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Fifteen Years of Proletarian Dictatorship.

The Social Democracy and the Soviet Union.

By Paul Reimann.

Those who did their utmost, 14 years ago, to prevent the proletariats of the other European countries from treading the same path as their Russian class brothers, that is to say, who did their utmost to make the victory of socialism in all countries impossible, advanced the theory that it was impossible to realise socialism in one country alone, especially in a country like Russia, with its backward economic structure, and with the overwhelming preponderance of a peasantry firmly rooted in these backward forms of economy. How often, in the course of these 15 years, the failure of the "experiment" has been prophesied! But every time that this has happened, the creative energy of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union has given an unmistakable reply.

Let us glance through the documents of a not very distant past, documents which none the less appear fantastic and improbable to the majority of the working class to-day, for the things written by social democrats in 1920 now sound like children's fairy tales from a remote past.

"In the great French revolution, the dictatorship of the sansculottes over town and country was only a passing phase of development. The peasant defended the dictatorship against the external enemy, who threatened to carry the feudal counter-revolution into the country. But the peasant army, after repulsing the feudal counter-revolution, overthrew the dominion of the plebian town. Hence the 18th

Brumaire was the vengeance of the rural districts ruled by the town, and utilised for the aims of the town. The peasant empire took the place of the urban dictatorship. To-day the Russian peasant is also defending the proletarian dictatorship against its external enemies. But as soon as it has overcome these enemies, as soon as the war is ended, then in Russia too the concealed antagonism between town and country, between the proletariat and the peasantry, will come to the fore.

"The industrial worker in a socialised undertaking and the peasant farmers are entirely different from one another. The peasant permits the industrial worker to rule only so long as he himself has not passed the cultural level of feudal barbarity. But the Soviet power, in shattering the feudal agrarian constitution, abolishes at the same time the cause of peasant ignorance. By extending and consolidating peasant property, by building schools in the villages, by bringing higher culture into the villages, it itself destroys the prerequisites of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For in proportion as the peasant matures culturally, his political interest and political activity increase; he develops the desire, and at the same time the ability, to give effect to his interests and his views in the life of the state. But as soon as the peasantry, which represents a great mass of the people,

possess their own political will and are capable of independent political action, then the autocracy of the urban proletariat collapses."

Where have we read this? Where have we seen these prophetic words, assigning to the Russian revolution the same fate as that of the great French revolution? It was no other than **Otto Bauer**, the scientific light of the II. International, who prophesied for the Russian revolution the fate of the Jacobin dictatorship of the great French revolution—the fate of inevitable overthrow.

The same prophecy followed again five years later, in another form, when the one-time "leader of the Russian revolution", **Trotsky**, rebelled against the policy of the Bolsheviki. This was in the year when the Russian Communist Party, under Stalin's leadership, resolved upon the great plan for the industrialisation of the country, after the Russian revolution had recovered from the frightful convulsions of the years of imperialist and civil war. Trotsky prophesied the downfall of the Soviet power; he maintained that its leaders were making one concession after another to the kulaks, to the village bourgeoisie, at the expense of the working class; that they had lost the perspective of the proletarian world revolution, and that a double rule had taken the place of the proletarian dictatorship. The kulaks, the village bourgeoisie, raised to renewed wealth by the economic policy of the Soviet government, already formed a second State power, which was inevitably bound to destroy the achievements of the proletarian revolution. The whole capitalist world agreed with Trotsky, and from the extreme Right to the social democratic Left, even to the ranks of the Communist Parties, in which some groups succumbed to the influence of Trotskyism, his assertion was repeated that the Russian revolution was condemned to decay. Trotsky has gone, but the Russian revolution and the Soviets have remained. The creative power of the ruling proletariat once more withstood the storm of slander when one of the best known leaders of the Russian revolution became its betrayer and enemy.

Again a few years passed. It is 1928. Under the leadership of the same Stalin who led the severe but successful struggle, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, against Trotskyism, the Party resolves upon a project which is at once declared by all opponents to be impossible of execution. The agrarian country is to be transformed into an industrial country. On the broad steppes of Russia factory chimneys are to spring up in place of grass. Great specialised grain farms are to take the place of the small individual peasant farms. Coal, iron, steel, electricity, are to secure the victory of socialism over Russian backwardness. The advanced capitalist countries are to be overtaken and passed in the shortest of historical periods! This is the slogan. The enormous rows of figures of the **first Five-Year Plan** range themselves side by side, piling up fantastically.

And again we hear the voices of the prophets. Like Jeremiah of old, wandering about among the children of Israel lamenting the sins of the Bolsheviki and prophesying year after year the downfall of the Soviet power. From this old and toothless mouth come the words:

"This mad experiment cannot end otherwise than with a frightful crash. Not even the greatest genius can prevent this. In no case will Soviet Russia succeed in building up large-scale undertakings capable of continued existence ... For years the communist regime in Russia appeared to be unshakeable. Now we hear clearly, even abroad, the cracking of its wall."

It is not so very long ago that we read this prophecy. **Kautsky's** „Bolshevism at a Deadlock" appeared only two years ago, in 1930. The Russian proletariat has contrived to refute also this prophet.

In the Soviet Union socialism is victorious. But this victory of world historical importance has not silenced its enemies. It would mean political death to capitalism, political death to its ablest support, international social democracy, were they to lay down their arms in the face of the mighty successes of socialist construction, and to declare: "We have lied and slandered, we have erred. That which we have not believed in has come about against our will, and it is there. The way taken by the Russian Bolsheviki has won the victory over our "ways." Were they to speak thus, were they so surrender their arms to the victorious Russian proletariat, they would cease to be social democrats, that is, defenders of the capitalist order.

And therefore, though utterly confuted by historical developments, they continue to invent fresh legends, which will be read by the young communists of less than ten years hence with as much amusement as we to-day read what **Otto Bauer** wrote in 1920.

"The tremendous sacrifices which the peoples of the Soviet Union have made to-day are hence made to a very great extent not for the socialisation, but for the industrialisation of Russia—Entirely similar sacrifices have had to be made by agrarian peoples under capitalist rule, when their economy was being rapidly industrialised."

Just look how our old acquaintance **Otto Bauer** trims his sails according to the wind! The peasants who were proclaimed 12 years ago as the grave-diggers of the proletarian dictatorship have not even thought of taking up this role assigned to them by our dear **Otto**. Napoleon Bonaparte has not yet overthrown Lenin. Hence the sail must be shifted, and lamentations raised that the industrialisation has to be bought at the cost of tremendous sacrifices. And this although the fact is clear to every worker that this speed of industrialisation has been made possible solely by the rapid rise in the standards of living, by the steady increase in wages, by the transition to the 7-hour day, by the mighty social achievements of the working class and the peasantry of the Soviet Union.

What object is served by this swindle with the "tremendous sacrifices?" It has never yet occurred to anyone to maintain that the path to socialism is strewn with roses, nor to assert that such great successes as those of the industrialisation of the Soviet Union can be attained **without** sacrifices. Socialist construction has had its difficulties, and still has them. If a socialist town springs up in the middle of the steppes within two years, with more than 100,000 inhabitants, is it to be wondered at that there is a shortage of housing accommodation in the first few years, and that temporary barracks must be built for housing the workers? And if the industry and the population of Moscow grow at such a pace that almost the whole of the water of the Moskva is used up, is it surprising that there is shortage of water till a canal is cut connecting the Moskva with the Volga, and the whole system of water supply completely changed? Or if 10 million newspapers are printed daily instead of one million, is it to be wondered at that in spite of rapid industrialisation there is a serious shortage of paper? These examples might be multiplied endlessly, and they would one and all simply prove that the temporary shortages of many things felt by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are in themselves the result of increased prosperity, and not a proof of growing poverty. This will of course never be understood by **Mr. Bauer**. Now that his old theory has broken down, he and the whole II. International fly to the fairy tale of the "tremendous sacrifices" of industrialisation, in order to persuade the workers of the capitalist West that the path taken by the Russian proletariat can never be theirs:

"But even were the success of socialist construction in the Soviet Union to bring about a great strengthening of socialist belief, socialist will, and socialist force all over the world, still the working class of the industrial states of Europe and America would even then have to take quite other paths to socialism than those taken by Russian Bolshevism. The way of democracy may appear longer than the way of violence. But it is indubitably the way demanding less sacrifice of prosperity, of freedom, and of human life."

With the words **Otto Bauer** concluded his litany on his favourite theme of "Democracy and Dictatorship". And now let us ask: Is the longer and allegedly easier path of democracy recommended by **Mr. Bauer** costing less sacrifice? Is there any sacrifice of well being which the working class has not made during these years of unheard of economic crisis? Are not the sacrifices imposed by capitalist Terror and the economic crisis, the victims slaughtered by the one or starved to death by the other, the most tremendous sacrifices of well being, freedom and human life which the working class has ever had to make, apart from the bloody days of the world war? And has this "easier" path brought the working class even one step nearer to socialism? In 1920 **Otto Bauer** expressed his ideas as follows:

"Hence the raising of the standard of life of the masses presupposes not only the juridical act of expropriating the expropriators, but also the economic process of

the rationalisation of the social apparatus of production and distribution. If the economic process can only be carried out gradually, the standards of living of the broad masses of the people will also improve only gradually, even though the juridical act of expropriation is accomplished by decree. Democratic and despotic socialism differ from one another above all in their different manner of carrying out the juridical acts of the expropriation of the means of production and the cancellation of the claims to surplus value. If expropriation and confiscation are to be carried out at one stroke, then the means of dictatorship and Terror are necessary. Democracy can only carry out expropriation gradually, step by step, by means of the methodical shaping of the existing administrative institutions."

Thus Otto Bauer 12 years ago. At this time he set out to prove that though it was possible to expropriate the capitalists with the aid of a dictatorship, nevertheless the building up of socialist economics, the building up of industry, cannot be accelerated by any dictatorship, but would be carried out much more quickly by the process of the gradual expropriation of the capitalists. We are still waiting however for that "gradual" expropriation promised us by Otto Bauer at that time. And if we are sharp enough, we can observe as well to-day as at that time that Mr. Otto Bauer and his whole II. International are trying to lead us by the nose. Nothing has come of his gradual socialisation, and instead of a rapid raising of the standard of living and well being we see the ruins of capitalist enterprises—closed down, laid idle. There were two ways—so we were told 12 years ago. Which way has proved the right one? Every social democratic worker may ask himself this question to-day, and we think that he will have little difficulty in finding the right answer.

POLITICS

Political Parties and the Elections in the U.S.A.

By M. L. (New York).

The capitalist party publicity machines in the U.S.A. are working overtime grinding out daily a mass of blasts and counter-blasts against each other. The Democratic presidential candidate, Franklin D. **Roosevelt**, parades through the country attacking Hoover and the Republican party. **Hoover** and his chief lieutenants, **Stimson**, **Mills**, and **Hurley**, are equally verbose in assailing **Roosevelt** and the Democratic party. Every avenue of capitalist propaganda, press, radio, forums, is charged with a barrage of words.

The standard bearer of the Democrats is being hailed as a champion of the "forgotten man" and the saviour of the American farmer. The New York "Herald Tribune" of Oct. 3rd. (a staunch Republican paper) fears that

"if Governor **Roosevelt** is to be believed... he would take the nation a long way toward a Marxian State (sic!), beginning with the government operation of utilities and ending goodness knows where."

In his railroad speech at Salt Lake City **Roosevelt** outlined his ideas on railroad policy which may be summed up as follows: "the highest possible wages that the industry can afford" to pay for the employees, lower rates for the shippers, and larger dividends for the investors. The "highest possible wages" means tacit consent to the proposed wage cut of 20 per cent. which the railroad barons intend to put across, because it is "necessary" and the railroads cannot "afford" to pay present wages. **Roosevelt** was highly praised by the railroad magnates for this speech. **Daniel Willard**, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad said:

"No essential difference exists between the views expressed by Governor **Roosevelt** concerning the railroads and the views held generally by the Republican leaders, as I understand them." (Financial Chronicle, Sept. 24th.)

Both capitalist candidates made speeches in Iowa recently. **Hoover** made his premier speech in Des Moines, particularly because it is the starting and focal point of the farmers' strike. The attitude of **Hoover** and **Roosevelt** on the farm problem are essentially the same. The Federal Farm Board

urges reduction of acreage to fit domestic consumption. **Roosevelt** in his acceptance address said:

"I am sure that the farmers of this nation would agree ultimately to such planning of their production as would reduce surpluses and make it unnecessary to depend on dumping those surpluses abroad..."

The principle of reduction, fitting production to consumption, means the wholesale eviction of farmers from their land. The Republicans "pledge" the home market to the American farmer with a high protective tariff, while the Democrats urge agreements with foreign nations on the tariff so that these markets may be reopened to the American farmer. This is built on the assumption that we can dump our surplus of crops into already glutted European markets over high tariff walls.

In summary we can say that there are no differences in the aims of the capitalist parties. A vote for **Roosevelt** is a vote for **Hoover**. The capitalist press tries to hide this fact and create illusions among the workers. The N. Y. "Herald Tribune" (Oct. 3) attacks the demagoguery of **Roosevelt** in the following manner:

"Why in the name of common sense should any voter who believes in the American system of private property and private initiative throw out a tried President (**Hoover**) whose courage and convictions are a certainty, for a wobbling uncertainty (**Roosevelt**) who spends half his time talking like a capitalist and the other half making promises to dangerous radicals."

The N.Y. "Times" (Oct. 9th) hastens to reply in defence of the Democrat in like manner:

"And if the great numbers of discontented men and women in the United States discover after Nov. 8th that they have indeed displayed their political strength in the election of Franklin D. **Roosevelt** as President, there can be little question that it will give them an access of confidence and a strengthening of morale which will enable them better than they otherwise could to face another winter of our discontent."

While the Democrats and Republicans are denouncing each other, **Norman Thomas**, who is making "socialism" safe for capitalists, is busily shadow-boxing both **Hoover** and **Roosevelt** and attacking the Communist Party. **Thomas** is estimated by a Republican in the N.Y.-Times Current History Magazine as one who "would fit naturally into the atmosphere of an English house party with Balfour and Asquith." (October, 1932.) Society "may even vote for **Norman Thomas**—just as a protest you understand". Such sympathy indeed, "was seldom shown by the capitalists toward the late E.V. **Debs**". The Socialist Party still abuses the name of **Debs**, who warned that if he received the praise of the capitalist class, it would be because he was a traitor to his class.

There is a definite purpose in praising **Thomas**. It is to draw the votes of the thousands of discontented masses, who are in revolt against the capitalist parties, towards the Socialist party, and away from the Communist Party. **Thomas** is expected to draw about 2,000,000 votes. In an interview in the N.Y. Times magazine (July 24) he said: "If I were elected President, the vital step for which I would work would be to transfer the natural resources and the principal means of production from private to public hands, from management for private profit to management for public use." How? At the Socialist Convention in Milwaukee a resolution was submitted advocating the confiscation of private property. **Thomas** led the fight against it so forcibly (even threatening to resign) that it was rejected. **Thomas** proposes to buy out the capitalists, visioning a "socialised" nation that can be realised through a peaceful displacement of capitalism.

Heywood Brown, chief press agent for the Socialist Party and writer for the N.Y. World-Telegram, evidently irritated that a host of American intellectuals have made statements in support of the Communist Party, said that **Foster** had not really fallen ill but had abandoned his election campaign tour because he had been relieved of leadership by the Party. **Brown's** slander aroused a flood of criticism.

The American working class in facing the elections faces its fourth winter of starvation and unemployment. Over 16 million are unemployed with no hope of a change. Fifty million people face starvation. For the workers the elections are not a matter of **Hoover**, **Roosevelt** or **Thomas**,

but of bread, jobs, relief. The economic crisis grinds on, worsening terrifically the living standards of the workers and farmers. Only the Communist Party stands for and fights for the interests of the American workers and farmers. The Communist Party stands for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers. The American bosses have cut wages and are preparing further wage slashes. The Communist Party fights against this wage cutting policy. The impoverished farmers are striking against low prices, debts, taxes. The Communist Party demands emergency relief for these impoverished farmers, no forced collection of debts and taxes, no evictions. The Communist Party stands for equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination in the Black Belt. For the C.P. the election campaign is the fight for bread, against police terror, for the ex-soldier's bonus and against imperialist war preparations.

The New Measures of the Papen Government.

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

A few days after the State Court in Leipzig had delivered its judgment on the legality of the action of July 20, **von Gayl**, the Reichs Minister for the Interior, demonstratively delivered a long speech on the intended reform of the Reich and the administration. He emphasised that the State Court had recognised the setting up of a Reichs Commissioner in Prussia on July 20 as legal, and declared that the Papen Government is determined to continue without hesitation the course it has adopted in Prussia, and also to exert all forces in order to bring about a speedy satisfactory solution of the reform of the Reich and the administration.

As such a "satisfactory solution" von Gayl announces among other things: the raising of the voting age by five years, as a result of which 7 million young men and women from the age of 20 to 25 years will lose the right to vote; the introduction of plural voting of such a kind that family breadwinners or ex-servicemen will receive an extra vote (if anybody is a family-breadwinner and ex-serviceman at the same time, then he will receive two extra-votes); setting up of a Second Chamber; alteration of article 54 of the Reichs Constitution so that the government will no longer require a vote of confidence in order to exercise its office and cannot be overthrown by a vote of censure. The Reichs President alone will have the power to appoint and dismiss governments. In addition, there is to be a reform of the Reich in the direction of merging the Prussian government into the Reichs government.

The Papen Government has now carried out fresh measures in order to realise this announced reform of the Reich. Von Papen, in his capacity of Reichs Commissioner for Prussia, has appointed the Reichs Minister for Agriculture von Braun, Commissioner for the Prussian Ministry for Agriculture. He has placed Reichs Commissioners in the Ministries of Finance and Education; the Prussian Ministry for the Interior, Justice and Trade remain occupied by Reichs Commissioners. The Commissioner for the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, Dr. Bracht, and for the Finance Ministry, Popitz, were simultaneously appointed by Hindenburg as Reichs Ministers without portefeuille. The Prussian Ministry for Public Welfare has been abolished under an economy decree issued in 1931. The meaning of all these measures is that the Papen Government has the power and is going to use it. It is firmly continuing the policy initiated on July 20.

At the same time, however, it is to be recorded that the Papen Government is proceeding somewhat more cautiously than formerly. It graciously and condescendingly pats the social democracy, which hitherto has received nothing but kicks, on the back, and the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", which is closely connected with the Reichs Government, writes: "We have always respected Braun and Severing as men and politicians." Nay more, Braun, the Prime Minister in the old Prussian Government, was received by Hindenburg in the presence of Papen.

This somewhat more cautious tactic of the Papen dictatorship is due to its concern on account of the growing indignation of the workers and the rest of the toiling population. The Papen Government intends to develop its dictatorial regime still further, and in order to facilitate the carrying out of its dictatorship measures it has to create as

broad a social basis as possible and to draw in the social democracy a little more openly.

The social democracy is eagerly willing to meet the von Papen Government in every way; it is prepared to support the Papen Government more openly and directly than hitherto, and is only attempting to achieve a more democratic facade for the dictatorial actions of Papen and to obtain some positions for the social democratic party.

Accordingly Braun declared to Hindenburg that he considered all the measures adopted by the Reichs Commissioners in Prussia for the "maintenance of law and order" (i. e. for the persecution of the revolutionary labour movement) as justified; the Reichs Commissioners, however, should not undertake any personal changes in Prussia but leave this to the old Prussian Government. Of course Braun has not achieved anything. As a sop for Braun it was only agreed that negotiations shall still be maintained between the Prussian State Government (Braun) and the Reichs Commissioner (Papen) regarding the rights which still remain to the old Prussian Government in accordance with the judgment of the State Court. After Braun's reception by Hindenburg, Papen's new measures in Prussia, the appointments of the new Ministers and Prussian Commissioners, were carried out.

The social democracy is still endeavouring to prevent a real fight of the workers against Papen. The social democratic party leader Herr Grzesinski, former Berlin police president, declared in a speech he delivered in Berlin that above all it is necessary to correct all those moods among the working class which attempted on July 20 to answer von Papen with a strike.

The Braun Government, as is now known, does not intend to appeal again to the State Court, and in addition the representatives of the old Prussian Government and the representatives of von Papen have agreed that no meeting of the Reichsrat (a body consisting of representatives of the various States) shall take place before the elections. Only the Constitutional Committee of the Reichstag are to hold a secret session on November 3. Thus the social democracy continues its policy of capitulation.

In spite of all tactics the policy of the Papen Government and its new measures are resulting in intensifying the class antagonisms and at the same time increasing the differences between the bourgeois groups and parties.

The illusions which the social democratic party endeavoured to spread on the strength of the judgment pronounced by the State Court, i. e. that it meant a "victory for the social democracy and a defeat for Papen", have not deceived many workers. In face of the new measures of the von Papen Government the few illusions still existing among the workers are disappearing altogether.

The radicalisation of the social democratic and all workers is still proceeding. This will be reflected in the elections, as well as outside Parliament in a growth of the red united front movement and of the influence of the Communist Party.

Polish Social Fascism Scents the Coming Storm.

By J. Rada (Warsaw).

"Only a workers' and peasants government can save the masses, bring peace and security and solve the great problems of the inner life of Poland. Only such a government will be able, after destroying the class rule of the aristocracy, of the factory owners and bankers, by expropriating the big property owners in town and country, by socialising those spheres of production and exchange which are ripe for socialisation, to establish new foundations of social-economy which really correspond to the needs of the masses."

This is what the latest decisions of the Central Committee of the Polish socialist Party promise the working masses of Poland. The workers' and peasants' government is described as a government of "large-scale social, economic and cultural reconstruction". The Central Committee regards "every fight which is conducted in the confines of the **political and trade union mass movement** as a means leading to the capture of State power and to the workers' and peasants' government".

To impose these "confines" upon the working masses is the task of the Polish socialist Party in the present situation. To decorate these "confines" with oppositional, in fact even with revolutionary, phrases is the object of the social-fascist demagoguery.

The Polish Socialist Party is much more modest in giving the reasons which induce it to set up these slogans. And every time it does this, the word "catastrophe" is employed. The present situation of Polish capitalism is described as an "economic catastrophe". Another "catastrophe" to be feared is the threatening revolution, the "outbreak of class hatred". The Polish socialist leader Niedzialkowski, in a leading article in "Robotnik" of October 5, maintains that "fascism is rendering it very difficult to avoid a catastrophe. It is the business of Socialism to indicate the way out of the crisis without a final catastrophe".

The term "economic catastrophe" which one continually comes across in the government press, is perfectly applicable. The deficit in the current budget—to cite only one example—is modestly stated by the government to be 400 Million Zloty. The slogans issued by the Polish Socialist Party are intended to serve as a means of saving the rule of the bourgeoisie in the event of the breakdown of the fascist system.

Strike-breaking in Gdynia and in the oil-fields, in Lodz and in Upper Silesia, at the Warsaw gasworks and in the case of the strike of the municipal workers. These are the "confines" which the Polish socialist Party set to the strike movement. They wish to quieten and console the workers with the prospect of an improvement of their situation under a future "workers' and peasants' government".

Eagerly endeavouring to defend every position of fascism against the masses, the Polish Socialist Party offers the bourgeoisie its services in order, should necessity arise, to provide the fascist dictatorship with a broader basis. The Polish socialist party calls attention to the incapability of the Pilsudski Government in face of the threatening "catastrophe", and reminds the bourgeoisie of its tasks in the war against the Soviet Union. In a leading article dealing with these decisions Niedzialkowski warns the bourgeoisie:

"The consequences (of the present government policy. I.R.) can be incalculable in every respect, including the question of safe-guarding the country's independence."

Translated into the language of the fascists and the social fascists, "safeguarding the country's independence" means, as is known, war on the Soviet Union. In order to avert the "incalculable consequences" M. Niedzialkowski is endeavouring as far as possible to give an ideological-programmatic stamp to all mass movements. Ideological and programmatic in the sense of social-fascist ideology and of the programme of overcoming the crisis by pillaging the working masses and by imperialist war.

The difficulties of the Polish socialist party policy are increasing. The hero of Brest-Litovsk, Ciolkosz, pathetically complains:

"The actual situation of the socialist movement is exceedingly difficult at the present moment. It is compelled to manoeuvre in order not to lose the masses."

The ferment of the masses, who are more and more plainly recognising the "ideological and programmatic stamp" of the social fascists, is spreading to the ranks of the rank and file members of the P.P.S. The strivings for the united front are combatted by the Polish party leaders and the police with equal zeal. Expulsion from the Polish Socialist Party is tantamount to being included in the list of political suspects kept by the police. Nevertheless the workers have succeeded in issuing a paper entitled "The oppositional Polish Socialist Party-Man", which opposes the Right and also the "Left" party bureaucrats. This oppositional feeling is also to be observed in all the sub-districts of Warsaw and has become a sign of storm for the socialist saviours of Polish capitalism.

The government press has exposed with cynical scorn the double character of the decisions of the P.P.S. The chief government organ, "Gazeta Polska", writes regarding them:

"The revolutionary tone of the decisions of the central committee of the P.P.S. appears to be an expression of despair: We do not know what we have to do to-day and to-morrow, therefore, let us talk of things we will not attempt in any case: expropriation, nationalisation, socialisation."

THE BALKANS

The New Government in Rumania.

By Bela Kun.

A fresh change of government has taken place in Rumania—the fifth since King Carol ascended the throne. The head of the new government is the leader of the National-Zaranist Party Maniu, who occupies the position of Prime Minister, whilst Titulescu, the "best diplomat in Rumania", takes over the portfolio of Foreign Minister. For the rest, everything remains as it was.

The formation of the Maniu-Titulescu Cabinet will not solve and not even alleviate the government crisis which has become a chronic phenomenon in Rumania. In Rumania, which is chiefly an agrarian country, the agrarian crisis has led to a disaster of the State finances and caused a division in the ranks of the ruling classes. The agrarian crisis is expressed not only in the sudden drop in the prices of agricultural products, but also in the decline of the area under cultivation. In the year 1931 the cultivated area declined by 15 per cent compared with the previous year, and in the present year by about 30 per cent. In the year 1932 the price of wheat is 63 per cent, and the price of maize 72 per cent less than in the year 1928. The costs of production for the yield of a hectare of land are 2,000 to 3,000 Lei higher than the sum realised on the market for this harvest. The situation of cattle breeding in Rumania is no less disastrous. The value of a hectare of arable land is estimated at about 2,000 Lei, whilst according to official figures the indebtedness of the Rumanian peasants amounts on an average to 8,000 to 10,000 Lei per hectare.

The decline in the purchasing power of the peasantry, who constitute more than 70 per cent. of the total population, has meant a very severe blow to industry. The Rumanian oil companies are passing into the hands of French finance capital. All the Rumanian industrial enterprises are to a great extent dependent upon State orders. Owing to the crisis there is not only a decline in the volume of orders but already for a number of years the State has not paid anything to private employers for supplies delivered.

Half of the industrial workers of Rumania are unemployed.

The financial situation of Rumania is exceedingly serious. Although the budget expenditure has been reduced from 37 milliard to 25 milliard, expenditure still exceeds the revenue. In the present year the monthly State expenditure averages 1.7 to 1.8 milliard, whilst the revenue does not exceed 1.2 to 1.3 milliard Lei. The national debt amounts to about 10 milliard Lei. The foreign creditors, and in the first place the French banks, are refusing to advance any further sums.

Rumania was only able to obtain a moratorium, and this was granted on conditions which have greatly shaken the position of the government in the last 2½ years and rendered the government crisis in Rumania a chronic phenomenon. The financial commission of the League of Nations proposed to the Vajda Government that instead of taking up fresh loans it get rid of some of the superfluous government officials (at least 50,000). No government in Rumania, however, has ventured to resort to this measure, and all preferred to delay paying the officials salaries and also the pensions of the retired officials and officers for months.

The question of debt conversion has called forth a lively discussion in the ranks of the Rumanian bourgeoisie. As is known, Rist, the League of Nations Commissioner, prevented the realisation of this conversion which was initiated by the Yorga Government. The Liberals, who represent the interests of the old Rumanian financial capitalists, sharply opposed inflation and the conversion plans of the government. But also in the ranks of the national Zaranist Party it came to fierce differences of opinion in connection with these questions.

The Liberals were the truest defenders of the French orientation of Rumania's home policy. As, however, they are representatives of the big old Rumanian banks, they demanded that French capital should be invested in Rumanian economy through the mediation of these banks. As the French financial circles have now stopped granting any further credits to the Rumanian banks, the Liberals, just the same as the Right wing of the Nationalist Zaranist party, are trying to exert pressure on France. They are attempting every manoeuvre on the economic field, just as Titulescu en-

deavoured to exert pressure on Herriot in the foreign-political field.

A year ago there were rumours in Rumania regarding an economic rapprochement between Germany and Rumania. The French Government at that time brought about the overthrow of the Yorga Cabinet. There is now talk in Rumania of an rapprochement to Great Britain for which king Carol and Titulescu are alleged to be striving. A short time ago big military manoeuvres took place in Kronstadt (Transylvania) at which were present King Carol, the chiefs of the General Staff and **British Air-Force officers**. According to the reports of the papers, the Rumanian fleet is now being reorganised with the aid of the English according to the English and not the French model.

On the other hand it is openly stated in circles closely connected with Titulescu that the real allies of Rumania in France are not Herriot and his party groups, but the Tardieu group. In any case there is no doubt that, owing to the inner economic difficulties, a part of the Rumanian bourgeoisie is thinking of a new foreign-political orientation which would support from outside the aggressive aims of Rumanian imperialism, before all against the Soviet Union.

The new government will proceed more ruthlessly against the workers and peasants movement and against the emancipation movement of the oppressed Moldavian, Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian and Hungarian national minorities. It will carry out the war-like policy of Rumanian imperialism.

The working masses of Rumania are fiercely opposed to the Maniu-Titulescu Government which resorts to the ruthless methods of police terror, of oppression and feverish preparations for imperialist war.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

London Greet's the Hunger Marchers.

By R. Bishop (London).

The demonstration which took place on October 27 in support of the hunger marchers who have tramped from all parts of Great Britain was one of the mightiest London has ever witnessed. Despite the fact that it rained heavily during the morning, over 20,000 workers marched and the crowd assembled in Hyde-Park to greet the marchers numbered at least another 100,000.

There was a terrific police mobilisation to intimidate the demonstrators. All leave has been stopped for the London police during the stay of the marchers in London, and 5,000 were on duty with the demonstrators. In addition, several thousand Special Constables were on duty, with the 100 specially recruited mounted men, all ex-cavalry officers who provide their own horses and pay for their upkeep. The Specials, who gained notoriety as scabs during the General Strike, caused particular resentment among the workers, and it was evident at times that they were not too popular with their regular colleagues, who resented their superior airs.

In addition to the uniformed men, hundreds of plain clothes men were on duty. A batch of close on 100 of them were seen leaving Scotland Yard early in the morning, dressed in working clothes, making for the starting points of the various contingents. These men acted the part of **agents provocateurs** wherever they went. One of them, however, was hoist with his own petard. Mistaken by a Special Constable for a demonstrator he was knocked unconscious and beaten mercilessly with a baton. He is now in hospital and, according to reports is "in a very critical condition".

A noticeable feature of the demonstration was its discipline and orderliness. From start to finish there was no disturbance round the meetings nor in the procession, coming or going.

The heavy fighting which took place and which resulted in according to official figures, 65 injured persons being admitted to hospital, was caused entirely by provocative police tactics among isolated groups of workers near the entrance to the park and outside the gates.

Even the Liberal "News-Chronicle" states:

"The marchers had intended their demonstration to be a peaceful one. They carried out their intention to the letter. They paid no attention to the conflicts at the gates and elsewhere as they stood quietly round six horse-drawn vans . . . Nothing could have been more orderly than the marchers' demonstration, and the discipline with which they rallied to a bugle-call and fell into ranks before marching away from the Park impressed all the bystanders. With the same precision they had marched into the Park."

For a week prior to the arrival of the marchers in London the bourgeois press had done its utmost to work up a campaign of provocation against the marchers as "Moscow dupes", "alien agitators", etc.

The solemn "Times" had thundered leading articles against the marchers, the "Morning Post" solemnly announced that all the marchers were "Moscow agents" well paid in roubles and should not be allowed to enter London. The "Daily Express" admitted that "there may be one or two genuine hunger marchers in their ranks", the "Daily Mail", carried its campaign so far that the marchers in Peterboro' went into a newsagents' shop and asked him politely to take down a "Mail" poster which said "Hunger Marchers Moscow Orders". The newsagent refused to comply, so the marchers abandoned politeness and tore it down themselves, burning it in front of his shop.

The first fighting occurred when there was traffic congestion outside the Park as a late contingent arrived. Mounted men tried to chivy the crowd by riding their horses into them. Quickly sticks and stones were flying through the air. More police reinforcements appeared. The marchers kept their ranks and marched into the meeting place, but large posses of police continually charged into the crowds of workers. Railings and wooden fences were uprooted and, brandishing these, a number of workers surrounded a group of mounted police, two of whom were unseated. Immediately another squad of mounted descended upon them hitting right and left with their swordsticks, many workers falling beneath the flying hooves. As the crowd scattered police from all quarters chased after them. A number of arrests were made and a large crowd chased up Edgware Road to try and release the prisoners. A fierce fight took place in Edgware Road, many of the workers improvising ammunition from building jobs that were in progress. Many windows of shops and motor-cars were broken and one car was overturned. The shop-keepers in the neighbourhood hurriedly put their shutters up.

The fighting in Hyde Park and Edgware Road lasted from 3.30 until 5.

The police savagery was unbelievable. The mounted men, taking advantage of the open spaces of the Park, charged along at a full gallop regardless of the men, women and children who were being trampled underfoot. The workers fought back gallantly, with fists, stones, sticks, railings and anything that came to hand as weapons.

When the marchers left the Park, all traffic was diverted, and as the head of the procession marched like an Army down Bayswater Road, the road was clear. The procession was three miles long and took half an hour to leave the Park.

* * *

London, October 31.

The largest police mobilisation London ever witnessed occurred yesterday (Sunday) on the occasion of the **hunger-marchers' demonstration**. The police were under the direct control of Lord Trenchard, the chief of the police. All police leave was cancelled, whilst traffic duty was taken over entirely by special constables. Charing Cross station and the public buildings in Whitehall were packed with police held in readiness. The demonstration itself was perfectly orderly, but many fights took place on the outskirts of the demonstration and in Whitehall.

A number of arrests took place and 8 injured persons were taken to the hospital. It is now officially reported that 19 police were injured on Thursday. It is generally admitted that Thursday's fighting was due to provocation on the part of special constables and it is stated that Scotland Yard has instituted an inquiry regarding their conduct.

Despite the police ban a huge demonstration of **Dundee** workers marched to the jail yesterday evening in support of workers who were arrested at Thursday's demonstration. The police carried out baton charges. There were numerous casualties and six more arrests.

The War

The Debate in the Chamber on the "Constructive" "Disarmament" Plan of French Imperialism.

Paris, October 29.

At the sitting of the Chamber in the course of which France's "constructive" plan was submitted, the most important speeches by bourgeois representatives were those of Franklin-Bouillon, Herriot and Leon Blum.

Franklin Bouillon, who this time addressed the Chamber as the spokesman of the extreme Rights, submitted a simple and brutal thesis: Germany is again arming. We cannot do anything else than compel it by all means to observe all the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and instead of proposing disarmament to it we must strengthen our alliances and our military forces.

The speech of the socialist leader Leon Blum was aimed at preparing the way for the acceptance of the proposals which Herriot should make. Blum reminded the Chamber of the general platform of social democracy: general, simultaneous and controlled disarmament. Proceeding from this he offered Herriot the full support of the Socialist Party, although the French plan which is to be submitted at Geneva does not aim at "a general simultaneous control of war material, which cannot be evaded, the prohibition of the private production of weapons, and the confirmation of the already concluded security Pacts". Blum said:

"The demand for equality was recognised by Herriot in his speech at Grammat. On the other hand, he condemned Germany's arming. Finally, the Government of the Republic has as the object of its policy general disarmament, and on this point there is an agreement between France, England and the United States. The aim of the constructive Plan of France must be to bring these three conditions into harmony.

I desire that the French Plan, which was just submitted to us, shall bring about either an acceptance by Germany or such a rejection that it will rally the public opinion of the whole world against German feudalism."

Blum's speech concluded with a definite offer of support.

There then followed the speech of the Prime Minister Herriot. He submitted what he described as the "chapter headings" of the French Plan. And his declarations were shortly afterwards supplemented in an official communiqué, the text of which is as follows:

"France is prepared to accept by a definite date the generalisation and reduction of the period of service of all land and international forces under the following conditions:

1. That all formations contrary to this organisation of armies (such as the Reichswehr and the fascist militia) would be dissolved;

2. That international control would be organised and that it would include the right of investigating national armies;

3. That in order to supplement the Locarno Pact, a regional pact of mutual assistance should be concluded, to which each European nation would be a party, and the collective force provided by which should be enough to resist aggression.

This force should comprise an additional group of specialised national contingents, immediately available and well-equipped;

4. That the United States should accord guarantees of security which they have themselves considered;

5. That the members of the League of Nations should undertake to fulfil all the obligations of Article 16 of the Pact, which provides sanctions against an aggressor; and

6. That arbitration would be obligatory for States adhering to the Plan."

Herriot's speech, taken as a whole, was a regular condemnation of Germany's arming and a call to Great Britain and the United States to side with French imperialism.

The whole debate gives one the impression of tremendous uneasiness on account of the danger of war.

The Communists arranged that Comrades Peri and Montjauvis should speak on behalf of the fraction. Comrade Montjauvis read from the tribune the joint manifesto of the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist Party of France. Comrade Peri declared in his speech:

"The failure of the attempts at disarmament is due to the contempt and anger with which the masses of the people are turning from the League of Nations. M. Herriot maintains that the crisis in Geneva is a crisis of growth. That is not the case. The League of Nations was the organ of the period of relative stabilisation of capitalism. This period is at an end. It is the storm of the crisis that has swept away the Geneva edifice . . .

"A policy whose only possible way out is war: one could not better characterise the policy of the government in regard to the disarmament question. This policy was expressed in the Pact in which France joined, and which sanctions the results or more correctly said, the lack of results of the first session of the Conference embodied in the resolution of Benes. One can say without exaggeration that this document constitutes a direct affront to the will to peace of the masses of the people. What is the meaning, for example, of the prohibition of chemical warfare when the Hague Conference proclaimed a similar prohibition in 1914? What does international control mean when the immediate representatives of the General Staff and of the war industries are not removed from the control organs?

"You have declared in favour of the prohibition of aerial bombardments, but at the same time you render your approval conditional upon the problematic internationalisation of civil aviation. You have approved the desire for the reduction of the strength of the armies, but on condition that each nation shall judge for itself what it needs for its security. A few weeks ago the French delegation rejected the only disarmament proposals which could bring a real alleviation; these were the proposals formulated by the Soviet delegation.

"A few minutes ago there was submitted to us the celebrated "constructive" plan. So far as one can judge the plan from such a rapid reading, our attitude to it is as follows:

"1. To the extent to which the principles of the Protocol of 1924 are repeated, it will encounter the same obstacles as this still-born instrument. 2. It envisages the working out of regional pacts; but model pacts of this kind have been prepared at Geneva by a so-called Security Committee, but they have found no-one to adopt them. 3. Finally and chiefly, the plan provides for the replacement of the professional army by a conscript system, it alters the military organisation of Europe, but in no way reduces the forces of militarism. It brings no measures for reducing armaments as desired by the people."

After this criticism of the Herriot Plan Comrade Peri reminded the Chamber of how much French imperialism had helped develop militarism in Germany. He arrived at the following conclusion:

"The military constitution of Germany is fixed by the treaties. It must be remembered that the first departure from it was decided upon by the Allies themselves, when they left to President Ebert the necessary weapons for crushing the Spartacus revolution. Later you maintained the superiority of the French army. When you proceeded to reduce the number of troops under arms, you at the same time, thanks to your military laws, increased the actual strength of this army. In the thirteen years since the war the relation of forces between victors and vanquished has thoroughly changed. The Germany of 1932 is no longer that of 1919. With the imported capital German capitalism has restored its apparatus of production, and its expansionist tendencies now come up against the provisions of the Treaties of 1919. In this contradiction there is to be found the real origin of Germany's demand

for armaments. The present problem is only the expression of the crisis of the Treaty of Versailles. This system of Versailles is threatened with collapse...

As regards ourselves, we have stigmatised the Treaty of Versailles right from the very beginning. The history of our International is bound up with the fight against this Treaty. We do not believe, like M. Blum, in the sacred character of reparations. On the contrary, we believe that the heavy burdens placed on the working masses of Germany have served to promote and encourage German nationalism. In addition, by balkanising Europe, by increasing the minority groups under foreign yokes, you have increased the factors making for uncertainty.

As for ourselves, who are on the French sector of the international class struggle, we consider it our duty to support our comrades in Germany in their courageous fight by attacking militarism in our country. Creating security consists in destroying, by revolutionary action, the forces of this kind which prepare war. Our conception of security is incompatible with yours. We wish to destroy the war treaties; we desire the emancipation of the oppressed peoples, the fight of every proletariat against its own imperialism and against the whole of international imperialism.

At the conclusion of the debate the Government received 420 votes, whilst only 20 votes were recorded against it. The majority of the government therefore extends from the outspoken Rights to the renegades from the Communist Party. The socialists unanimously voted for the Plan of French imperialism.

* * *

The Berlin "**Rote Fahne**" of October 30, in its comments of the Plan submitted by the French Government states:

This security Pact of the French war government means a general arming in the whole world; it means a Pact for war. The social democrat **Leon Blum**, in a long speech declared his full approval of this war plan of French imperialism. His only concern was that the French security plan should receive the approval of the rest of the imperialist Powers.

The formation of an international army and the sanctioning of a general military service for German imperialism—all this shows what France is aiming at with this security plan. By means of this plan the Versailles system, the hegemony of France is to be secured; the anti-Soviet bloc, which is under the leadership of French imperialism, is to be strengthened; **German imperialism** is to be brought into the system of war alliances **under French hegemony**. For this purpose Germany shall introduce nine months military service under the control of the French General Staff, and be allowed to increase its armaments.

The Telegraph Union publishes the following report from official circles in Berlin on the German attitude to Herriot's speech:

"As regards Herriot's proposals, it must be said that Germany cannot accept all of them. As however, Herriot has left open the possibility of negotiations, no objection can be made to an eventual discussion of these points. But the question of international police force can be discussed. If Germany were to take part in such a police force to the same extent as the other Powers, then it would have no objections to this institution."

The "**Vorwärts**" is in a perfect ecstasy on account of this war and armaments plan. In its morning edition the central organ of the social democracy wrote:

"The new French plan is certainly a world sensation and undoubtedly accords to a great extent with the principle of equality, as all States, whether victors or vanquished, are to receive the same army system, namely a short-term general compulsory service." The "**Abend Vorwärts**" writes:

"A glance at this morning's papers teaches us that they (the Right bourgeois press) have not at all grasped the sense and importance of the new French Plan. In their headlines they almost unanimously declare that the Reichswehr is to be abolished. These gentlemen have fully overlooked the fact that the plan at the same time proposes general military service and the militia system also for Germany. There is no doubt that many objections can be made to the new French proposals from the social democratic standpoint... But that it is a fundamental

and even great advance compared with the rigid French standpoint is perfectly obvious."

The social democratic press is in high glee because general military service is to be introduced in Germany. The creation of an international anti-Soviet army, increased armaments everywhere, the securing of the Versailles robber-system,—all this is a "great advance" for the social democracy. Just like the Papen-Schleicher Government, it of course has some objections to this plan of Herriot. But it recognises the important essence of this plan, which consists in drawing German imperialism into the war front against the Soviet Union.

In brotherly unanimity with our French comrades we German Communists declare our irreconcilable hostility to this war plan of French imperialism. To this plan we oppose the common fighting will, announced in the proclamation of the German and French Communists, against all armaments and war plans of the imperialists this side and on the other side of the frontiers. To this plan we oppose the determination actively to defend the proletarian fatherland the determination to wage the common fight against the Versailles robber system, which bears within it the seeds of new imperialist wars, the common fight for the emancipation of the proletariat.

The Franco-Italian Conflict in the Light of Mussolini's Speech at Turin.

By Gabriel Peri (Paris).

On October 23 Benito Mussolini delivered a speech in Turin in the course of which he stated:

"There are certain people who maintain that the approach of Winter fills us with anxiety. No, 50 critical Winters could pass and nothing whatever would happen!"

Thus spake the Duce. It is generally known, however, that the deeds of the fascist dictatorship fall far short of this pompous boasting. For the fact is that in the course of the ten years in which the blackshirts have ruled wages have fallen by 70 per cent., that during the last three years the number of unemployed has increased threefold, that the parity of the Lira has been maintained only at the cost of enormous sacrifices, and that the automobile and chemical industries are seriously suffering as a result of the crisis.

It is a no less indisputable fact that in Italy, as in all capitalist countries, the working class is offering resistance and going over to the counter-attack. And this not only in the workshops and factories, as for instance in the metal and textile industries of North Italy, but also in the army and in the fleet. The innumerable arrests and tortures to which the best champions of the working class are subjected are a proof of the anxiety and fear which have seized the leading circles of Italian fascism.

And when Mussolini speaks from the balcony of the Prefect's Palace and tries to whip up feeling against the "rich countries", he only does so in order to divert the wave of protest and discontent of the broad mass of the people into definite channels. The fascists have constantly put forward the thesis that the Treaties of 1919 did not pay regard to the interests of Italy, and therefore Italy—according to an expression of Grandi—demands a "radical redistribution of the world". European co-operation must be based on the "recognition of the sacred rights of Italy". And further, "We do not want any hegemonies in Europe. We are against the establishment of any sort of hegemony, especially if it involves the crystallisation of patent injustice".

This is a direct attack on the defenders of the status quo. On the same line of reasoning Italian imperialism supports the German demand for equality. "The German demand for juridical equality is fully justified"—and the Duce places the Paris Government, which he charges with delaying matters and seeking diversions, in the position of an accused. The Duce goes even further. He excuses beforehand Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations if the Disarmament Conference does not fulfil its demands. "When the Disarmament Conference is finished, and if it has given a negative result, then Germany will not be able to remain in the League of Nations if this difference which has lowered her standard so far, is not eradicated".

It is clear that an ideological basis must be given to these aspirations. Both in Rome and Paris attempts are made to hide from the masses that it is imperialist rivalry which

drives the two imperialist countries against each other. Mussolini proclaimed in Turin, in the name of Italian imperialism:

"We stand for principles which are directly opposed to theirs. It is a question of a real ideological war."

The demands of Italian fascism are well known. They are formulated, according to circumstances, in bombastic or honeyed words. At Turin Mussolini resorted to the second method:

"Italy is following a policy of peace. It will not withdraw from the League of Nations. It has its disarmament programme."

Why does Mussolini suddenly appear as a pacifist? The answer is not difficult to find. Mussolini's speech contains an

appeal to American capitalism to cancel the war debts. The pacifist phrases of Mussolini have no other purpose than to back up this demagogic demand. The fact is that Mussolini has two great cares on his mind at the present moment: 1) the crisis in Italy, and for this reason he rails against the "rich countries" and appeals to the magnanimity of the American usurers; and 2) war, and therefore he attacks French hegemony, maintains that the German demands are justified, protests against the delays on the part of France, supports MacDonald's demarche and thus drives a wedge into the Franco-British agreement.

Short-sighted people will be pleased on account of the moderate tone of Mussolini's speech. But it is not the tone that matters. The substance of Mussolini's speech at Turin furnishes proof of the sharpness of the Franco-Italian conflict.

International Fight against War and Intervention

Against Imperialist War, against the Versailles System! For Proletarian Internationalism!

Comrade Thälmann's Militant Speech in Paris.

(Detailed report.)

Paris, 31st Oct. 1932.

A great mass meeting was held to-night by the Communist Party of France in the Bullier Hall in Paris in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the October revolution. At the beginning of the meeting the chairman announced, amidst the frantic applause of the assembled Paris workers, that the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Comrade Ernst Thälmann, was present and would speak on the questions of the joint Franco-German fraternisation action in the struggle against the war danger, against the Versailles system, and against the nationalist incitement of the bourgeoisie of both countries. Comrade Thälmann's appearance at this meeting called forth a stupendous demonstration for the fraternisation of the workers of Germany and France and for the victory of proletarian internationalism. After Comrade Thälmann's speech had been translated and received with the utmost enthusiasm, the leader of the Communist Party of France, Comrade Thorez, addressed the meeting, stressing the historical importance of Comrade Thälmann's appearing at this meeting of the French workers, and replying on behalf of the working class of France. His speech was followed by one from Comrade Marcel Cachin.

In the course of his fighting speech, Comrade Thälmann stated:

"To all of you who are assembled here, and beyond you to the whole of the revolutionary workers of Paris and France, I bring the warmest fraternal revolutionary fighting greetings of the German proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Germany.

Comrades, these few words spoken here in Paris, in the capital of France, where French imperialism—the gendarme of the Versailles system in Europe—has centralised its power, aim at voicing the flaming indictment which the millions of workers and peasants of Germany bring against the accursed Versailles system, against the robber Versailles treaty.

We accuse the II. International as well as the social democrats who share responsibility for the acceptance and execution of the shameful treaty of Versailles.

The few words I utter here are in the service of the great international task, and give testimony here, in the city of Jean Jaurès, to proletarian internationalism, to the unbreakable solidarity and the close, fraternal, comradely alliance between the German and the French workers in their joint struggle against the capitalist exploiters in their own countries, against the German and French bourgeoisies, and for the workers' power and for socialism.

I have come here to Paris, to the city of that Commune which lighted a beacon for the revolutionary workers' move-

ment, to bring an indictment against the capitalist governments of both countries. We communists in Germany and France join together under the banner of proletarian internationalism, against nationalist war-mongering, against the military armaments, against the imperialist policy of war-preparations, to the end that we may carry out our international action of struggle against imperialist war, against chauvinism, against militarism, and against the Versailles system.

A few days ago the joint proclamation of our two Parties, of the German and French communists, was placed before the German public, on the initiative of the Central Committee of the C.P.G., in the Ruhr district, the territory of the Poincaré occupation. To-day, here in Paris, I want to join with you, the revolutionary workers of Paris, in taking a further step towards the mobilisation of the masses of the workers in Germany and France for our international action.

We communists say to you, French workers, masses of the toiling people: Your fellow sufferers in Germany, the workers and peasants there, are not your enemies, but your natural allies! And at the same time we tell the German toilers that the French workers and toilers are never their foes, but their class allies and comrades!

There is no tie whatever between us, the representatives of the working class of Germany, and the German bourgeoisie, the German capitalists. But there is every possible tie between us, the representatives of the working class of Germany, and you, the workers, the toilers, the exploited masses of the French people.

Only by working together—you with us and we with you—can we overcome the barbaric capitalist system and the brutal rule of the bourgeois class.

Only by working together, allied by proletarian internationalism, can we win the victory over capitalism, carry out successfully the struggle for the social emancipation of the toilers, and at the same time fight for and win national liberation from the yoke of Versailles.

Only by working together can we be successful in the struggle against the preparations for a new imperialist war, and by the victory of the working class free the masses of the peoples from the scourge of imperialist war.

The Versailles system must fall! For it increases the sufferings of the toiling masses under the crisis of the decaying capitalist system, in Germany as in France.

The toiling masses of Germany groan under the double exploitation of the German bourgeoisie and of the imperialist victors of Versailles. Millions of Germans have been placed under the rule of French imperialism and its vassals by the Versailles treaty, or are languishing in the chains of Italian fascism—as the hundreds of thousands of Germans in South

Tyrol. We communists are determined to win for all these, and for the whole of the toiling masses of the Austrian people and for the population of Alsace-Lorraine, their complete and unrestricted right of self-determination for their social and national emancipation. Here in Paris we will join together—German and French communists—in demanding that the toilers, the people of Alsace Lorraine, should determine their own fate, including the right to separate from France.

Our struggle, our international action against the Versailles system, has nothing whatever to do with the imperialist claims and nationalist propaganda of the German bourgeoisie and the national socialists.

We, as the coming victors in the struggle of the classes, will never recognise the imperialist treaties concluded between the German bourgeoisie and the French or any other capitalists and imperialists. After we have seized the power, we shall join you, the workers and toilers of France and of the whole world, in declaring the dictates of Versailles, the robber Young Plan and the Pact of Lausanne, to be null and void.

We cherish no illusions as to a liquidation of the Versailles system on the part of the bourgeoisie. This is impossible. We know that only the victory of the working class, in alliance with the other toilers, can bring the Versailles system to an end, simultaneously with the end of capitalist exploitation. We shall arouse the enthusiasm of the masses for this aim. We shall show the masses what is at stake, for what they have to fight.

We communists in Germany, as in France, are fighting for the daily interests of the masses, and at the same time for their socialist future. One cannot be separated from the other.

To-day you are celebrating the 15th anniversary of the Soviet power! Where the Soviet Government is in power there is no crisis, no unemployment, no decline, but an upsurge, though often in face of difficulties and at the cost of great sacrifices. There in the land of the Soviets there is no national oppression. There there is no Versailles system. There the old tsarist debts and slave treaties are cancelled and swept away. There freedom reigns, and real socialism.

Comrades, we German communists are the outposts in the struggle of the world proletariat against fascism. Our struggle against the fascist dictatorship is at the same time your struggle!

The alliance of solidarity, welded more firmly than ever by the international action taken by us as communists against imperialist war and the Versailles system, signifies for you, our French comrades, a simultaneous great historical responsibility. After the German working class has emerged victoriously from the class struggle, then French imperialism will face a German workers' and peasant's republic with intentions of bloody imperialist intervention. Then the task falls to you of frustrating such interventionist plans on the part of our common foe.

At the present time and in the future, and in view of the ever growing danger of the imperialist war being prepared for by the imperialists of France and Germany, we must continually bear in mind Karl Liebknecht's words: "The enemy is in your own country!"

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels issued the call: "Workers of the world, unite!" And at this historical moment the call goes forth in Germany and France: "Workers of Germany and France, unite!"

Soviet Chemists Appeal against War.

Moscow, 31st October 1932.

The delegates to the Mendelyew congress for applied chemistry at present taking place in Harkov have issued an appeal to the chemists of the world against imperialist war and capitalist intervention. The appeal points to the danger of imperialist war and in particular the danger of a capitalist intervention against the Soviet Union and calls on all chemists to work to prevent chemical science, a powerful weapon in the struggle of humanity for progress, being turned into the most fearful weapon known to man for the extermination of millions and the destruction of civilisation and culture.

THE WHITE TERROR

Release the Meerut Prisoners!

Joint Appeal of the League against Imperialism and the International Red Aid.

The Meerut case has already become historical. No trial on such a wide issue and on such an enormous scale has ever before been staged in the annals of imperialist class persecution. It is an attempt to smash the whole working class movement of a land with 350,000,000 toilers. It is a trial on which the British Imperialists have spent hundreds of thousands of pounds.

During a period of three years and eight months these 31 prisoners, three of them British workers, have been incarcerated in a tropical jail in one of the hottest parts of India.

Although the majority of the accused come from the big towns, the trial was deliberately fixed to be held in Meerut far away from the industrial centres, firstly because a trial by jury is not necessary in these smaller towns and secondly in order to be able to carry it through without risk of disturbance by protests of the workers and peasants.

Hundreds, even thousands of documents have been cited in the case. All the classic works of Socialism, Marxism and Leninism have been put forward by the prosecution as proof of the guilt of the prisoners in this gigantic "frame-up"! And the verdict has not yet been given!

In this unparalleled trial in the history of British imperialist rule, the Indian working class and through them the world proletariat has been arraigned before the bars of Imperialist justice to answer the charge of daring to defend itself against Imperialist exploitation and slavery and daring to assert its class aims of social emancipation. In the midst of the big strike movement of 1928-29, the first great mounting wave of the working class movement in India, the first emergence of the Indian proletariat as a leading class force, the British rulers aimed a blow intended to destroy the whole movement. Their main political purpose has been to smash all forms of independent trade union and political organisation on the part of the Indian workers and peasants.

The Meerut Prisoners were the most authoritative leaders of the Indian trade union and working class movement. Their liberation is a key question for the progress of the Indian working class struggle. **They are class war prisoners of international significance.** The question is by no means one which concerns India alone. Just as American imperialism makes every effort by increased lynch activities and legal lynch justice and by terrorising the coloured peoples and incitement of the whites to hinder the formation of a united front of the labouring masses of all races, so British Imperialism pursues the same aims under the different conditions in India by persecuting the active champions and organisers of the united front.

The struggle for the Meerut prisoners is a central question of the Indian working class struggle, it is a focal point for the struggle against British Imperialism and against world Imperialism as a whole. The Meerut prisoners stand in the forefront of the ranks of anti-imperialist fighters.

The anti-working class and mass terror in India is an essential part of British Imperialist preparations for war. The struggle of the Meerut prisoners is essentially bound up with the struggle against the imperialist war. In spite of every hindrance and handicap the Meerut prisoners have made the most resolute and unswerving defence in support of the principles of working class struggle. The joint statement signed by 18 of the prisoners is a guiding, classical document in the advance of the struggle of the Indian workers and peasants.

The joint of the British and Indian working class representatives against their persecutors in this case is a living symbol of the international solidarity of the British and Indian working class. These prisoners have received no help from the Indian national reformists. They have received no help from the British Labour Government or from the British trade union bureaucracy. Even the smallest things in the way of immediate necessities for their existence under the terrible prison conditions or for the very limited legal

assistance they could afford have been provided only by the pennies collected from rank and file workers.

Now the hearing of the case is over and the sentence of the judge (there is no jury) is due to be pronounced on **December 1st**. There is not a moment to be lost. The delay in the pronouncement of judgement is intended to give time to consult the British Government and to test the response of the trial throughout the working class movement.

The sentence which will be passed depends essentially on the steps that are taken during this intervening period. The campaign on behalf of the Meerut prisoners has never yet obtained the international hearing that it deserves. It is the sacred duty of every supporter of the anti-imperialist struggle, of every supporter of the basic rights of the working class movement to put every ounce of effort into the building of a really world wide campaign for the liberation of the Meerut Prisoners.

Between now and December 1st every organisation connected with or sympathising with the League against Imperialism or the International Red Aid should pledge itself to this task. Let us make the Meerut case the issue in such a tremendous volume of demonstration of mass working class feeling that the British jailors will be compelled to throw open the prison doors.

We appeal to every class conscious worker!

We appeal to every enemy of imperialist oppression, to every person and organisation ready to declare in favour of the most elementary rights for the workers and peasants in the colonies!

Organise everywhere meetings of protest exposing the infamous role of British Imperialism and centring around the Meerut case!

Adopt protest resolutions to be forwarded to the India Office in Britain and to the District Judge of the Meerut Court!

Make known everywhere the terrible facts of the conduct of this case, the treatment of the prisoners and the attack on working class organisations and activity in India. Make use of every possible channel of working class progressive literature in order to obtain publicity for the facts.

We call for the immediate organisation of demonstrations and campaigns in every country so that the time available may be used to save the Meerut Prisoners and to build firmly the unity of white and coloured workers and peasants against imperialism!

Fight for the unconditional release of the Meerut Prisoners!

For the complete freedom for trade union and working class activity and organisation in India!

For the liberation of all political prisoners and victims of imperialist terror in the colonies!

For the complete national independence of India!

Against the imperialist war!

For the complete overthrow of British Imperialism!

Down with national reformism and the agents of imperialist rule!

Long live the solidarity of the working class of the metropolitan countries with the toiling masses of the colonies!

Leading Meerut Prisoner Dies—Shall the Others share his Fate?

By Cepeda.

D. R. Thengdi, the oldest of the 31 Indian working class leaders who were arrested by the British government in March 1929 and who have been undergoing trial at Meerut during more than three and a half years, died on September 29, 1932.

He has been done to death by British imperialism. The terrible conditions in the jail at Meerut and the strain of the trial caused his health to fail immediately after his arrest. Yet he was only allowed release on bail a short while ago, after repeated refusals, and then only because he was in a dying condition and the British jailors did not wish that he should die in the prison.

Comrade Thengdi was an engineer of noted abilities. From very early days he took an interest in the working

class movement and was particularly taken up with trade union questions. After his retirement, he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the cause of Indian trade unionism. In Poona, where he lived, he was instrumental in the organisation of several trade unions. In 1923, he was elected president of the All India-Trade-Union-Congress. In spite of his years, he was enthusiastic and tireless in spreading among all those who came into contact with him knowledge of socialist ideas.

When the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party was organised in 1927/28, he gave his active assistance. He was not prepared to call himself a communist, but he was an honest and conscientious participant in the working class struggle. He was a member of the All-India Executive Committee of the India National Congress. Early in 1928 he was appointed as a delegate to the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism held at Francfort. But the British Government by the Meerut arrests prevented his attendance. In view of his services and in honour of the great cause represented by the trial of the Meerut prisoners, he was elected Honorary President of the League Against Imperialism at the Francfort Congress.

This is the man whose death has been brought about by three years of jail and the anxiety of a protracted trial. What is to happen with the others? Some of them also have had to be allowed bail owing to serious illness. The sentences in the Meerut trial are due to be pronounced on December 1. The ruthless British terror against the Indian working class will ensure that they will be convicted to long years of imprisonment unless sufficient influence is brought to bear by world wide mass agitation for their release.

"The Law" in the Scottsboro Case.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

One of the startling features about the Scottsboro judicial lynch verdicts is that they were returned against mere children. It is urged that there must be some age limit by which children may escape the electric chair, or hanging, or whatever other method of judicial murder is applied by capitalist ruling class justice. In Nevada, in the United States, the victims are put to death in a lethal gas chamber; the state of Utah allows its victims to select death by shooting as an alternative to hanging.

There is no age limit to protect the Scottsboro children from being electrocuted. This is especially important to understand in view of the fact that the two youngest, Roy Wright and Eugene Williams, have been granted new trials and there may be some illusions that they have escaped death. The prosecutor declares he will demand that both these boys, now in their fourteenth year after more than 18 months in prison, also die in the electric chair.

As a general rule there is no age limit for the death penalty in any section of the United States. The theory of the law only asks whether the person supposed to have committed a crime is old enough to appreciate the nature of the offence so that the jury can reasonably hold that he intended to commit the crime. Theoretically this can bring the youngest children within its scope. All that is needed is for the clever prosecutor by adroit questioning to bring testimony from the lips of the helpless child victim from which it could be reasonably inferred that he understood and intended to commit the offence charged against him.

Joseph R. Brodsky, one of the leading lawyers for the International Red Aid in its defence of the Scottsboro Negro children, who was himself almost lynched by a mob while attending a court proceeding at Scottsboro, Alabama, declares:

"As a practical matter, instances of executions of children under fourteen are rare; they do exist, however. The execution of youngsters of fourteen and over is not particularly unusual. It may be stated generally, however, that there is no statutory age limit."

This legal background furnishes an excellent basis for the Alabama judicial lynchers to carry through their murders. There is not only the general theory of the law that applies to the whole of the United States, but there is the fact that the victims are Negro children, of working class parents, in

the most lynch-ridden of the Southern states, and that they are facing the electric chair in a time of ever-deepening economic and agrarian crisis, when the boss class seeks victims to terrorise the awakening masses.

Laws in the states of former human slavery of Negroes in the United States are permeated with, or are survivals of these efforts to keep the Negro "in his place". Thus in the state of **Alabama**, where the Scottsboro Negro children face the electric chair, persons may be put to death not only as the penalty for murder and rape, but also for burglary and arson. In the neighbouring state of **Georgia** even the "incitement of discontent" against the state is punishable with death. This law had its origin more than one hundred years ago, in 1830, in the effort to combat any agitation among Negro slaves. After the Civil War (1861-65) the law was merely amended to suit the changing conditions and today this law is being used against struggles of workers, Negro and white. In another Southern state, **Texas**, perjury in a capital case may be punished by death. The law does not explicitly state that it applies specifically to Negroes, but this is the general working out of "The Law" in actual practice. All these laws readily lend themselves to the purposes of the ruling class in the present crisis.

It may be said that the struggle of the International Red Aid against the Scottsboro judicial lynching is an attack upon this whole system of legalised tyranny.

The demand of the International Red Aid that Negroes be allowed to serve on juries hits hard at the judicial lynchers. In the Scottsboro case the International Red Aid demands that the majority of the jurors be Negroes.

It was on the basis of this struggle that the International Red Aid secured a new trial for **Orphan Jones**, an aged Negro farm worker, condemned to death on a framed-up murder charge in Maryland, considered one of the "northern states". In the second trial the state went through the formality, at least, of calling two Negroes for jury service, but these were excused from jury duty on so-called "peremptory challenges" permitted the prosecution, so the second trial, with the same result, was carried through. The International Red Aid has appealed against the second death verdict, raising the same question of Negro prejudice.

Just how this Negro prejudice manifests itself in the court trial was again seen in the Orphan Jones case. Thus Attorney Brodsky states the following:

"When the jury was examined the court permitted the

question to be asked of prospective jurors as to whether they did or did not have a prejudice against the Negroes. All of the white jurors said, very blandly, 'No'. The next question was, 'Do you consider Negroes your social equals?' This question caused a furore. The district attorney got up, raving mad, and objected. The court got purple and sustained the objection."

"We claim that the answer to the question would determine whether the prospective jurors did or did not have any prejudices against the Negro, and regardless of his protestation that he had none, and that the refusal to permit the prospective juror to answer the question prevented our determining whether the prospective juror did have any prejudice against Negroes."

The press generally, and especially the Negro press, giving the International Red Aid full credit, hails the reversal by the higher courts of the first death verdict against Orphan Jones as a tremendous victory in breaking down barriers against the admittance of Negroes to juries.

At Snow Hill, Maryland, where Orphan Jones was indicted, and where attempts were made not only to lynch him but also the attorney, Bernard Ades, and also the International Red Aid representative and investigator, and where Judge Bailey said, at the time when objection was first raised against the exemption of Negroes from juries, that, 'Never would a Negro be called as juror', nevertheless, at that very place the newspapers report that for the first time in 40 years Negroes were called for jury service.

The Negro press in the United States has come to look upon the decision in the Orphan Jones case as a landmark, stating that it is the most beneficial decision for Negroes ever written since the infamous Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court, March 6, 1857, rejecting the legality of the so-called Missouri Compromise, and denying that a Negro, in this case the slave, Dred Scott, was a citizen. Four years later the Civil War was in full flame.

It is without any illusions that this struggle on the legal front is being carried on aggressively. The United States Supreme Court that heard the appeal on October Tenth against the Scottsboro judicial lynch verdicts, has adjourned until November Seventh, the day before the presidential elections, without making a decision. In these few days world mass protest must grow.

Tom Mooney's Mother Coming to Europe.

New York, 30th October 1932.

As already reported some weeks ago, Tom Mooney's mother is to come to Europe. She will attend the congress of the International Red Aid in Moscow and will then carry out a European tour on behalf of her son and his companion **Warren K. Billings** and all other American class-war prisoners. After much chicanery and attempts at delay the authorities have finally been compelled to grant the old lady her passport to leave the country.

The Wickersham Committee Report was published here a few days ago. This committee sat in 1931 as an official committee of inquiry into the Mooney and Billings trial. The conclusions of the committee were that the conviction of Mooney and Billings was secured on the basis of false witness, paid witnesses who perjured themselves, and corrupt jurymen. Although this report is an official report of a federal committee it was held back at the instance of Hoover who is closely connected with the big business elements in California who instigated the trial and who have since kept the two working class leaders in gaol despite the revelation of irrefutable proofs of their complete innocence of the bomb outrage for which they were convicted.

Communists Sentenced at Manila.

New York, 27th October 1932.

The Supreme Court of the Phillipine Islands in **Manila** has sentenced 20 communists, including the communist leader **Chrysanto Evangelista**, to 8 years banishment and imprisonment on small islands away from the main provinces. Ten other cyommunists were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. All the accused were charged with "inciting to insurrection".

Expulsion of Four Leaders from the C.P. of Spain and from the C.I.

Moscow, 31st October 1932.

A joint session of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the International Control Commission has decided to expel four members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, Adame, Trilla, Bullejos and Vega from the Party.

The session carefully examined the material relating to the policy and activity of this group and decided that its members had been guilty of a systematic sabotage of the decisions of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Spain. The session condemned the sectarian and anarcho-syndicalist policy of the four mentioned which caused the working masses to be dragged along at the tail of the republican bourgeoisie. The policy of this group has attempted to hinder the training of cadres and to discredit the new cadres. The session pointed out that numerous attempts had been made to reach a comradely understanding with the group and that after each attempt the leaders of the group had made solemn assurances to the Party and the C.I., but on each occasion the group had failed to inform the members correctly and had failed to act up to the assurances given. When these elements saw that the game was up on the publication of the resolution of the Political Bureau on October 5, they broke with the Communist Party and the Communist International. They have thereby shown that they are politically rotten elements, who objectively play the game of the bourgeoisie.

The joint session declares them to be traitors to the Spanish revolution, to the Spanish Communist Party and to the Communist International.

XV. Anniversary of the October Revolution

The Achievements of Fifteen Years Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Leading Article of "Pravda" of October 28.

In view of the approaching XV. anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Power, the "Pravda", in an article in its issue of October 28, sums up the achievements which the proletariat of the Soviet Union has gained under the leadership of the iron Leninist Party of the Bolsheviks.

The assertion that the October Revolution consisted of two independent revolutions—the bourgeois and the socialist—is false, Trotskyist and Menshevik in its character. The October Revolution was a socialist proletarian revolution, which at the same time solved various tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The question, What has the dictatorship of the proletariat achieved in the fifteen years of its existence? is answered by the "Pravda" as follows:

"In the first place it has carried out the nationalisation of the means of production, the expropriation of the property of the capitalists and of the big landowners and, in tenacious civil war, shattered the army of bourgeois restoration and repelled the interventionist attempts of world imperialism."

The XV. anniversary of the October Revolution coincides with the tenth anniversary of the freeing of the Soviet Far East from the Japanese troops, who of all interventionist troops remained longest on Soviet territory, apart from the Rumanian occupation of Bessarabia which still continues today. Ten years ago, at the XI. Party Congress of the Bolsheviks, Lenin spoke of the approaching decisive fight against the Russian capitalists, against Russian capitalism, arising out of the peasant small economy, i. e., against the kulaks. This fight was taken up by Stalin under the slogan of liquidating the kulaks as a class on the basis of complete collectivisation. This liquidation has already been accomplished in the most important districts of the Soviet Union. The Party and the Soviet Union are confronted with the task of liquidating the capitalist elements and classes in general in the second Five-Year Plan.

The economic physiognomy of the village has changed enormously. The collective farms and Soviet farms, which supply the main part of the output of Soviet agriculture, have impressed their stamp on the village. The productive forces of the Soviet Union have increased enormously. The socialist sector has captured the decisive position in all branches of economy in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has entered the period of Socialism. The foundation of socialist economy has been laid.

The fight between the socialist and capitalist elements in the country has resulted in the decisive victory of Socialism. The question "who will beat whom" has been answered in the sphere of industry and agriculture. The industry of the Soviet Union had increased threefold in comparison with the pre-war level of production. The Soviet country has mastered modern technique. This is to be seen in the smelting industry, in the machine-building industry, in the machine-tool industry, in the newly created automobile and tractor industry, as well as in the chemical industry. The old industrial districts have grown tremendously and new industrial districts have been created. With the blast furnaces of Magnitogorsk and Kusnetz the basis has been established for a new smelting industry in the Ural and in Siberia. The reconstructed oil industry in the Soviet Union has carried out its Five-Year Plan in 2½ years. The opening of the Dnieper power-works has introduced a new chapter in the socialist industrialisation of the Ukraine.

The "Pravda" reminds its readers of how Lenin reported at the IX. Soviet Congress that the smelting works of the Soviet Union were producing something over 1000 tons of pig-iron a month. At the present time their output is about 19,000 tons a day.

The "Pravda" mentions the magnificent successes of the industrialisation policy which the Party has achieved in a

victorious fight against the class enemy and its opportunist agents—in the fight against Trotskyism, which has become converted into an advance-guard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, and against Right opportunism, the chief danger at the present stage.

The huge successes of the Leninist nationality policy have liquidated the economic and cultural backwardness of the former colonies of the old Tsarist Russia in the fight against Great-Power chauvinism and against local nationalism. Splendid successes have been achieved in realising Lenin's slogan of catching up and passing the capitalist countries, in realising Stalin's slogan of mastering technique in the fight against our backwardness and lack of culture (a heritage from Tsarist times).

The "Pravda" emphasises, however, that on the eve of the XV. anniversary of the Soviet Power one cannot confine oneself to recording achievements. There are also weak spots. For instance, instead of 19,000 tons of pig-iron 20,000 tons of pig iron could be produced daily. The light industry too is somewhat behindhand. A certain backwardness is to be recorded also in agriculture.

After pointing to the necessity of exerting all forces in order to remove the shortcomings and to realise the decisions of the October Plenum of the C.C., the "Pravda" concludes by saying:

"In spite of our shortcomings, with us there is to be recorded an enormous development, whilst in the capitalist countries there prevails the most serious crisis. The relative partial stabilisation of capitalism is approaching its end. In various countries the prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis are maturing."

"The Sections of the Comintern have increased in size and strength. In order to make use of the existing situation, they must learn how to rouse the masses and to lead them into the fight for the proletarian dictatorship as the Bolsheviks did in October. On the eve of the XV. anniversary of the October Revolution this task is more urgent than ever for the Sections of the Comintern. The bourgeoisie is seeking a way out of the crisis by means of war, in anti-Soviet intervention. It is not for nothing that the English Diehards are displaying such zeal; it is not for nothing that certain French imperialist circles are seeking to frustrate the conclusion of a Pact of non-aggression between Rumania and the Soviet Union. Just think of the revelations in the trial of the "Industrial Party" connected with the name of Poincaré. Think of the role which was allotted to Rumania in the carrying out of the anti-Soviet intervention, and how the Soviet Union was to be attacked by Rumanian troops from the Bessarabian side. Certain imperialist circles have not yet given up their hopes in connection with the Far-East of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Power is pursuing and has pursued a policy of peace. This policy has been successful hitherto because it is supported by the growing revolutionary movement, by the increasing sympathy of the toiling masses of the capitalist countries and by the growing power and defensive capacity of the Soviet Union. Hence the realisation of the plans prescribed by the Party for the further industrialisation of the country, the further consolidation of the Soviet and collective farms, the mastering of technique, the opening up of new branches of production, the final freeing of our country from foreign technical-economic dependence, the strengthening of cadres, of the socialist industry and agriculture, improving the supplies to the workers, fulfilling the Autumn and Winter transport plans etc. mean not only the solution of the next tasks of socialist construction, but are also a powerful instrument in our fight against the danger of war. It is the best means for strengthening the Soviet Union as the unshakeable bulwark of Socialism, as the basis of the proletarian revolution. The solution of all these tasks will depend to a very great

extent upon the further consolidation of the unity and power of our Bolshevik Party, upon its further rallying round its Leninist C.C., round our leader and teacher Stalin, upon a further inexorable fight against opportunism, conciliators and rotten liberalism, for the general line of our Bolshevik Leninist Party, the shock brigade of the world October."

The Slogans of the C.P.S.U. for the XV. Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The "Pravda" of October 27, publishes the following slogans of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. for the XV. anniversary of the October Revolution:

1. Long live the XV. anniversary of the October Revolution! Long live the proletarian revolution of the whole world!

2. Working men and women, toilers of all countries! Oppressed peoples of the colonies! On the XV. anniversary of the October Revolution raise higher Lenin's flag, the flag of the victorious proletarian revolution! Forward to the World October!

3. In the capitalist countries the wave of strikes is rising, a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement is observable. Proletarians of all countries! Fight harder against decaying capitalism! For the revolutionary way out of the crisis! For the dictatorship of the proletariat!

4. The crisis in the capitalist countries delivers millions of workers and peasants over to hunger, poverty and degeneration. In the Soviet country the first Five-Year Plan is being successfully completed, unemployment is liquidated, the material and cultural standard of living of the toilers is being raised to a higher level! Down with capitalism! Long live Socialism!

5. Proletarians of all countries! The social fascists are the main buttress of capitalism. Drive away the leaders of social democracy and their "Left" agents! Rally round the fighting flag of the Leninist Communist International!

6. The imperialists are preparing for a new war, they are preparing to attack the Soviet Union. Proletarians of all countries! Prepare for the defence of the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the toilers of all countries!

7. Behind the mask of the Disarmament Conferences the imperialists are preparing for a new robber war. Only the Soviet Union is conducting a real fight for peace. Proletarians and toilers of all countries! Organise the united front against imperialist war! Long live the peace policy of the Soviet Union!

8. The imperialists of Asia, Europe and America are conducting a policy for the partitioning of China and the throttling of the Chinese revolution. Proletarians of the whole world! Defend the Chinese Revolution! Long live the Soviets and the heroic Chinese Red Army!

9. Warmest proletarian greetings to the class comrades, the prisoners of capital, the victims of the fascist terror!

10. Long live the Red Army of the Soviet Union — the support of the peace policy of the Soviet power, the keen-sighted guardian on the Soviet frontiers, the faithful warden of the October Revolution!

11. Men and officers of the Red Army! Carry out Comrade Stalin's slogan: „The Bolsheviks must master technique.“ Technique in the capable hands of the Red Army strengthens their power and guarantees the inviolability of the Soviet frontiers.

12. "We do not want an inch of foreign soil. But we will not yield up an inch of our own country." (Stalin.)

13. On the XV. Anniversary of the October Revolution we have to record new achievements of socialist construction. With Bolshevik persistency and organisation we are overcoming all difficulties. For a new upsurge of socialist competition and of the shock brigade movement! We shall victoriously complete the first Five-Year Plan in four years!

14. Greetings to the men and women shock brigaders—the glorious heroes of socialist construction!

15. To increase the output of labour in the workshops and factories, in the mines and in transport, on the Soviet and collective farms—this is the most important task of the organisers of socialist economy, the cause of the whole working class.

16. We shall accelerate the tempi of the coming of Socialism by concrete Bolshevik leadership, by determined improvement of the quality of work, by mastering technique,

by training the cadres, by organising the supervision of the execution of tasks.

17. Let us combine the creative initiative of the toiling masses with science and technique for the realisation of the second Five-Year Plan, the plan for building up a classless, socialist society!

18. The metallurgical industry is the basis of economy. Smelting workers, steel workers, rolled iron workers, metal workers! In the great fight for metal you will achieve the victory by means of Bolshevik tempi!

19. Miners of the coal pits! The country expects from you a big advance in the winning of coal. Let us convert the coal fields from the most backward into the most advanced parts of socialist construction!

20. The pride of the Soviet country, Dnieprostroi water power works, has commenced working. Let us direct all our efforts to completing simultaneously the construction of the Dnieper-industrial combine. Forwards to new victories on the front of Leninist electrification!

21. Railway workers! Let us achieve the complete restoration of the engines and rolling stock. Increase the tempi of loading! Let us supply the industrial centres with coal, metal, grain and vegetables! Let us honestly fulfil the plan of autumn transports!

22. All work benches of the light industry in full swing! Let us fulfil the plan for the production of goods of mass consumption! For the improvement of the quality of the goods! For the economical use of raw materials! Let us develop Soviet trade by means of a stream of industrial goods! Let us strengthen the alliance between town and country!

23. Home workers of the Soviet Union! Increase the output of goods for mass consumption!

24. Contempt for the disorganisers of socialist construction, those who fly from one factory to the other, the careless and irregular! Long live proletarian discipline in industry, transport and agriculture!

25. Agriculture in the Soviet Union has been finally consolidated on the socialist path. Workers and collective peasants! Let us complete the liquidation of the kulak as a class, let us overcome the remnants of kulakdom! Long live the alliance between the workers and peasants who set up and consolidate the collective farms!

26. We shall achieve a still better organisation of the collective farms by means of correct organisation of work on the basis of payment according to work performed, by strengthening the permanent production brigades, by distributing the income in money and in kind according to days worked!

27. For an all-round increase in the harvest yield! For the better cultivation of the socialist fields! For mastering agronomy and technique! Greater initiative, greater self-activity in the fight for the quality of socialist cultivation!

28. We shall increase the yield of the soil of the collective farms and raise the material well-being of the collective peasants by means of exemplary organisation of the collective farms and by collective work!

29. Let us convert the Machine and Tractor Stations into genuine organisers of collective production, into the centre of the fight for the increase of the harvest yield of the socialist fields!

30. Social property is sacred and inviolable! The kulak and his agents have to be called strictly to account for the least attempt to damage social property. Watch carefully over the social property of the collective farms, of the Soviet farms, of the cooperative and State undertakings!

31. The fight for grain is the fight for Socialism! Conduct a sharper fight against the kulak, the speculators, the middlemen, these disorganisers of the grain-collection campaign. The plan for the grain collection campaign must be fulfilled in time!

32. Bolshevik cadres for the Soviet co-operatives! Shop assistants! Join the ranks of the shock brigade workers of socialist work! The best workers to the sector of Soviet trade!

33. Let us conduct a determined fight against the speculators and those who force up prices! Drive the spirit of N.E.P. from the trade apparatus! Let us set up model collective stores!

34. Let us by creating local production bases, by establishing vegetable farms and market gardens in the suburbs, in the neighbourhood of the factories, mines and workshops, strive for a further improvement of supplies to the workers!

35. Daily care for the material needs of the workers and peasants, that is the most important condition of socialist construction. For the further improvement of the material living conditions of the toilers, for exemplary public feeding!

36. Warmest greetings to the heroic youth of the Soviet Union which under the leadership of the Leninist Party is building up and strengthening world Communism!

37. Young Communists! Take your place in the front ranks of the fight for Socialism, for the industrialisation of the country, for mastering technique, for the organisational-economic strengthening of the collective farms, for the development of the production of goods for mass consumption and Soviet trade, for mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory!

38. Young pioneers, October children! Be prepared to continue and to complete the great cause of Lenin, the cause of the World October!

39. The October revolution emancipated the working woman and the peasant woman. Let us raise the role of toiling women in society and in the production process of the country to a higher stage!

40. Long live the Leninist national policy! Long live the unbreakable unity and brotherhood of the toilers of all nationalities of the U.S.S.R.!

41. Science and all cultural achievements in the service of expanding socialist society!

42. The proletarian dictatorship has to record the greatest achievements in the sphere of culture during these 15 years. Let us increase our forces tenfold for a still better development of socialist culture!

43. Decisive improvement of the quality of instruction! Bolshevik discipline in the Soviet schools! Let us give to the teacher a bigger role! Let us increase in the schools the preparation of active workers for the construction of Socialism!

44. "Under Lenin's flag we have been victorious in the fights for the October revolution, under Lenin's flag we achieved decisive successes in the fight for the victory of socialist construction and under the same flag we shall be victorious in the proletarian revolution in the whole world. Long live Leninism." (Stalin)

45. Long live the C.P.S.U., the leader and organiser of the victorious socialist construction!

46. Workers and collective peasants, all toilers! Close your ranks more firmly round the C.P.S.U.! For the general line of the Party! For the Bolshevik tempi! For the victory of Socialism!

47. The best shock brigaders, the most advanced proletarians and the experienced collective peasants into the ranks of Lenin's Party!

48. Let us arm every Communist with Marxist-Leninist theory! For a high theoretical level, for the ideological firmness of the members of the Bolshevik Party!

49. The remnants of the capitalist class are developing a fierce resistance against the establishment of Socialism. Workers and collective peasants! Let us increase our class watchfulness! Let us rally firmly around the Bolshevik Party and its Leninist Central Committee. Let us consolidate the proletarian dictatorship! Let us annihilate the remnants of the capitalist class!

50. Down with the disorganisers of socialist construction, the Right and "Left" opportunists! Long live the Leninist unity of the Bolshevik ranks!

51. Let us overcome the remnants of capitalism in economy and in the minds of the people. Let us achieve a decisive victory over inertia, red tape, bureaucratism, the habits of the small proprietors! Let us convert the whole toiling population of our country into active builders of Socialism!

52. Communists and young Communists! Into the foremost ranks of the fight for realisation of the industrial and financial plan of the fourth, the last year of the first Five-Year Plan! For securing the basis for the second Five-Year Plan!

53. The October revolution was victorious under the flag of the fight for power for the Soviets. Long live the Soviets, the organs of the dictatorship of the working class, the executor of the Leninist policy of the Bolshevik Party!

54. Forwards under the banner of the Bolshevik Party and its Leninist C.C. to new victories! Raise higher the flag of the C.P.S.U., the organiser of the October Revolution!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

From Soviet China

The First Anniversary of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

By Tang Shin She.

This year's celebrations of the October Revolution have a special importance. We celebrate not only the 15th Anniversary of the establishment of the Russian Soviet Power and of the completion of the first Five-Year Plan, but also the first anniversary of the **Chinese Soviet Republic**. This year's celebrations of the victorious Russian Revolution, however, provide not only an occasion for festivities, but they must also mobilise millions against bellicose imperialism, which wishes to crush the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union.

On November 7 last year the Chinese Soviet Republic was proclaimed by the first All-Chinese Soviet Congress at Yuikin. There were present at the Congress 290 workers', peasants' and red army deputies from all the Soviet districts, as well as workers' deputies from Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, Canton, etc. The Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic was adopted and a provisional Central Government set up. The Government consists of 81 members, ten of whom form the Council of People's Commissars. With the formation of the Soviet Republic two, mutually hostile powers, confronted each other in China: Soviet China and Kuomintang China.

The fundamental task of the Chinese Soviet Republic is laid down in paragraph 1 of the Constitution:

"The task of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic consists in securing the political power of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry in the Chinese Soviet districts and its final establishment in the whole of China. The aim of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the

peasantry is to destroy all the remnants of feudalism, to destroy the position of power of the imperialist Powers in China, to unite the whole country, systematically to restrict the development of capitalism, to develop State economy, to promote the class-consciousness and the organisation of the proletariat, and to rally the broad masses of the poor peasants round the proletariat until the going over to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

As regards the class character of the Soviet Power, the Constitution states:

"The Chinese Soviet Power is establishing a State based on the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. The whole power of the Soviets belongs to the workers, peasants, members of the Red Army and all the toiling masses. Under the Soviet Power, all workers, peasants, members of the Red Army and all the toiling masses of the population have the right to elect delegates, who exercise political power. On the other hand, the capitalists, landowners gentry, militarists, reactionary officials, big peasants, monks and nuns, all exploiting and counter-revolutionary elements are deprived of the right to elect delegates or to share in political power, and they enjoy no political liberties."

(Paragraph 2.)

"The Chinese Soviet power exerts all its forces to develop and to secure the workers and peasants revolution until its final victory throughout the whole of China. It

declares that participation in the revolutionary class struggle is the duty of all the working masses. Military service will at first be voluntary, but will then be made compulsory. Only the workers, peasants and toiling masses have the right to possess weapons and to take part in the class war; all counter-revolutionary exploiting elements, however, are completely disarmed." (Paragraph 9.)

What is the policy of the Chinese Soviet Government towards the imperialist Powers?

"The Chinese Soviet Power pursues the aim of freeing China completely from the yoke of imperialism. It proclaims the complete independence of the Chinese people, the non-recognition of the political and economic privileges of the imperialists in China, the annulment of all unequal treaties concluded between the counter-revolutionary Chinese governments and the imperialists and the cancellation of the foreign loans. The imperialists are forbidden to maintain land, naval and air forces in the Soviet districts; the concession and leased areas of the imperialists in China are unconditionally taken back. The banks, customs houses, railways, shipping companies, mines, factories etc. in the hands of the imperialists are nationalised. For the time being the foreign employers are permitted to conclude a rent agreement for various undertakings and to continue production on condition that they submit completely to the laws of the Soviet government." (Paragraph 8.)

In its Manifesto to the Chinese people the Soviet Congress declared as follows regarding the situation in Manchuria:

"Only when the people of the whole country rise and arm themselves and organise the war of national emancipation can the victory of the independence of the Chinese nation be guaranteed. Similarly, only the overthrow of the Kuomintang rule, which betrayed the national interests, and the setting up of the rule of the people can be a fundamental guarantee of victory in the fight against imperialism. The Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the Red Workers and Peasant's Army are the armed force which resolutely fights against imperialism and the Kuomintang. Their aim is to emancipate the Chinese people from the bloody regime of imperialism and the Kuomintang of the bourgeoisie and landowners. Only through the solidarity fight and only if it is armed can the Chinese people emancipate themselves."

What does the Soviet Constitution say in regard to the workers and peasants?

"The aim of the Soviet Power is to improve fundamentally the standard of life of the working class, to enact laws for the protection of labour, to carry out the eight-hour day, to fix a minimum wage, to establish social insurance and State benefit for the unemployed, to assure the right to control production by the workers." (Paragraph 5.)

"Another aim of the Chinese Soviet power is to destroy feudalism, fundamentally to improve the standard of living of the peasants, to issue a law for the confiscation of the land of the big landowners and its distribution among the poor and middle peasants, and finally to carry out the nationalisation of the land." (Paragraph 6.)

Paragraph 15, 16 and 17 define the attitude of the Chinese Soviet Republic to the toiling masses of the capitalist countries and of the Soviet Union:

"The Chinese Soviet power grants the right to stay in the Soviet territory to all working Chinese and foreign revolutionary fighters who are persecuted on account of their revolutionary activity, and supports them in recuperating their fighting forces."

"The Chinese Soviet Power allows all toiling foreigners living in the Soviet districts to enjoy all the rights and privileges granted by the Soviet law."

"The Chinese Soviet power declares that it stands in a common revolutionary front with the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples, and that it regards the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union, as its firm ally."

The Provisional Central Soviet Government is therefore based on the broad working masses and conducts a consistent fight against the imperialists, the native landowners and the

bourgeoisie. It is imbued with the international revolutionary spirit.

In the first year of its existence the Chinese Soviet Government has to a considerable extent fulfilled its historical task of uniting the various Soviet districts and strengthening the Red Army. The **Central District** has been united with the **West Fukien district**, the **Hunan-Kiangsi district**, the **Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi district** and the **North-East Kiangsi district**. In addition, connections have been established between the **Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi district**, the **West-Hunan-Hupeh district**, the **Northern Hupeh district** and the **Hupeh-Honan-Anwei district**. Various new Soviet districts were established, as for instance in **Kiangsu**, **Kansu** and **Shensi**. A number of quite new districts fell into the hands of red partisans, who are under Communist leadership, as a result of the fight for the harvest, i. e., in **North-Anwei**, **North Honan** and **South Hupeh**. The total extent of Soviet territory is not less than 341,000 square kilometres, i. e. about a third larger than Great Britain with a population of 79 million people.

During this, the first, year of the existence of the Chinese Soviet Republic the Chinese Red Army has considerably increased in strength. As a result of the heroic national revolutionary defensive fight in Shanghai, the 26th Red Army arose in **Haimin** (Kiangsu). The collapse of the "fourth campaign" of the imperialists and of the Kuomintang, and the victories over the "fifth campaign" have increased the Red Army in the central district and in the West-Hunan-Hupeh district by a third, whilst in Hupeh-Honan-Anwei district it has increased one hundred per cent. The Red Army today is not only able to repel hostile air attacks, but itself possesses a small air fleet with which it can carry out attacks. The Red Army is now preparing for a general attack on **Nanchang** (the capital of Kiangsi) and is about to surround **Wuhan**.

The next tasks of the Chinese Soviet Republic are: further to unite and extend the Soviet territories, consolidate and strengthen the Red Army, i. e. fight for the victory of the revolution, before all in some provinces, for the purpose of accelerating the overthrow of the Kuomintang Power in the whole of China and for increasing the national revolutionary war against the imperialists, who wish to organise an uninterrupted "campaign" against the Soviet Republic, to carve up China among themselves and to use it as a firm basis in the East against the Soviet Union.

Life and Struggle of the Workers in the Soviet District of North-East Kiangsi.

Since the introduction of the Soviet Labour Code, which brought the eight-hour day, the free Sunday and a general wage increase, the workers in our Soviet district have displayed increased enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause and shown great activity in the daily fights.

In spite of the shortened working-day the labour output has greatly increased. This is most clearly seen in the San Yao district, where in accordance with the new law the miners are working only six hours a day below bank. In Tsayewan, for instance, the output of the coal mines is now 250-260 loads a day, whilst formerly the output of the same workers was 80 loads less. In addition the miners of San Yao drew up a plan of their own for securing new markets for the coal produced by them.

The workers of the other branches of production are not behind the miners in regard to activity and revolutionary enthusiasm. The workers of the uniform factory arranged a revolutionary competition, as a result of which they succeeded in increasing the output of the factory by 50 per cent. Whilst formerly a small workers group made 4 tunics and 8 pair of trousers a day, they now make 6 tunics and 12 pairs of trousers in spite of the shorter working day. They also searched for thieves in the factory, examined the various cases and brought the incriminated workers before a court organised by themselves for this purpose.

The workers in the munitions factory adopted a decision voluntarily to prolong the eight-hour day by an hour in order to increase and accelerate the output of munitions which are necessary for the fight of the Red Army.

The workers display the greatest interest in the management and administration of the factories, in the increase of output, the economical use of raw material and exercise sharp self-criticism. They fully realise that the Soviet factories are

their own property and that their own well-being is closely linked up with the fate of the factories. They take a practical part in the management and make proposals for improving the work. The munition workers have formed a permanent committee for the improvement and increase of output. Only recently they succeeded in making inventions for improving the production of pistols and in constructing machine-guns according to a plan of their own. Thus it is to be seen that the Soviet Labour Code promotes the initiative and the creative powers of the workers.

The Soviet workers are enthusiastically supporting the fight of the Red Army, for they realise that the Red Army is fighting for their interests. When, in April last, the 10th Red Army returned to Koyuen, after its brilliant victory over the 6th division of the Kuomintang troops in Huen-Fong, the workers arranged a particularly enthusiastic and hearty welcome. Every department of the munitions factory bought a pig and gave it as present to the Red Army. The other workers also gave shoes and food as presents to the Red Army. They arranged a big demonstration and, accompanied by bands and singing revolutionary songs, they marched with their presents to the barracks of the Red Army. Among the demonstrators were the miners and the limestone workers from the 4th district of Huen-Fong, the pottery workers, the miners of San Yao, the agricultural workers from Ichang and many others. The working women of the uniform factory made canvas shoes for red army soldiers in their spare time and presented them to them in May last.

From time to time hair-dressers gratuitously cut the hair of the soldiers and tailors repair their uniforms. The agricultural workers consider it an honour to aid the families of the Red soldiers who are at the front, by cultivating their land.

There is a permanent influx into the Red Army from the ranks of the workers. In March last over 120 workers from the various districts joined the Red Army and in April a considerable number of miners from Tsayewan and Lunchin did the same. The movement reached its climax in May, when 219 workers from factories and agricultural workers from all districts arrived in Koyen in order to join the Red Army. Some of them were members of the Young Guard and of the Red Defence troops, whilst others came directly from their work place. Great farewell festivals were arranged in their native villages, in which enormous masses participated. This influx of proletarian elements helps to consolidate and strengthen the hegemony of the working class in the Red Army.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Conditions of Working Women in England.

By Vera Chalmers.

The position of working women in England like that of working women in every capitalist country is rapidly growing worse. The constant cutting down of wages and striving to make ends meet in the home in addition to speeding up on the job, send most married women to a premature grave and drive thousands on the streets as the only way to get anything to eat; again in the present situation we have a big reservoir for the provision of domestic servants for the boss class.

It is therefore not surprising that the women have a record of militancy that compares favourably with their menfolk. These mothers of the proletariat have also played their part in building up the huge trade unions despite being kept out of them for years by the chauvinist reformist leaders. In the magnificent struggles of the past we find them, when not in the front ranks themselves solidly behind the men; the **textile strike in Lancashire** was a splendid example of the militant spirit of these women. The fact that 60% of the workers in the textile industry are women shows what an important role the women are playing in this strike. In the early days of the industry they were introduced into such departments as the "card room" in the place of men at less wages, heavy labourious work in a hot stinking atmosphere. An even larger percentage than 60 are employed in the weaving section, which has now been on strike over a month,

and in one place, **Earby**, they have been out solid for 2½ months. These workers are, in many localities still battling desperately against the slave terms agreed upon by the union officials and employers, which are, a wage cut of 1/8d in the Pound, establishment of an arbitration system for the discussion of further wage cuts, the question of reinstatement to be left to each individual employer, and the extension of the More-Loom-System and the maintenance of same where already working. 5,000 weavers have been victimised since the introduction of the More Loom System for refusing to operate them, and thousands more will follow if these workers are defeated. Even before the strike those who were lucky enough to be working,—38% are unemployed in the industry—on four looms got from 37/- to 38/- for a full week, but owing to the bad situation of the industry many are forced to wait for work during the day, as a result of which they earned the large amount of 17/- 22/- per week although they put in a full 48 hour week on the employers premises.

The ten thousand women weavers in **Burnley**, the cockpit of the struggle have acquitted themselves nobly, taking a leading part in bringing out the workers in their own mills and then marching to other mills to repeat the same thing. They have broken police terror, canvassed Trade Unionists for requisition meetings, been appointed delegates to interview T.U. officials, have played a predominant role on the Provisional Strike Committee. They have also been the backbone of the Relief Committees, sending women out as collectors, speakers etc. The situation in Burnley is repeated to a more or less degree throughout the strike area, and is a welcome change from the time when the women were considered as good cooks and collectors **only**. They are proving to be good leaders now when they are given the opportunity. The recognition of their capability as leaders in the class struggle is very important for our class, larger and more important struggles lie immediately ahead, and two of the main issues confronting the British Working Class namely, the **Means Test** and **Tariffs** concern women predominately in their double capacity of breadwinner and housekeeper.

Think what the following Tariffs which are the result of the Ottawa Conference will mean to the working housewife; 2/- per quarter on wheat and grain; 15/- per quarter on foreign butter; 3/- in the Pound on foreign cheese; 4/6 per cwt on foreign raw apples, 3/6 per cwt on foreign canned apples in addition to existing duty on sugar content; 1/- per hundred on foreign eggs, 5/- per cwt increase on existing duties on condensed sweetened milk.

And now what is the present position of the **unemployed working women**. The official figures for unemployment at the end of July were 450,000 this being 15.6% of the total unemployed. And when we consider what the "Ministry of Labour Gazette" (April) says on the effect of legislative and administrative changes in Unemployment Insurance, that "between October 1931 and March 1932, 59,000 men and **98,000 women** (85% of them married women) ceased registration consequent on disallowance under the Anomalies Act and the Means Test", it shows that the Official figures for unemployed women do not portray the real situation. Then one must take into consideration, the large number of unemployed women who are not entitled to register, such as domestic servants, etc. Again the statement of Sir Hilton Young, (Minister of Health) in the House of Commons on April 7, that "284,000 men and **366,000 women** were in receipt of relief at the end of July, 1931 and approximately 348,000 men and **445,000 women** at the end of March 1932.

This, therefore, is the present situation that the working women of England find themselves in, a situation which will be intensified a hundred-fold in the coming winter months, one that will bring into action hundreds of thousands of women previously kept chained to the hearth. The bourgeois ideas of "the women's place is at home" will not prevent these women fighting against the increased attacks of the capitalists, gaining in this struggle the experience that will enable them to play a leading role in the final overthrow of British Capitalism and the establishment of a Workers Government.

The **Communist Party of Great Britain**, together with the Red Trade Unions, M.M., have in the past greatly neglected the question of organisation of the working women, being of the opinion that a special approach to women was not necessary. This, however, they have recognised as a mistake as a result of experience, and to-day steps are being taken to bring into the ranks of the Revolutionary Movement the thousands of militant working women.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of the Working Class in Czechoslovakia.

3. The Position of the Working Youth.

By St. Budin (Prague).

If the standard of living of the workers of Czechoslovakia has been reduced so low that one can speak of actual starvation, the position of the working youth is no better, and in fact in some cases is even worse.

The economic crisis has seriously hit the youth in the factories, workshops and offices and threatened their existence. Added to exhaustive work on the conveyor, the frightful terror, the atrocious system of fines and spying in the factories, there now come the systematic wage cuts, the fear of dismissal. The average wages of a young worker in Czechoslovakia have fallen so low that they do not suffice by a long way to secure the minimum existence. In the metal and armament industry a young worker earns from 80 to 100 crowns*) a week. Thus, for example, in a metal works in Pilsen a young worker earns 8 crowns a day; in the largest enterprise in Prague young men up to 23 years of age earn, according to collective agreement, 2.95 crowns and women 1.95 crowns an hour which, as they are mostly working only three days a week, amounts to 70 and 50 crowns respectively a week. In an aeroplane factory in Prague young workers earned less than 120 crowns a week. In the coal mining industry, according to official statistics, the annual income of a young worker in the hard coal fields, working below bank, amounts to 5822 crowns, i. e. about 100 crowns a week, whilst in the brown coal districts the annual earnings are 3751 crowns, i. e. 70 crowns a week, and the earnings of a young worker, working above bank, amount to 2616 crowns a year, or 50 crowns per week. At the same time the output has increased 28 per cent since the year 1925.

In the textile industry a young worker not so long ago still earned 60 to 80 crowns a week. Since then a wage cut from 10 to 15 per cent. has been put through.

According to the report of the Central Social Insurance Office, in 1930 10 per cent. of all insured persons earned less than 36 crowns, 26 per cent. less than 60 crowns and 51½ per cent. less than 100 crowns a week. And that was in the year 1930. The situation has, of course, become much worse since then. It is clear that this 51½ per cent. of all insured persons consists mainly of young workers.

The situation is still worse in agriculture. One can unhesitatingly compare the situation of the young landworkers with the situation in the Balkans and in China. In Bohemia the hourly wages of young workers are as follows: children up to 16 years 70 to 80 hellers (about three halfpence), over 16 years from 80 hellers to one crown, and in Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine even less. If in industry there still exists social legislation (although young people up to the age of 18 are excluded from all social insurance) and a legally restricted working day, in agriculture such achievements are absolutely unknown, and the landworkers are left to the mercy of the landowner. The working day is from sunrise to sunset.

Particularly wretched is the position of the apprentices. According to the law the employer who receives apprentices into his service undertakes to look after their education, to employ a sufficient number of workers in order to teach the apprentices, not to employ the apprentices on heavy work, to pay for the social insurance, not to work them more than 8 hours a day, not to make them work in the night, and to give them fatherly care. How these obligations are actually carried out in practice is clearly shown by the reports of workshop and factory inspectors and the letters from apprentices

appearing in the youth press. A **Prague** factory inspector writes:

Reprimands have been given in the case of a metal works where six apprentices had to work 60 hours a week, a coffee house where working hours were 74 a week and many bakeries where working hours were 82 a week. A 60-hour working week for apprentices of some electro-mechanical workshops was introduced on the ground that the period of apprenticeship had been reduced from four to three years.

Pressburg: Ten master joiners, a partner of a cheese factory, two printing works, and a boot and shoe shop have been reported for prolonging the working hours to 60 and even 75 hours a week.

The further eastward one goes the more the conditions of work resemble those of Chinese coolies.

Uzhorod: The longest hours was in the case of some employee in the steam mills, who worked 102 hours a week."

Konec: "The working hours were considerably exceeded in a brick works, where work lasted from sunrise to sunset. In a basket-making works the employer compelled the assistants and apprentices to exceed the legally fixed time by four to ten hours a day. That is to say, they worked 10 to 18 hours a day."

How much the employers trouble about properly training their apprentices is shown by the following letter from an apprentice:

"Early in the morning, before the family get up, the apprentice must cook the breakfast, and at seven o'clock he must already have started work, which lasts until seven in the evening. On Sundays one of the apprentices looks after the chickens and the other is only allowed to go into the town for two hours. It frequently happens that the apprentices are beaten. None of them receive any wages."

Another apprentice writes from Komotau:

"The wife of the boss is very stingy and does not keep a servant. The apprentices have to do the housework. Every day one of them has to go to the house, light the fire, chop woods and do other jobs."

The apprentices have to attend continuation schools. Instruction is given in the evening after work and on Sunday mornings. Thus after working 10 to 12 hours the apprentice must attend the evening school, and also sacrifice his one day of rest to attend school.

The army of unemployed youth in Czechoslovakia is estimated at 300,000. 98 per cent. of these young unemployed workers do not receive any unemployment benefit. And this big army of starving youth is steadily growing. Very often the young workers are not given any relief work or meals at the public soup kitchens. There are cases in which the number of the dismissed young workers is even greater than the number of dismissed adults, as the youth is very often a victim of social-fascist manoeuvres. The trade union bureaucrats, in order to disrupt the ranks of the workers and to retain their influence over at least a part of the workers, put the question of dismissals as follows: "We are of course against dismissals, but when they cannot be avoided then the young workers must come first and not the adults."

To sum up: in addition to the lack of all political rights, the economic exploitation is leading the working youth into the ranks of the revolutionary working class, who by their fight will put an end to all exploitation, including the exploitation of the youth.

*) A Czechish crown is worth a trifle over twopence.

Organisational Questions

At a New Stage.

Main Tasks of the Anglo-American Sections of the C.I.

By S. Gusew.

The decisions of the XIII E.C.C.I. Plenum mark an exceptionally important phase for all the C.I. sections.

The end of capitalist stabilisation, the development of the revolutionary upsurge, the transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars,—all this makes it incumbent on the C.I. sections to prepare the struggle for proletarian dictatorship. Although the development of the revolutionary movement in the Anglo-American countries (Great Britain, U.S.A., Canada, Australia), still lags considerably behind the high tension of the whole international situation, even in these countries the C.I. sections are faced with the same task: preparing the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. In the Anglo-American countries the winning of the majority of the proletariat is for the C.I. sections a practical task of the present day: these C.I. sections must turn their face to the masses, to mass work, and take up work among them; they must establish, broaden and strengthen constant connection with the masses, for without it the winning of the majority of the proletariat is impossible.

But it would be a great mistake to infer from the fact that the revolutionary development in the Anglo-Saxon countries lags behind, that these countries are doomed always to remain behind the more advanced countries with regard to revolutionary upsurge. Three years of monstrous economic crisis within the general capitalist crisis, an economic crisis which cannot be overcome by peaceful means, without revolutions and wars has called forth intense upheavals in the world's capitalist system which assume, in connection with the gigantic success of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., such a catastrophic character that one cannot exclude the possibility of the U.S.A. or Great Britain or Australia pushing forward to the front with regard to the swing of the revolutionary demonstrations of the proletariat and the masses of workers in general. In such a case, it will be up to the C.I. sections in the Anglo-American countries to prepare the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, which implies the same, direct, practical tasks confronting now the Communist Parties of Poland and Germany.

The miners' strikes, the veterans' movement, the "strikes" of the U.S.A. farmers, the unrest in the British Navy, the Lancashire Strike in England,—all these are only the harbingers of pending revolutionary events, and by these harbingers one can get an idea of the magnitude of the events themselves, and what enormous progress these countries can make along the revolutionary path.

That the influence of the C.I. sections in the Anglo-American countries has grown is an established fact. This growing influence among the masses is first of all due to the upsurge of the mass struggle. It is no longer necessary for the Communist Parties "to look out" for the masses to arouse them for the struggle. On the contrary, the rising masses are on the look-out for leadership and follow the Communist Parties wherever and whenever these Parties place themselves at the head of their actions. The growth of the influence of the Sections of the C.I. in the Anglo-American countries is also due to some improvements in their everyday work. However, there is an enormous difference between the achievements of the Communist Parties in the sphere of the improvement of their work and the enormous tasks which are placed before them by the end of capitalist stabilisation and the development of the revolutionary upsurge. In practice our Anglo-American Sections are all the time lagging behind the upsurge among the masses, with the result that the leadership of mass activity, especially strikes, has been left in the hands of the reformists with the exception of a few movements, which, it is true, are of great importance.

Thus the chief danger which threatens the Anglo-American Sections of the C.I. is the danger of lagging behind the revolutionary path, i. e. the Right opportunist danger. But in the Anglo-American Sections, this danger is supported parti-

cularly by the fact that their contacts with the basic strata of the proletariat are still very weak.

Sectarianism, in the sense of weak contacts with the masses, is inherent in all the Anglo-American Sections, although historically the roots of sectarianism vary in the different countries.

Sectarianism is the main source of the failure to understand the tactic of the united front in mass actions, and consequently is the source of the inability and sometimes the absolute lack of desire to apply it. It is also the main source of the insufficient ability to expose the social-fascists to the masses, without which the tactic of the united front in practice leads to capitulation to the reformists or to peace with the social-fascists, to a "gentleman's agreement" with them on the "division" of spheres of influence.

The exposure of social-fascism and the operation of the united front with the workers of reformist organisations and socialist parties can only be regarded as two sides of one and the same task, the task of winning the masses. In order fully to expose the social fascists, the social prop and pillar of the bourgeoisie and our chief enemy in the working class, make our exposures more effective by the experience of the masses themselves, and bring over these masses to our side, there is no other way than going right into the masses of workers, regardless of their adherence to any organisation, organise their struggle, their economic and political demonstrations on the united front basis, and establish and strengthen thereby the leadership of the Communist Party in mass actions. The practice of dividing workers into "ours" and "not ours" followed by sectarian elements, which in fact means objectively a "gentleman's agreement" with the leaders of reformist trade unions and the Socialist Party (in America), the Labour Party (in Great Britain) regarding "division of spheres of influence",—means smashing up the united front of the workers, voluntary handing over of "not our" workers (i. e., as yet an overwhelming majority of the workers in these countries) to the tender mercies of the social fascists, relinquishment of leadership in the struggle of "not our" workers, blocking the road to the winning of these masses and of the majority of the working class, **abandonment of struggle against social fascism**, i. e., **abandonment of the fulfilment of the main strategical task in the period of preparation and development of revolution**,—of the task of isolating the social fascist leadership from the masses.

Sectarianism which in the Anglo-American C.I. sections directly supports the Right opportunist lagging behind the task of leading the mass movements, can be no longer tolerated. We must declare **ruthless war** against it. Such is the **main demand** made by the whole situation which has undergone a thorough change owing to the end of capitalist stabilisation. "Constant contact of every Communist Party with the majority of the workers wherever masses of workers congregate",—such is the practical task set to all the C.I. sections by the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum.

But this is not all. One must not imagine that the C.I. sections will first establish constant contact with the masses, according to a definite plan, and only then take up leadership of their actions. The masses cannot wait and are not willing to do so. Therefore, constant contact with the masses can and must be established in the process of the struggle. There is not and cannot now be any other way.

"The present situation"—declare the theses of the XII Plenum—"are fraught with sudden explosions and sharp turns of events. This demands of every Communist Party to be prepared to cope with the rapid development of revolutionary events, and rapidly change forms and methods of struggle, or, in the event of inadequate contact with the masses, to obtain in the trend of the struggle itself establishment and consolidation of the connection with the majority of the workers."

At the congresses of the British and American Communist Parties, to be held shortly, the question of overcoming sectarianism once and for all must be the central question. It must be discussed from all sides, from the political and the organisational. All the congress resolutions (on inner Party tasks, on work in the factories, in the trade unions and mass organisations, on the policy of cadres, etc.) must be drawn up from the standpoint of an irreconcilable struggle against sectarian isolation from the masses of workers, which brings grist to the mill of Right opportunism, and against the main danger, Right opportunism, lagging behind the tasks of the leadership of the working class, the leadership of the class struggle and also subordination to the spontaneous actions of the masses (for it is possible to approach the masses, to get into contact with them, from behind, "from the tail end").

Overcoming sectarianism, turning towards the masses, establishing, expanding and strengthening contacts with them, leading their demonstrations, winning the majority of the proletariat—all this is not to be thought of without a radical change in the inner Party regime, without establishing genuine democracy, meaning that all Party members participate in the daily struggle, in the discussion of all the tasks confronting the Party, and that the self-activity and initiative of the basic organisations is developed. There is important work in store in this domain, work which requires great perseverance. This is one of the decisive links which must be got hold of, to stretch the chain to its full length.

Another such decisive link is the task of strengthening and renovating the cadres. For a number of reasons, and, first and foremost, owing to sectarianism and the inadequately developed political life of the Party, incredibly little has been done in the last few years regarding the promotion of new cadres. **It is impossible** to overcome sectarianism and effect radical change in the inner life of the Party without setting up new cadres from the ranks of workers who have distinguished themselves in the mass struggles. The old cadres alone are **not able** to cope with this task, all the more so as part of them—and precisely the most stubborn sectarians—will in some form or other interfere with the turn towards the masses. Therefore, the question of strengthening and renovating the cadres is **the most acute question** at the present juncture.

Enormous fresh forces are maturing in the working class. Take for instance the miners' strike in the U.S.A., what enormous initiative, what genuine heroism is displayed by hundreds and thousands of genuine and file miners stubbornly fighting for many months, despite savage police terror and infamous betrayal by the strikebreaking trade union bureaucrats. Aren't they our cadres, aren't they the fresh cadres which can renovate and strengthen our ranks and extend our Party's connection with the masses, with the main detachment of the native American workers?

Take the Lancashire strike, especially the strike in Burnley during which new militant cadres of cotton operatives made a mark. By drawing these cadres into the Party do not we create the most important condition for its consolidation and for the strengthening of its contact with the masses? "Revolutionary epochs"—wrote Lenin in 1905—"are to the social democrats (this was then the name of the Bolshevik Party, S.G.) the same as war time to the army. We must expand the cadres of our army, from peace contingents they must become war contingents, the reserve forces must be mobilised, the men on furlough must be called to the colours, new auxiliary corps, detachments and services must be set up. One must not forget that in war time it is inevitable and necessary to replenish one's ranks by raw recruits, frequently replace officers by rank and file soldiers, accelerate and simplify the promotion of soldiers to officers' rank."

We are rapidly approaching such revolutionary times. And the cadre question, like all other tasks, must be considered not only from the minor point of view of present requirements, but also from the point of view of the entire revolutionary perspective.

"The maturing of the revolutionary crisis is not far off" (theses of the XII E.C.C.I. Plenum). One must prepare for the advent of the revolution **rapidly, straining every nerve**. From this angle one must approach the main tasks—overcoming sectarianism, establishing constant contact with the masses, setting up genuine inner party democracy, strengthening and renovating our cadres.

The Formation of the Communist Party of Ireland.

By Rogen.

Ireland has a rich history of the revolutionary national independence movement. The working masses have fought self-sacrificingly for the national liberation of Ireland from the oppression of British imperialism. However, this struggle is taking place under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois leaders and parties, and the working class of Ireland, without their own class workers' party, have not played the leading role in this struggle.

At the present time, when there is a further sharpening of the struggle against English imperialism, the working class of Ireland is faced with a task of struggling for the leading role in the revolutionary movement of the masses of the people for complete national and social liberation. This historic task of the working class of Ireland can only be carried out by forming its own class Communist Party.

The necessary condition for the organisation of the Communist Party—the existence of cadres of advanced workers in the factories who have come forward as the leaders in the class struggle during the strike movement and the struggle of the unemployed—exists in Ireland. In addition some of these advanced revolutionary workers are already organised in the groups of Revolutionary Workers of Ireland which have existed for several years. This organisation unites the Communist elements of the workers' movement of Ireland. It is the basis which will make it easier to form the Communist Party of Ireland. At the present time, the group has about twenty-five members. There are local organisations in **Dublin, Belfast** and other towns. The group publishes a weekly paper, "**The Worker's Voice**", the circulation of which has considerably grown in recent time. The growth of the paper of the revolutionary workers is taking place simultaneously with a fall of the circulation of the paper of the Labour Party. During the last few months the group of Revolutionary workers has increased its work among the masses, especially among the unemployed.

In August in **Belfast** a demonstration was carried on with the active participation of the group with 10,000 workers and unemployed. At the beginning of October, 22,000 workers and unemployed took part in a demonstration and fought stubbornly against the police. The demonstrations were directed against the "Means Test". The groups carried on a great deal of work among the workers of the municipality in Belfast, organising them for a struggle against wage cuts. It is true, that the T.U. bureaucrats on this occasion succeeded in breaking up the strike, but the group succeeded in increasing its influence among the municipal workers. With the support of the leaders of the reformist trade union, the bourgeoisie are preparing an offensive against the railroad workers, the aim being to cut wages by 15%.

The group is the only force which is organising the resistance of the railroad men against this wage cut. The first and insufficient steps are being taken for the group to penetrate into new districts. For example, in August there was formed a local organisation of the group in the town of **Cork**, an important industrial centre. Several dozens of workers were accepted into the new group, and the wide circulation of the newspaper, "**Worker's Voice**" was organised. However, the group of Revolutionary Workers is still isolated from the basic masses of workers and poor farmers in Ireland.

Among the members of the group there are still strong sectarian sentiments, in particular, there is a widespread neglect of work in the reformist trade unions and a neglect of the organisation of the struggle of the workers on the basis of their needs and partial demands.

To prepare for the organisation of a Communist Party the group will have to carry on a tremendous amount of work. It must carry on a big recruiting campaign, securing 500 to 600 workers and unemployed, more boldly and determinedly organising the struggle of the workers and the unemployed against the bourgeois offensive on the standards of life of the toiling masses, more strongly exposing the treacherous activity of the Labour Party and the leaders of the reformist trade unions and carrying on a more active struggle against the national reformist policy of the De

Valera Government, striving to convert the national independence movement against English imperialism to a higher form of revolutionary struggle under the hegemony of the proletariat.

One of the chief shortcomings in the work of the group is the absence of nuclei in the factories. Therefore, the primary and most important task of the group consists of an energetic and stubborn work for the organisation of factory nuclei in the factories, railroad, shops, tram parks, docks, etc. Without factory nuclei strongly linked up with the worker's and with authority among them, there cannot be a genuine Communist Party. It is fully possible for the group to form a number of factory nuclei within the next few months. In some factories there are one or two and even three members of the group (in Belfast there are two members in each of three factories, and in one factory three members of the group; there are individual members of the group in several factories in Dublin and other towns). The group must attach to the members working in factories two or three active members of the group to assist them and thus form a temporary concentration group, the task of which is to recruit several sympathising workers in each factory within two or three months. In factories where there are already three members of the group, there must immediately be formed a nucleus.

Experience shows that the best way to commence revolutionary work in the factories, to discover the sympathising and most advanced workers and to take the first steps for the organisation of the struggle of the workers, is the publication of a **factory paper**. Therefore, one of the tasks of the concentration groups is the publication of a factory paper. In order to publish the paper it is necessary to carry on preparatory work to discover the sentiments of the workers, the situation in the factory, the most burning questions which cause the discontent of the workers. During this preparatory work for the publication of the paper with the active participation of the members of the group who work at the given factory, there must be called meetings, discussions must be held with individual workers or with groups of workers during the dinner interval, when the workers are returning home after work, in short, every possibility must be utilised to make common cause with the workers. In this way the group will be able to establish contacts with some workers who will form the first activists around the factory paper.

How can we penetrate into the factories and start to organise a nucleus if there is not a single member in the factory? The group must examine the composition of the members of the trade unions and other mass organisations which are under its influence and study the list of readers of the paper, "The Workers' Voice" and also the list of subscribers during campaigns carried on by the group, and by these measures must find out the class conscious workers, visit them at their homes and establish contacts with them in other ways, taking every possible measure to discover the conflicts which have taken place at the factory and discovering the workers who have shown themselves to be active in these conflicts, previously getting acquainted with the situation of the workers in the given factory and their demands, organising meetings for the workers where it is possible to find out those who wish to join the Party.

The task of organising a Communist Party can be carried out if the group recruits 500 or 600 workers in the next few months. The **recruiting campaign** will be successful in proportion as the group develops its mass work actively among the workers, mobilising them for the struggle for the improvement of their material conditions, against wage-cuts, for every-day demands and in the struggle for improving the situation of the unemployed. This every-day work in the masses of unemployed for partial demands must be closely connected with and subordinated to the political tasks of the Party and the mobilisation of the workers and toilers of Ireland for the revolutionary solution of the task of their liberation from the oppression of English imperialism and their own bourgeoisie.

An especially stubborn struggle must be carried on to attract into the Party the workers from the factories, railroads, mines, docks and especially the workers of the big factories. During the recruiting campaign the representatives and members of the group must carry on individual conversations with workers of the factories, discussions with groups

of workers in their homes, while they are returning from the factory, in the places where the workers spend their dinner interval, in the existing organisations and meetings of the workers, clubs, local branches of trade unions, sections of the Irish Republican army, etc. Every excuse must be used for Communist propaganda and the recruiting of workers into the Party.

Frequently a comradely heart-to-heart talk with a small group of workers will give much bigger results than a meeting even at the factory gates, etc. held by the Party organisations.

Every member of the group, especially the workers from factories, must take the most active part in the recruiting campaign, above all by individual propaganda, by attracting into the Party those workers whom they meet every day in the factory and the workshop.

The attention of the group must be concentrated on recruiting **women workers** into the Party, especially in the textile industry.

While concentrating all attention and energy on the **recruiting of factory workers into the party** from the factories in Belfast, Dublin, Cork, the hill district of Kilkenny, etc. it is necessary to carry on work for recruiting the **unemployed**, especially in such branches as Belfast ship building, textile workers, etc. The work for recruiting the best elements of the unemployed into the Party must be closely connected with the organisation of the struggle of the unemployed. In view of the fact that among some representatives of the toiling masses in town and village, among the handicraft workers and also among the intelligentsia, especially the students, there are revolutionary elements whom it is advisable to secure for the Party, suitable work must be carried on among them, taking into the Party those who have been tested and have shown by their struggle their loyalty to the cause of the working class. From the very beginning steps must be taken to consolidate the new members and prevent fluctuations. The first means is to put every member onto active work in accordance with his abilities and desires, and with the special conditions, not permitting a formal approach or a mechanical application of Party discipline. A comradely and attentive approach to the new members is the best guarantee for drawing them into the active struggle in the Party ranks. Every member of the group must widely acquaint himself with the important documents on the regulation of the growth of the Party and the struggle against fluctuations, (Inprecorr. no. 22, May 19, 1932).

The group must pay great attention to **Marxist-Leninist educational work**, which is the first condition for the formation of an ideologically strong Communist Party, able to fight irreconcilably for the general line of the Party and the Comintern against opportunist deviations. It is especially important to have Party educational groups in the factories, bringing into them the non-Party sympathising workers. The programme of the circles must be reckoned on a short period (3 to 4 months), with a lesson once a week. The first condition for propaganda work in the circle is to link up theory with practice, with the concrete questions of the Communist Party which face the Party at the present moment and which concretely face the local organisation and the workers of the given factory.

The basis of the study in the circles must be the programme of the Comintern and the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Special attention must be paid to the development of education among the members, the independent reading of Marxist-Leninist literature. Attention must be paid to giving assistance to comrades by recommending literature and organising small libraries in the Party committees for the Party members.

The group has only **three fractions in trade unions** and they work very badly. Therefore the organisation of fractions in every case when there are members of the group in the trade unions or other mass organisations is an urgent task. Special attention must be paid to the formation of fractions and the leadership and assistance of their work by the Party committees in the oppositional groups of the reformist trade unions. In realising the historic importance of the task of organising a Communist Party in Ireland, every member of the Revolutionary Workers' Group must double his energy in Party work and assure the complete fulfilment of the tasks which face the group in the preparations for the organisation of the Communist Party.

Carrying Through the January Resolution of the C.C. in London.

By R. W. Robson.

The January Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P.G.B. was intended to bring about a decisive change in the approach of the Party to the masses and its methods of work among them, in the sense that the Bolshevik line be carried through. The tasks for the four principle districts were worked out, centring attention on selecting important factories and trade unions as the starting point for increasing all our mass work, and by taking up the every-day questions affecting the workers, exposing the reformists and explaining the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

In London, the D.P.C. selected six important rail depots, two docks, two omnibus garages and several engineering works for concentration, allocating to each a leading member of the Party for active participation in the work. Since this time some important advances can be registered; the character of our factory work has improved, our factory nuclei have increased from 25 in January to 32 in July. The total number of Party members in these factories is 220. The influence of the Party has grown considerably in some important enterprises, and about 180 industrial workers were recruited for the Party. Activities in the trade unions also increased and the influence of the Party was extended.

Factory papers increased in number from nine to fourteen. One of them, the "Busman's Punch" had an edition of 6,000 in September. The first number appeared in July, and 2,500 copies were sold.

The campaign against war was carried on in about 200 trade union organisations, and 70 co-operative guilds, etc. Several delegates for the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress were elected in the factories, (for instance in the "Old Oak" Rail Depot).

This is a very brief summary of the positive results of our work along the lines of the C.C. Resolution. It indicates a certain advance for the Party, and if the numerous useful experiences gained in the meantime are made a proper use of in future, much bigger successes are a certainty. How necessary it is for the Communist Party to intensify its efforts to increase its mass influence can be seen from the following facts: London is a huge proletarian centre, its port is the largest in the world and employs 40,000 dockworkers. It is an important seafaring centre. There are 45,000 passenger transport workers (100% T.U.), 80,000 railwaymen, 120,000 metal workers and at least 100,000 goods transport workers. It is also estimated that about 200,000 building operatives are employed in London. Of course unemployment affects also many of these branches of industry, but proletarian London constitutes a huge force which the Party must be able to draw more and more effectively into the fight against capitalism.

One of our most important activities in the sphere of economic struggle has taken place in relation to the attack on the **London Omnibus workers** (25,000) by the combine. Last December the employers made proposals involving wagecuts and worsened conditions for these workers, who are organised 100% in the Transport Workers Union, the secretary of which is the notorious Ernest Bevin. The Communist Party and Minority Movement had only little contact with the Bus Garages and union branches, but steps were taken to rally the workers against the attack and to warn them against the betraying manoeuvres of Bevin and the union officials. So strong was the opposition of the workers that the coming into force of the new terms was postponed for further negotiations. Meanwhile the Party began to strengthen its work and extend its contacts with the transport workers.

A sympathising branch of the Busmen's Union called a conference of other branches in East London in the early days of 1932 and was successful in getting strong support in the whole area for the line of the Party and M.M. in opposition to the employers' terms. This procedure was extended to other parts of London with the same results. However, the union bureaucracy succeeded with the help of its manoeuvres in misleading the men. Twice, at successive conferences, the Busmen's delegates rejected the negotiations between their union officials and the company. But the union officials did not fully explain the terms offered by the employers, and it was necessary for us to warn the workers by leaflets distributed at the garages against the tactics of the company and the union officials. The "Daily Worker" played a decisive part in

giving publicity to the struggle and enabled us to secure more contacts so that in June it became practicable for us to prepare the publication of a factory paper in the name of militant groups of busmen of several garages. Thus, the first number of "Busman's Punch" was issued and 2,500 copies sold. The paper became immediately the organiser of the independent fight of the workers. Its second issue reached a sale of 4,500, and the third no less than 6,000, many union branches officially purchasing supplies for the men. At huge mass meetings called by the militants, the men expressed their determined opposition to the terms offered by the employers and finally, after repeated postponement resulting from attempts to undermine the will of the workers to resist, the company gave notice of its intention to impose its terms in the third week of September.

For eight months the campaign of the Party and M.M. and the response of the workers had held off the attack. Immediate steps were taken to organise the struggle of militants, taking the initiative through the medium of the union branch machinery, and the eve of the struggle finds a majority of the sixty Busmen's Branches of the union acting jointly for the line of the Party and the M.M.

The fighting spirit of the London Busmen was up to the mark. They are highly skilled workers, specially selected for physical and technical ability. Their work is very arduous and they will have the support of the Tramway workers in their strike struggle.

The experience gained in this activity has been invaluable for our Party, and has definitely brought it very close to the workers concerned. We will undoubtedly be able to rally tremendous support for the Busmen's fight from the greatly agitated masses of proletarian London, and still further develop our influence.

Among the **dockworkers** also, considerable strides have been made as a result of better, more Bolshevik methods. Careful, friendly and informal conversations and discussions, the development of the dockworkers own initiative in organising opposition to the official policy of the union, the establishment of three docks nuclei and two factory papers with a sale of 900 copies regularly have enabled us to establish the beginnings of a Party organisation among the London dockers.

Better but still inadequate trade union work has enabled us to force the Managing Committee of the Electricians' Union to reinstate two of our members. These comrades were expelled from the union a year ago for working against the official policy.

Similarly, comrades have secured reinstatement in the Engineers' Union, and a Party member of a dockers' union who was expelled from the Managing Committee for leading an unofficial strike was reinstated through the pressure of the rank and file.

These beginnings indicate that the British workers are anxious to fight against the offensive of the capitalists, and that better methods of work by the Party can bring a big support for our policy, and lead to big advances as the struggle develops.

Our campaign against the war preparations brought out sharply some confused and also opportunist ideas existing within the Party on the questions of the united front. These were strongly expressed in relation to our attitude to the I.L.P. The I.L.P. has adopted a very "left" attitude recently, seeking to maintain popularity with the masses. Some Party members tend to condemn the I.L.P.'ers as traitors to the workers only in an abstract way, and are uneasy about working in a united front against war and unemployment with I.L.P. members. On the other hand the I.L.P. demands that the Party shall not criticise it when engaged in a united front action. "Let us drop differences on tactics for the sake of success" say the I.L.P.'ers, and some Party members agree with this line.

Some Party members in South-West London adopted a hair-splitting, phrasemongering attitude to the question of work in the unions and had to be corrected.

The experience of the drive for a workers' united front against hunger and war brought such misconceptions clearly to the fore, and made it necessary to discuss these issues thoroughly, in order to get clarity.

The campaign developed slowly at first, but May Day was made a big anti-war rally, fifty thousand participating. From this time the work developed better, and at the conferences called in connection with the World Congress against war, about 200 trade union organisations were drawn in, and

our quota of nine delegates to Amsterdam was exceeded more than 300%.

A serious weakness was manifested in the campaign in so far as the unemployed organisations played much too small a part. This was largely due to the fact that the campaign against war was carried out in an abstract fashion, wage questions, unemployed benefit and grievances being not sufficiently concretely connected with the struggle against war. Steps were taken to remedy this defect, which is a serious one in view of the tendencies among some of the unemployed workers particularly, to regard war as a means of getting work. Some improvement has recently taken place, but much more remains to be done.

The episode of the s/s "Ben Alder" which loaded 1,000 tons of explosives for the Far East in June and against which a very wide agitation was conducted, did much to strengthen our general agitation on the war question. In June also, the Party and Y.C.L. made very good agitation in connection with the **Royal Air Force manoeuvre** at Hendon. This manoeuvre is a well-staged event, held annually, to popularise the British Air Force. Huge posters, 30 to 40 yards in length, were put up on boardings and walls in the vicinity of the manoeuvring ground—"No War on Soviet Russia", "Down with Hunger and War", etc., and two aeroplanes were used to distribute leaflets to the masses, exposing this militarist display as part of the plans for war, particularly against the Soviet Union. This agitation was very sympathetically received by the masses, and the bourgeois press devoted panicky headlines to the campaign of the Communists.

Since January the Party has partially broken its isolation. The lessons learned in practice show us not only our weaknesses but also our strength, if correct methods are applied. The rising militant temper of the workers and continued attacks by the bourgeoisie make it more urgent than ever for us to continue and greatly increase the work of carrying through the line of the January Resolution of our C.C. Success in this direction will soon secure big developments for the Party in London.

The Work in the South Wales Organisation.

By Jack Jones.

The serious efforts made by the Communist Party of Great Britain in **South Wales** during the past six months to carry out the January C.C. Resolution, to break down the isolation of the Party from the masses, has enriched the experiences of the Party organisation of the South Wales district and brought a number of successes.

These first successes have been realised with the participation of only a part of the membership, but even they indicate that with correct methods of work, what positive results can be obtained, provided the Party organisation is active.

These results have been achieved also because the Party organisation did not undertake too much but selected special enterprises on which it concentrated its work, allocating for this the best forces. There are now 10 cells in the district as compared with three in January.

Improvement in the work has been reflected in a better appreciation of the **war danger** by the membership, shown by improved mass anti-militarist activity, better preparation for economic struggles, better mobilisation of workers on immediate issues which affect them, and more effective work in the trade unions and factories.

The concrete experiences gained in these concentration points of Party work will be utilised in its further development in the rest of the district. In this case there is every possibility of doubling the number of cells in the district in the course of the next month or so.

Outstanding in the successes of the district has been the development of the workers' movement in the **tinplate industry** in West Wales which is not sanctioned by the reformist trade union. The tinplate industry of Britain is mainly confined to South Wales, particularly West Wales. A considerable proportion of the finished products of the steel industry in West Wales goes towards the production of tinplates. Due to the tariff policy and increased orders from Argentina, there is a temporary boom in the industry. Roughly there are 36,000 tinplate workers employed.

There has been recently considerable activity both on the policy of trade union leadership and against worsened condi-

tions. The **Bisakta** (British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association) officials, who have not called a National Conference for 10 years, decided to reduce unemployment and superannuation benefits, and at the same time grant big pensions to retiring trade union officials. This has resulted in an opposition movement within the union, embracing 62 branches, being formed under the leadership of prominent Minority Movement members. A campaign committee has been formed and a monthly bulletin "**The Workers' Voice**" is being published.

During the recent weeks a wider movement has developed having for its objective preparation against the expected attack of the employers upon the wage of the tin plate workers, and against the Means Test imposed upon the unemployed.

In the West Wales area it has been after all possible to set up a tin plate workers' factory committee. The thing is that in the tin plate mills there are 4 or 5 rival trade unions, each of them trying to attract the members. In one particular mill an agitation inside the trade union branch was commenced by comrades from the revolutionary minority for the setting up of a factory committee. The factory committee was set up and two representatives from each department were elected by the workers—representatives elected from the main departments making the total of 28.

The manager refused to recognise the committee, and the trade union officials, without calling the workers together, tried to intervene with the manager. But the workers voiced their protest by a "stay-in" strike of two hours. This settled the matter.

The incident was reported to a mass meeting which gave the E.C. power to stop the works if they were not received by the manager. On the issue of stopping a boy, a non-member of the union, the executive committee decided to interview the manager, and decided there and then to operate, if necessary, the decision of the mass meeting. The E.C. called a further meeting of all the men and within 10 minutes the works were deserted, and the manager seeing the solidarity of the men, re-instated the boy who was paid for the time lost, and the factory committee gained recognition. The lessons of the work of this factory committee must be brought home to every worker.

In connection with the campaign carried on by the Communist Party for the release of **Arthur Horner** and the other Mardy prisoners, arrested for preventing distraint of goods upon a worker for non-payment of rates, 60 individual trade union branches, 3 miners' districts embracing 80 lodges, several local and divisional Labour Parties, I.L.P. branches, Trades Councils were compelled to pass resolutions of protest under the pressure of the masses. Over £100 was collected for the campaign fund, over 12,000 individual signatures for the protest secured. This mass protest has resulted in a remission of three months on the sentences of 9 months and 15 months. This success has to a large extent broken down the inclination to submit to law prevalent among the members of the C.P.G.B., which prevented energetic struggle for the release of Communists. The campaign has been renewed with vigour for the immediate release of Arthur Horner who is still in prison.

In the **mining industry** in South Wales the deepening of the crisis is strongly reflected. Non-payment of the minimum rate, dismissals, wage cuts and systematic introduction of short time by the employers are regular features. But in the preparation for struggle against these attacks and the lowering of the general agreement, the quality of the Party work has also greatly improved. Especially in the points of concentration of Party work, in the selected enterprises, the Party has succeeded to a considerable extent in improving its contact with the masses. It makes great efforts to win the confidence of the workers, and to work for the establishment of revolutionary unity in their ranks. As an example one can mention the work of the cell in the Cambrian colliery where men in a particular seam were forced to unload hot ashes from the surface boilers. The men disliked this dangerous practice. The Party cell, instead of, as in the past, only talking about the necessity of struggle and a united front, through the medium of the pit paper and by individual approach organised the movement of the men in this and in the other seams of the pit. The men began to pass resolutions on the necessity of action and solidarity for the involved men. This campaign, though it did not lead to a strike, resulted in the workers' demands being acceded to.

Although in the mining industry we have as yet no extensive militant mass organisations, in a number of places there is already a number of loose oppositional groups in the trade unions around such grievances as re-instatement of militant members in the union, short-time working, price lists, compensation, etc.

The improvement of Party leadership in this sector was also reflected in the fact that at the last miners' South Wales Conference we had 5 Party delegates and 3 M.M. delegates as compared with 2 opposition delegates in 1931. Under the influence of the revolutionary minority, 30 lodges of miners passed resolutions for the 7 hours, etc.

In the fight against war, the struggle against the Means Test, several local conferences have been held, one in **Abertillery** was attended by 40 delegates, 6 from union branches and 1 from local Trades Councils. In connection with the Amsterdam Anti-War Campaign the Party has called many local conferences. Much has to be learned from these conferences, from which we are getting more concrete examples of the methods used by the reformists to disrupt the united front of the workers. The lack of experience of our members as to the manoeuvres of the reformists often disorganises attempts to build united committees. Reformist delegates some times representing a small trade union committee and not the membership of the branch, attend conferences and propose to postpone the conference because they have no definite mandates from their committees.

Remnants of trade union constitutionalism among members of the Communist Party tend to respect such proposals. It is clear that Party members must prepare themselves better for conferences, get to the mass of the membership of the organisation, win over the membership in the lodges and get independent delegates elected for conferences on the basis of the policy of the revolutionary minority and where it is not possible to get independent delegates to get resolutions of a militant character sent to the conference. Faced with the demands of large sections of the workers in this manner, the reformist disruptive policy will quickly be nullified in conferences.

Improvements are being made in work among the **unemployed**, resulting in mass demonstrations of unemployed. In **Bristol** a branch of the Builders' Union declared a one day "stoppage", demonstrated with the unemployed against the economies and against the brutality of the police. In Bristol a number of unemployed plumbers, inspected some parts of the city, to ascertain what necessary work could be done if the unemployed were taken on. This work was embodied in the unemployed programme of demands as against the economies the City Council were trying to enforce. In West Wales the unity of the employed and unemployed movement was attained against the operation of the Means Test.

There are many shortcomings in the work of the Party organisation especially with regard to the popularisation of the united front from below among the rank and file of reformist trade unions and in the I.L.P. The Party organisation must make greater efforts to overcome these shortcomings, it must undertake in the cells a thorough study of the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. On the basis of these decisions it must strengthen in every possible way the connection with the masses and the leadership of the struggle of the employed and unemployed workers.

Carrying out Decisions of the XIV. Plenum of the C.C. C.P.U.S.A.

By Jack Pringle.

The XIV. Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. basing itself on the analysis of the economic crisis and the increased revolutionary activity of the masses decides that:

"The immediate central task of the Party is the mobilisation of the masses in the struggles against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger, organising the workers in broad united front struggles, in the preparation and carrying out of the strike struggles, in movements against wagecuts and against forcing down the living conditions of the workers, in the extension and intensification of the struggle of the unemployed for immediate relief, and for unemployment and social insurance."

The correctness of this decision has been proven by the development of class struggles in the United States. Hand

in hand with the development of the crisis, with further attacks upon the wages and labour conditions, with the growth of the army of the unemployed to 15,000,000, mass resistance developed against the offensive of the bourgeoisie. This is seen by the **new wave of strikes**; the coal miners in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio; farmers strike against the monopolist control of prices, veterans march on Washington; struggles of the unemployed in such industrial centres as Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, etc. All these struggles are assuming a militant character and exhibit a revolutionary element. All this creates the most favourable condition for the Communist Party to organise, unite and lead the working class and the toiling masses of the cities and rural districts.

Nevertheless, the decisions of the C.P.U.S.A. have been only very inadequately carried out in a series of Party organisations. This applies particularly to the **Chicago** organisation, one of the most important, which is moreover situated in an especially highly developed industrial district.

The Party organisation in the Chicago District in August 1930 consisted of 73 nuclei with 726 members organised primarily in street nuclei. Composition of the Party membership was not satisfactory. More than 70% were foreign born workers, very few Party members in the large shops, hardly any Negro workers in the Party. In a period between August 1930 and June 1932, the Party grew to 221 nuclei with 3,000 members, a majority of the members are native Americans, including 700 Negro workers. Unquestionably this shows a healthy growth of the Party in the district, but this growth is primarily the result of the struggles of the unemployed which the Party lead. In the factories our Party remained as previously, very weak. In February 1931 we had 8 shop nuclei with 47 members, in March 1932 206 members in 35 shop nuclei, that is, only 7% of the Party membership are organised in shop nuclei. And primarily because of the weakness of the Party in the shops the Red trade unions and revolutionary opposition inside the American Federation of Labour and Railroad Brotherhood are not developed or do not have mass support. The inadequacy of the work of the Party organisation among the masses of workers finds expression in the fact that the wages of the workers have been cut approximately 50%, and the total payroll of the State of Illinois has decreased 72%, that our Party was unable to organise and lead a single economic struggle of the workers in the Chicago industrial area. In the Illinois and Indiana coal fields where at least general agitation against the wage cuts have been carried and where we built a little opposition movement inside of the reformist United Mine Workers of America, there, as a result of our influence, we see mass strikes of the miners which are already going on since April 1st, 1932.

The sectarian isolation from the masses, lack of daily contacts with the workers in the factories is the main weakness of this organisation. The basic problem confronting the Chicago district, is the problem of linking Party organisation with the factories, to make the factories props and pillars of the Party. Without obtaining this we cannot speak of real Bolshevik Party work in the Chicago District. To make this turn in the life of the Chicago Party organisation it is necessary to develop new cadres from the workers of the shops. In the experience of the Party in the field of struggle for Negro rights and against unemployment it has been proven that only in those sections where the new cadres have been promoted into leadership, beginnings of mass work have been made. What is true of this general characterisation is even more true about the factories. The task confronting the whole Party membership in the Chicago district is to concentrate on the big shops in the district, throwing into this field of work the best leading forces of the district.

Big Congress for Applied Chemistry.

Moscow, 30th October 1932.

A big national congress for applied chemistry is taking place in Harkov. Over 2,900 delegates are present, including the most prominent soviet chemists, professors, specialists and delegates of the chemical workers in all parts of the Soviet Union. The congress dealt in particular with the importance of the chemical industry for agriculture. The demand for the products of the chemical industry is rapidly growing with the development of soviet industry. Artificial fertilisers, synthetic rubber, artificial silk stuffs and so on are in increasing demand.

The Work of the Communist Nucleus in the Ford Plant at Detroit.

By P. R. (New York.)

Many of the social fascists "theoreticians" sing the praise of Ford as the inventor of a system of capitalist production which will lead to the elimination of capitalist crises through high wages and low prices for manufactured products. Ford himself in his books has boomed himself as one who is working for the welfare of mankind, who has set himself the aim of serving the public good instead of the aim of getting profits.

"Industry cannot exist for any specific class" wrote Ford, in the years of the "prosperity" of American industry in the book "To-day and To-morrow".

In this book he wrote as follows on the principle of his system:

"To avoid a threatening depression, we must lower prices and raise wages. We think that it is a good business principle always to raise wages and never to lower them. There cannot be real prosperity in society as long as the workers who manufacture goods cannot consume them."

But even in the period of prosperity, the Communists were well aware of the real situation in the Ford factories. Behind the relatively high wages was concealed the cruelest exploitation of the workers, converting them into physical wrecks after a few years of work.

That which the industrial process could not achieve was completed by a wide system of police espionage on the workers which literally embraced the whole of the existence of the worker, all his personal life. In the Ford plants, the slightest attempt at the class organisation of the workers was suppressed. Even members of the A.F. of L., this most reactionary organisation of all the social fascist unions, were not allowed to work.

But when the economic crisis came about, no trace was left of the legend of Ford's heaven.

Before the crisis, 60,000 workers were employed in the Ford plant at Dearborn, near Detroit. Ford soon "forgot" his principles and threw tens of thousands of workers into the street. The unemployed from Ford's plants do not receive any assistance and are literally starving. But Ford's unemployed can sometimes avoid death from starvation by getting admitted into the Insane Asylum built by Ford. This Asylum is now crowded with unemployed whose only mental defect is—hunger and homelessness. Such a situation has led to a rapid growth of indignation among the unemployed and increased their readiness to fight. In March, a hunger march of the unemployed was organised under the leadership of the unemployed council. About 5,000 unemployed workers marched to Ford under the slogans: "Work for all dismissed Ford workers", "The six-hour day without wage reduction", "No bribery to get jobs", "The right of the workers and the unemployed to organise". Like all the hangmen of the working class, Ford replied to the demands of the unemployed with the machine guns of the police gangs in his pay. Four unemployed workers were killed and about 40 wounded.

A wave of indignation and hate swept through the broad masses of workers in Detroit as the result of this blood bath, carried out at Ford's orders. Tens of thousands of workers participated in the protest meetings organised by the Communists. 70,000 went to the funeral of the murdered comrades. Under the influence of the powerful protests of the workers the town council was compelled to fire 150 police who took part in the shooting up of the hunger march. But Ford took them all on in his factory police and stated in the press that in future he would give a job to every policeman who was fired. In reply to the growth of revolutionary sentiments among the workers, Ford is again throwing hundreds of advanced workers out of the factory and is increasing espionage and all forms of terror.

At the present time about 25,000 workers are engaged at this plant in Dearborn, nearly all of them only for two or three days a week.

Having cut wages almost by 50%, Ford is preparing for new wage cuts, at the same time putting more and more young workers into the factory, paying them half the wages of an adult for the same work.

It would seem that exploitation and the intensification of labour at Ford's plant had long since reached its maximum. However, Ford is taking advantage of the helpless situation of the workers and everyday is intensifying labour further.

In the plant, Ford gives the widest license to the foremen and managers with regard to the workers. Bribery for giving jobs, bribery for transfers to other work, etc., flourish in the factory. There are not even the most elementary measures for the protection of labour, and along with the tremendous intensity of the work, this leads to a rapid increase in the number of accidents which are very often fatal. A worker living in a town belonging to Ford is compelled to buy all he needs in institutions belonging to Ford, as a result of which his wages are cut still further—Ford's prices on all articles of consumption are higher than in other places.

These are the conditions under which the Party organisation works in the Ford plant. It has about 90 members, of whom $\frac{2}{3}$ are unemployed. The whole organisation is split into seven units directly connected with the Section committee of Dearborn. The units still work very badly. Their work at present consists of the distribution of the paper "**The Ford Worker**" which is published by the district party committee, holding meetings, distributing leaflets, etc. The Party organisation has to carry on a considerable part of its work illegally. The moulding shop unit attempted to organise open mass meetings. But as a result, the police and the spies at these meetings discovered the most advanced workers who were immediately fired. Then the unit made a correct decision to organise small illegal meetings which give a better result. At the Ford Plant there is a branch of the revolutionary union of automobile workers. However, owing to the poor leadership by the Party organisations, the union shows very little activity. Educational work is still badly carried on among the Party members.

The existing situation in Party work at the Ford Plant requires immediate and definite improvement. The Ford Plant is one of the biggest industrial undertakings and the development and the struggle of the workers in this plant is of tremendous importance for the whole labour movement of the U.S.A. This alone justifies us in considering the leadership of the Party organisations in the Ford plant by the district Party committee of Detroit to be very poor. In essence, the District Committee has not yet started concentration work in this plant, though the decision of the C.C. C.P. U.S.A. on this matter was made more than a year ago.

The poor contacts of the District Committee with the units at the Ford Plant, failure to organise the systematic leadership of the nuclei by the Dearborn section committee, insufficient attention to the utilisation of such an important factor as the paper "The Ford Worker" which has been published for several years, shows that the District Committee is not fulfilling its basic task of the reconstruction of Party work in the sense of the greatest possible strengthening of the work in the big factories, on the basis of personal instruction and the establishment of personal contacts with the Party organisations of the Ford Plant.

However, some measures of Party leaders have been successful in Dearborn. The District Party committee achieved great work by mobilising the masses for a protest against the shooting down of the hunger march of Ford workers. In spite of all the persecutions of the police and the raging white terror the District Committee properly utilised all the forces of the Party organisation and set an example of militant work. Tens of thousands of workers and unemployed who took part in the meetings and demonstrations under the leadership of the Party organisation, swept away the police terror, showing that wherever the movement extends to really broad masses, the bourgeoisie are unable to paralyze this movement by persecution and even by shooting. The district committee at the time of this revolutionary upsurge correctly directed the masses towards the formation of their class organisation. Over a thousand workers applied to join the Automobile Workers Union, hundreds joined the Y.C.L. and the Party. This shows that the Ford plants contain a good field for Communist activity. The district committee was unable to consolidate the first successes of the Party organisation by continuous work. For example, there is no justification for the fact that for two months the district committee has not awakened the trade union, has not organised workers meet-

ings of the workers who applied to join the red trade union. As the result of this delay and organisational laxness, most of the new members were lost.

In order to bring about a decisive change in Party mass work in the Ford plant there must be an immediate reorganisation of the work of the district party committee so that in practice there will really be concrete leadership of the Party work at the factory. The district committee must regularly discuss the situation at the Ford plant, even if only once a month, jointly with the Dearborn Party committee and in addition it must be constantly acquainted with all that is taking place in the working masses and must carefully check up the execution of decisions on work in the factory. At these meetings, there must be a detailed discussion of the contents of the current number of the "Ford Worker", and the question of improving its distribution among the workers at the plant. An urgent question is the formation of a group of activists around the paper, a network of worker correspondents and the organisation of a broad editorial board consisting of representatives of the factory units and the most advanced non-Party workers, the more so because the district committee long since made a decision on this simple but necessary measure. Simultaneously the Dearborn Section committee must be reorganised so that in practice it will be a Party committee for the units in the Ford Plant. In particular it is impermissible that the Secretary of this Section committee, instead of spending all his time on the guidance of the work of the nuclei in the factory, travels around the district committee to carry on the election campaign. All the departments of the district committee and the fractions in mass organisations must seriously turn their faces towards the Ford plant, reorganising their work in such a manner that the contacts and the guidance of the work in the factory will be their main task. It is quite impermissible for the agitprop of the district committee not to have personal contacts with the members of the units in the Ford plant who are appointed to carry on political educational work.

In carrying out these organisational measures, the district committee together with the Party units in the factory and through the fraction in the Auto Workers Union, must call a series of meetings with non-Party workers to prepare a concrete programme of demands for the workers in the plant, including all the urgent and burning demands of the workers. As one of the chief slogans of struggle for the Ford workers must be advanced the slogan of the right of Ford workers to organise as the first condition for a struggle against wage cuts, and other urgent demands of the workers.

The task of the District Committee and the unit in the factory is persistent energetic work to break down the fascist regime in the factory without regard to formal organisations as it deprives the workers of the possibility of having legal organisations.

In this matter, the primary task is the strengthening of the **Auto Workers Union**. The most extensive work must be continually carried on among the masses on the necessity of strengthening the union. The paper and special leaflets must be published on the struggle for the Auto Workers Union. The main task in this campaign is to make the union immediately increase its activity in the struggle for the everyday needs of the workers, in the struggle against bribery and the arbitrariness of the foremen, for the protection of labour against accidents, for social insurance for the unemployed at the expense of Ford, etc.

The units in the Ford Plant are not doing any work in the few organisations formed by Ford for the workers, such as Sport clubs, Schools to train workers for the factories, etc. The units in a way are hypnotised by the all powerfulness of the Ford spy system and do not try to get into them. Of course the conditions of work are unusually difficult, but there are no conditions which cannot be overcome by using proper Bolshevik methods of work among the masses. Lenin tirelessly taught the Bolsheviks to go everywhere, to penetrate everywhere where there are masses, and by following out these instructions, the Bolsheviks broke through the framework of the Tsarist regime and won influence among the masses. There is no other path for the work of the units under the conditions existing in Ford's Plants.

While doing everything possible to carry on work in every organisation in the factory formed by Ford and his agents and where the masses are to be found, it is necessary to form all kinds of legal and semi-legal organisations in

Dearborn around the factory, and in Detroit where the workers live. This must be done with the same persistence and flexibility on our own initiative, through sympathizing workers and through the intelligentsia. The organisation of language groups is a specially available form of mass work. To some extent such organisations already exist among the workers, e. g., Ukrainian, Rumanian and Polish. But the Party organisation pays too small attention to them. Beside the language organisations there should be formed all kinds of cultural and educational circles, societies for recreation, etc. which will enable the Party to get nearer to the masses. All these organisations will help to break through the existing regime and will help the work among the masses to a tremendous extent.

It is urgently important to increase the work among the unemployed in Dearborn. The opinion which exists among some Party members that Ford restrains the unemployed with the illusion that he will soon give them a job, only hinders the activity of the revolutionary organisations. If the Party organisations only seize on the most burning question, possibly even the most petty needs of the unemployed at Ford's, and begin to organise the masses on the basis of a struggle for these demands, success is assured.

From the Experience of the C.P.S.U.

An Instructive Example of Concrete Leadership.

We take from the September number of "Party Construction", organ of the C.C. C.P.S.U., the statement that at one of the recent sessions of the C.C. Secretariat of the C.P.S.U. a report was presented on the reorganisation of Party work in five of the largest factories, namely: "Krassni Putilovetz", "Harkov Locomotive Works", "Krassnoye Sormovo", "Krassni Profintern" and "Krassni Perekop".

All the most important sides of the activity of the Party organisation in these factories had been controlled, especially,

1. The reorganisation of the Party organisation in the factory, and the role of the departmental cells;
2. Work among the masses from the point of view of getting hold of all the workers through it;
3. Leadership in the work of the subordinate organs of the factory Party organisation (Party groups, departmental cells), the work done to raise the ideological level and develop the cadres.

The C.C. Secretariat of the C.P.S.U. analysed the entire work of the cells and registered also a series of successes in connection with the reorganisation of Party work in these factories. It issued further directives for Party work in the factories.

This shows how highly the C.P.S.U. estimates Party work in the factories and must serve as an example to the other C.I. sections how to conduct Party work in the factories.

"How Individual and Group Agitation is to be Carried On".

The article given below is an abridged chapter of the article "**Bolshevik Agitation Among the Masses**" by **L. Perchik**, published in the September number of the organ of the C.C. C.P.S.U., "Party Construction".

Although the article deals with the present mode of agitation in the C.P.S.U., the questions of mode of work in the field of agitation raised in the article, and especially in the published chapter, can be advantageously utilised also by the C.I. sections in the capitalist countries, provided, of course, that there is no mechanical transfer of the experience of the C.P.S.U. and of the application of the methods and organisation of this work to the work of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

Although conditions are very favourable for the development of individual and group agitation, one must frankly say that hitherto many of our Party organisations have failed to realise fully the enormous significance of agitation in general, and of basic agitation in particular.

It is essential to develop the bodies of agitators, circles, classes and consultation bureaus for agitators. The experience of group and individual agitators and the mass of material accumulated on the strength of this experience must be carefully considered.

What then must be the mode of work of an individual and a group agitator? On what issues must light be thrown by a

basic agitator, and in what manner? Must he give preference to factory and local issues, or should he turn his attention mainly to questions concerned with the general policy of the Party? And what is to be the mode of his agitation?

Agitation among industrial workers and workers in general must be based on local material, and current affairs must be its starting point. But it would be certainly a serious political mistake on the part of an agitator to confine himself to this local material and these questions of the day.

The difference between Bolshevik agitation and the Menshevist, Khvostist and Right opportunist agitation consists precisely in the fact that though the former takes as its starting point local and current questions, **it does not stop there, but, by means of a series of transitional phases, leads the masses onwards and upwards, to greater political issues.** A Bolshevik agitator commences with practical up-to-date questions, in order to build up on these the political lesson for the masses. **From all that is practical, concrete, individual, matter of fact and up-to-date, the agitator must raise the masses to general political and class conclusions, tasks, slogans of the proletariat and of its Party.**

Our Party was always down on political claptrap, on high-sounding empty phrases, on agitation which is unable to link up with the every-day practice of the workers, but over-reaches itself and becomes dissociated from the masses. However, our Party is also dead against the opposite tendency, when the agitator lags behind the masses, fails to link individual and current questions with the great questions of class policy as a whole, when he does not raise the masses to the level of class recognition of their historical tasks and of the general political slogans of the Party.

The strength of our Party and the efficiency of its agitational and organisational work among the masses consists precisely in the fact that it knows how to link the every-day requirements of the various groups of the working class with the political tasks of the whole class, their present day tasks with the historical tasks of the class, their struggle for individual gains with the revolutionary struggle of the whole working class against capitalism, for proletarian dictatorship and Communism.

Among the practical issues which the agitator must select as his starting point, there are also such as might cause temporary discontent in some backward groups of workers.

In such cases young Party members become sometimes discouraged, just when firm Bolshevik agitation is most necessary. This shows that Communists of this kind are not sufficiently tempered in Party work, and also that they do not know how to link current questions with the general life of the Party in a manner to make the correctness of our policy accessible and intelligible to every rank and file workman, collectivised peasant and worker in general. And it is precisely in this that the art of Bolshevik agitation consists. **To attain to such art in agitation, every individual and group agitator, as well as agitators in general must approach agitation conscientiously, they must lend an attentive ear to the moods of the masses and to the least vacillations and changes in these moods, they must always be well up in everything connected with the political situation, they must be familiar with the standpoint of the Party with regard to important political questions, and must acquire the art of Bolshevik agitation by experience.**

As in every other business, everyone engaged in agitation, before taking up his work, must know, first, what the purpose of his agitation is at the given moment, in the given group of industrial and other workers, and, second, how he can best serve this purpose.

"The art of every propagandist and every agitator"—said Lenin in the article 'On Slogans'—"consists in influencing the audience, in making for it a certain truth as convincing, intelligible and as easy of assimilation as possible".

The agitator must bring his work into harmony with the character and the political and cultural level of the given groups of workers, and the individual agitator—with the character and level of the given industrial or other workers.

The working class is not homogeneous. There are among the workers class conscious strata, and also less class conscious and more backward strata. There are workers who have long ago lost all contact with their native villages, or who never had such contacts, being born in town. There are workers recently arrived from their villages, and in a varying degree

connected with them. This connection is not always the same, it depends on the stratum of the peasantry the given worker came from. There are workers who are very near to our Party, and also workers (their number steadily decreasing) who are still far removed from the Party or are even avoiding social work in general.

One must also take into consideration economic inequality, unavoidable in the present epoch, social peculiarities, the national element etc.

This heterogeneousness of the working class, the political and cultural backwardness of some of its strata, are the legacy of the capitalist social order. In a Communist society this heterogeneousness disappears, as the cultural level of all the members of society, without exception, will be exceptionally high.

First of all the agitator must be well acquainted with his audience. If this is not the case, the agitator is unable to achieve his aim. To show ability in leadership, one must know first of all whom one intends to lead. The agitator must firmly bear in mind that he is not just agitating into space addressing some abstract masses, but is trying to convince human beings who have definite peculiarities which make them differ from other people of the given class. This definite group, in the framework of its class, has its definite needs and requirements which arise out of the peculiarities of its industrial, political, cultural and social position.

This task is much easier to the group and the individual agitator, because he works shoulder to shoulder with the workers among whom he agitates. But this does not certainly mean that no special attention has to be given by him to this task. On the contrary, just because he agitates among small groups of workers, he must study them very carefully, and be always well informed about their requirements and needs.

If the agitator has to do with a more advanced worker with certain experience and knowledge, as well as interest for political questions, **the given question must be explained on broader lines, with a larger number of facts, examples and figures, with more insistence on the general class policy of the Party, and on the historical perspectives of that policy in the given question.** If the worker is backward and not well developed politically, he must not be overburdened with a great amount of figures and examples, especially such as are beyond his understanding or little known to him. **In his case one must take facts familiar to him, and maximum attention in the agitation among these workers must be paid to correctly linking up of everything that is familiar, individual and up-to-date with convincing proof of the correctness of the policy of the Party in the given domain.**

But while adapting himself to the lowest standard of the most backward worker, the agitator must on no account resort to extreme simplification, and hereby, vulgarisation of the question. Extreme simplification and vulgarisation of the agitation among industrial and other workers can be resorted to only by those who have not the least idea of the foundation of Bolshevik agitation and Leninist policy in general. Simplification and vulgarisation of political questions in agitation is resorted to only by those who either do not understand the essence of the given question, or imagine that this essence is accessible only to the "select", but that the rank and file worker, particularly if he is also backward, is ostensibly not capable of grasping such complicated questions. **Whatever the cause of such simplification, it must be ruthlessly eliminated from the practice of our agitation.**

Another enemy of our agitation is conceit and a too high opinion of one's knowledge and well-informedness. There is a type of agitator who imagines that it is better to evade the question altogether or answer it with commonplaces, so as to bemuse the bewildered interlocutor, instead of honestly confessing that the given question is not quite clear to himself.

There is no harm in not knowing everything. Say that you will answer the question another time, and begin immediately to study it. On no account pretend to be a person of universal knowledge, it is not fit for a Bolshevik agitator.

To ensure the success of an informal talk, one must carefully prepare for it and carefully select the points to be raised. Even the best agitators and speakers, with great political training and experience in agitation, never speak without proper preparation and plan.

A vivid example of this is Lenin. Lenin took a very serious view of even the simplest speeches, such as addresses of

welcome, he carefully prepared for them and always worked out the plan of his speech.

One must have a plan even for a 10 minutes informal talk or report. It is much more difficult to present a good report in 10 to 15 minutes than in an hour or an and a half. A rapporteur without a plan cannot apportion the proper time for the various parts of the report, towards the end of his speech he begins to curtail, gets nervous, loses the thread of his argument, because he has not properly calculated the time wanted. This frequently brings the work of group agitators to naught.

Every agitational speech or informal talk, and consequently also the plan of the speech, must contain three main parts—the introductory, the argumentative and the concluding.

The **introductory part** of the speech has to bring clearly before the audience the question to be dealt with and arouse interest in it, explain why a correct interpretation of the given question is absolutely necessary in the given period for the given audience. Without an introductory part, the audience will not know what the agitation is about, and will not listen to the agitator. The introductory part of the speech is like mobilising the attention of the audience.

Apart from this fundamental and main task, the introductory part serves also as an excellent means of getting at the mood of the audience. Already from the first words of the speech or informal talk an experienced agitator will know what the mood of his hearers is like, and to what extent they are interested in the given question. If the subject of the speech is exciting, this will be noticeable already at the very beginning of the introductory part by signs of impatience or heckling on the part of the audience. In such cases, when the impatience of the audience is very noticeable, the introductory part must be curtailed. The basic agitator must ascertain the mood of the workers beforehand, in conversation with individual workers.

The **argumentative part** of the speech is the main part. On it maximum attention must be concentrated. This part of the speech has to explain, prove, develop and give reasons for the standpoint of the Party in the given question, and must make the audience arrive at conclusions which coincide with the slogans of the Party.

The main thing demanded of this part is consistent and connected development of the argument with an adequate grasp of the whole question and with the necessary number of facts, examples and figures. Furthermore, the development of the speech must be such as to go from the known to the unknown, from the individual to the general, from the proximate and familiar to the remote and unfamiliar, from the demands, needs and interests of the given groups of industrial or other workers to the demands, needs and interests of the whole working class.

The **concluding part** of the speech consists in inferences from it, appeals and slogans of the Party. This part already mobilises the masses for action, and therefore it must be, on the one hand, entirely justified by the whole preceding part of the speech, and, on the other hand, a very terse and effective expression of the main inferences of the speech. The language of the concluding part must be as terse, exact, clear and telling as possible. It is the call to fight for the great cause of Communism in the given sector and in the given branch of work.

Every statement in the speech must be motivated and proven. No empty assertions!

Concentration of attention on the main idea of the speech. No sidetracking, no time spent in trivialities, keeping strictly to the subject!

Not to overburden the speeches with unnecessary facts and figures. This takes up time and fails to keep the audience interested and attentive.

The whole agitation must be imbued, on one hand, with Bolshevik principle and purposefulness, and on the other, there must be connection with the masses, consideration of their needs, demands and interests.

The language used in agitation must be very simple and accessible to the masses.

CHINA

The Struggle of the Women Silk Spinners in China.

By Huo Yian.

Modern silk production is one of the most important branches of the young industry of China. The centres of the silk industry are Shanghai, Wusi (in the province of Kiangsu), Hangchow (in Chekiang), Sunteh (in Kwantung) and Foochow (in Fukien). Work in the silk spinning mills is mainly performed by women and girls, commencing at the age of 8 years. The number of women and girls employed in silk spinning is estimated at about 130,000. That this estimate falls short of the actual number is to be seen from the fact that there are 45,000 female silk spinners in Shanghai alone. On an average a silk mill employs 400 to 600 working women; the largest spinning mills, however, employ 2000 working women.

The silk spinners are subjected to the worst exploitation and oppression and lead a miserable life. Nearly all the work in the mill, such as boiling the cocoons, piecing, spinning and packing is performed by women and girls. There are relatively few male workers in the spinning mills; at the most they constitute 10 per cent. of the staff.

Even according to the report of the Industrial Bureau of the Kuomintang government working hours in the spinning mills are from 12 to 14 hours a day, with a half-hour pause at midday. There is no weekly rest day, but only on the 1st and 16th of each month there is no work performed. The only holiday in the year is New Year festival, which mostly lasts 14 days. During this time, of course, the workers are not paid.

In return for arduous work and long working hours the silk spinners are paid starvation wages in the literal sense of the term. Formerly wages amounted to 58 cents a day, but even these meagre wages have been continually reduced, so that they now amount to about 22 cents a day.

In order that the temperature and moisture of the atmosphere shall remain constant there is little or no ventilation. The air in the rooms is hot and stifling, so that the spinners must work in light clothing even in the severest winter. At the same time they are exposed to cold draughts through the continually opening doors and often catch severe colds or even pneumonia. Another result of these conditions is that most of the spinners suffer from chronic stomach and womb trouble. In the rooms where the cocoons are unwound a repulsive smell and thick dust poison the air.

Working women are practically all compelled to take their babies in arms and small children with them into the mill. Thus baskets containing babies are to be found beside the machines or, in the lavatories. The somewhat bigger children have to help to boil and unwind the cocoons. Of course, these children of 8 years and upward represent the cheapest labour power and are welcomed on this account by the employers. They have to work just like the adults in the unhealthy rooms, remaining standing for ten hours.

In the event of incapacity or unemployment the spinners are literally handed over to death from starvation. There is no unemployment or sickness benefit. Great unemployment prevails among the spinners just as in all other branches. Out of the 118 silk mills in Shanghai only 31 are working; in Wusi 10 out of 40, in Chekiang only 2 out of 28. In Sunteh, where formerly 300 spinning mills were working, only 10 are running now. In Lin-Yü, in the province of Shantung, only 30 mills are working where there were formerly 300.

But with the misery and poverty of these spinners there is an increase of their fighting spirit. They showed their power during the heroic strike of 18,000 spinners in Shanghai in July. 600 silk spinners in the Ichang silk mills commenced the fight. The news of the strike spread like wild-fire and on the same day 3,000 spinners from various mills went on strike. On the third day the strike had developed to a fight of 18,000 working women. The strike ended with a victory on July 10, the spinners having obtained a wage increase and the withdrawal by the employers of the lengthening of the working time.