owing to economic conditions. Another factor is that, owing to unemployment, people can no longer contribute to the health insurance funds and therefore are no longer able to receive expert medical advice and treatment. Therefore the cases which we have to deal with in the tuberculosis clinic are more serious than formerly. What I say here from my experience regarding tuberculosis applies also, of course, to other ailments."

That is how industrial workers and employees, together with their families, are starving in the heart of Europe a few miles from the so-called "cultural centres" of capitalism.

#### 4. Wage Reductions and Short Time in the Factories.

The standard of living of the employed workers in Austria is also being lowered as a result of the terrible unemployment. There is hardly an employed worker who has not in one form or another to support one or several unemployed members of his family or relatives. This circumstance plays a great role on the occasion of wage reductions.

In many branches of industry the number of employed workers is not even half the normal number. And the wages with which these workers have to bear the whole burden of the crisis are being constantly reduced, so that they have reached an unexampled low level in Central Europe.

The year 1931 brought an average wage reduction of 10 per cent. The social democratic Vienna municipal council also did not lag behind in this general offensive against the standard of living of the workers, and cut down the annual bonuses of the gas workers and tramway workers by 25 per cent. and at the same time increased the contributions to the pension fund by 3 per cent.

In the period from the end of 1931 to the beginning of 1932 the State put through a number of wage cuts affecting the railway workers. The latest cut was as high as 21 per cent. for certain grades.

Thus at the end of December last the wages of workers in the most important branches of industry in Vienna were as follows:

In the building industry a bricklayer earned 80.64 shillings a week, a labourer 61.92 shillings and a woman labourer 42.24 shillings. In the brickmaking industry male workers earned only 34.56 shillings and female workers 23.42 shillings. Young male workers earned only 19.58 shillings and young women workers only 15.26 shillings.

The workers in the metal industry have always been among the best paid workers. In the Vienna iron works and in the electric industry a fitter earned 56.16 shillings, a fitter's mate 50.40 shillings, an unskilled labourer 45.12 Shillings and a woman worker over 20, 28.80 shillings.

Conditions are still worse, however, in the clothing and textile industry. In Vienna a gentlemen's tailor earns 48.31 shillings to 68.09 shillings according to the class of trade his firm is engaged in. A tailoress, however, earns only 28.80 to 42.72 shillings. It must not be forgotten that these are seasonal earnings and that most tailoresses are out of work the greater part of the year.

The minimum wages according to agreement in the spinning mills were as follows at the end of 1931: spinners 31.68, card-room workers 22.08, piecers 21.60, assistants 26.88, women assistants 21.60. Actual earnings, however, are considerably lower owing to short time. Here the employers have achieved their ideal: men and women workers are employed at rates of

pay which are scarcely higher than unemployment benefit. The christian-socialist "Reichspost", which certainly cannot be described as being prejudiced in favour of the workers, wrote as follows in August last regarding the misery of the textile workers:

"Textile workers who have to live on their earnings live in miserable dwellings. The living conditions are on a par with the housing conditions. Breakfast consists in most cases of a mixture called "black coffee", with very little sugar. Milk is a rarity and of bread there is very little. Many workers take their dinner, consisting of coffee with bread, sometimes bread and dripping or potatoes without fat and some vegetables, with them to work. Meat and puddings are a rarity, and are regarded as a delicacy. Towards the end of the week there is often not a bit of bread in the house.

"One must not imagine, however, that money comes into the house on pay day. In most cases the family have obtained food etc. on credit from the local shopkeeper during the week so that nearly the whole of the wages has to go to pay off this debt. In most cases, the earnings are too little to cover the whole debt. Many workers have in this way become hopelessly involved in a system of debts.

"In regard to clothing, they are often unable to purchase the most necessary and cheapest. When clothes must be bought, they have to resort to the instalment system. It often happens that an article of clothing is absolutely worn out before it has been paid for.

A woman textile worker working a 40-hour week earns to-day on an average 17.40 shillings. This sum has to suffice to pay the rent, food, clothing and meet all other outgoings. Nevertheless a further wage cut is contemplated. In 90 to 100 cases the woman worker is one of the breadwinners of the family, often the only breadwinner. A male worker earns on an average 23.60 a week, or 3.60 shillings a day. It is quite obvious that it is impossible to maintain a family on this sum."

The figures quoted above in regard to wages are taken mainly from the statistics at the end of 1931. Since then, however, the employers have made further attacks on the standard of living of the workers. Wage cuts have been carried out in one branch of industry after the other. The wages of pastry-cooks have been reduced on an average by 25 per cent; in the Spring the building workers suffered wage cuts ranging from 5 to 25 per cent; the hotel employees had wage cuts averaging 8 per cent. the textile factory of Jenny & Schindler in Telfs, in which a woman worker, after 14 days strenuous piece work, earned at the most 30 to 45 shillings, piece-work rates were reduced in June by 30 per cent. According to the statistics of the Innsbruck Chamber of Labour, wages in Tyrol were reduced as follows: building trade, skilled workers, 10 per cent; labourers 5.4 per cent; chemical industry, 6.5 per cent; metal industry 3 per cent; food industry 8 per cent; glass industry 8 per cent.

All these are only examples which are not complete but serve to give an idea of the general tendency. Now, however, a fresh general wage reduction is threatened as a result of the submission of the Austrian Government to the dictates of French finance capital at Lausanne. The Government intends to bring the value of the shilling up to the gold standard. How that is to be achieved was stated by the representative of the Finance Commission of the League of Nations in Austria in his last report:

"Should it be the desire of the population to retain the gold standard of the shilling under all circumstances, then a drastic deflation policy, which must include a reduction of the salaries and a lowering of the price level, will be inevitable."

In the government organs (see "Reichspost" of September 7) there has already commenced a campaign against "excessively high prices". We know from experience that talk of reducing prices is the prelude to wage cuts. At the same time, however, Lausanne means a general increase of prices for the working population of Austria owing to the increase of taxes and customs duties.