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## CORRESPONDENCE

## CONTENTS

<b>Politics</b>		Manifesto of the French Committee for Organising the European Anti-Fascist Congress in Copenhagen ...	486
Karl Radek: The Revision of the Versailles Treaty ...	475	<b>In the Camp of Social Democracy</b>	
On the Eve of the World Economic Conference ...	477	Knorin: The Crisis of the Second International (Conclusion) ...	487
Strained Relations between Austria and Germany ...	478	<b>The Labour Movement</b>	
A. H.: Fascist Tendencies in Denmark ...	479	R. Thomas: Some Important International Lessons of the Lodz Textile Workers' Strike ...	488
<b>Germany</b>		<b>India</b>	
F. Brand: Hitler's Growing Difficulties at Home ...	480	The Indian Labour Movement ...	490
Growing Ferment among the Nazi Storm Troops ...	481	<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union</b>	
Fritz Heckert: The Proletarian Press in Germany under Conditions of Illegality ...	481	A Fresh Victory on the Dnieper ...	494
The Resistance of the German Working Class ...	482	I. Lichatchev: The Fight for the Quality of the Soviet Automobile ...	494
Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. of France on the Events in Germany ...	483	<b>In the International</b>	
<b>Fight against Fascism</b>		Vincente Arroyo: The Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain ...	495
Jack Stachel: The Fight for the United Front in U.S.A. ...	484	Fachri: The Political Situation in Turkey and the Tasks of the C.P. of Turkey ...	496
Growing Resistance of the Italian Workers against Fascism ...	485		
Mareucci: Italian Young Workers Demonstrate against Fascism ...	486		

# The Threatening Imperialist War and the International Proletariat

"In these months the question of war or peace will be decided."—(Paul Boncour, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a speech delivered on March 26.)

"In the first place we must think of ourselves."—(Wickham Steed in the "Sunday Times," March 19.)

Basle, May 16, 1933.

The antagonisms between the imperialist Powers, namely the antagonisms between France and its proteges and vassals on the one side, and Germany on the other, are increasing in acuteness at an alarmingly rapid pace. Whilst the week before last concluded with an apparent pacification after Hitler had solemnly declared that the government had the firm intention to keep its attitude and actions strictly within the bounds of the existing treaties, the following week began with the crisis at Geneva, which was accompanied by a tremendous international campaign against Germany, culminating in the threat by the English Minister of War, Lord Hailsham, who declared that:

"If Germany were to refuse to go on altogether and were to walk out, obviously then it would be a matter for the gravest consideration as to what course should be followed by the Powers which were left.

"I think . . . that the juridical result would be that Germany would remain bound by the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Any attempt on her part to re-arm in contravention of the Treaty would be a breach of the Treaty and would bring into operation the sanctions for which the Treaty provides."

This failure of German foreign policy was completed by the unfriendly reception accorded Dr. Schacht in the United States, whom President Roosevelt gave to understand that he would not hear of Germany arming, as well as by the humiliating rebuffs received by Dr. Rosenberg in London, who set out to conquer a kingdom and was unable to capture a donkey. Thus there remained nothing else for Hitler to do but to flee to Parliament, which he had cursed in his May Day speech, whereby he added to his foreign political failure a domestic political failure—a failure which caused even the Mosse "Berliner Tageblatt" suddenly to speak of the "disappointment of many of the most optimistic supporters of the Reichs Chancellor" and declare that "Germany is still in the period of promises and criticism of the past."

But things do not develop in a straight line. The sharp tone, adopted by Papen—his demagogic competition to win the so-called

favour of the people, in order that he may strengthen his own very shaken position—it is true worsens the position of Germany but does not say anything about the final attitude of the government. It is quite possible that Hitler will climb down, that Nadolny will withdraw his recent proposals at Geneva, and the deadlock at the Conference will be thereby overcome. It is probable that France and England, on their part, will not insist upon a break up of the Conference, and in the end a compromise will be reached. But the fundamental question, namely the so-called question of Security, would not be solved thereby. Germany already possesses a model cadre army in the shape of the Reichswehr, as well as a large number of trained reserves in the Schupo (security police), Storm Troops and Steel Helmets. But in addition it is feverishly arming in order to enforce a redistribution of the world in its favour. Every new day is a day won for Germany's aims. The victor Powers are against Germany being allowed to re-arm. The Franco-British security thesis therefore reads: a disarmed Germany, while at the same time its neighbours arm. Here there can be no compromise acceptable to Hitler. Therefore compromises may be arrived at in Geneva on single questions, but there can be no final solution. It is a particular irony of fate that the Peace Conference (this is what the Second International designated the so-called Disarmament Conference in order to deceive their followers regarding the real character of the imperialist League of Nations), which was announced with such a set out, is to provide the occasion for the outbreak of the second imperialist World War.

The Second International has already made its choice. "The Fatherland is in danger!" And Scheidemann, Wels, Leipart and Grassmann form a common front with Hitler. The greater part of the Second International, above all in the victor countries, but also the German social democrats in emigration, as well as the social democracy of Austria and of the neutral countries, stand behind France and its allies. The Second International is endeavouring to justify this support of one of the imperialist partners by declaring that the fight is now being fought out between democracy and fascism and that accordingly it takes the side of democracy. The fact that Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania are to be found in this "democratic front," does not bother these gentlemen in any way, the less so as the social democrats of these fascist countries have always supported their governments. They would also willingly accept the Hungary of Horthy into their League if the latter were only willing to proceed against Hitler. Hitler must be vanquished! A defeat of Hitler is a victory for democracy, a victory for the German people. The French heavy artillery and the Polish airmen who vanquish Hitler, are in this case the allies of democracy.

It is true, a defeat of Hitler can be a victory of the German people, just as any defeat of a bourgeois government can be a victory of the people. Therefore the slogan of the German Communists is: Defeat of the Hitler government. If, however, this defeat is used in order to set up a foreign rule or set up the rule of the international bourgeoisie, then it will by no means be a victory for the German people.

Events are closely inter-related. The world economic crisis is a starting point for a new epoch of wars. In order to escape the strangling grip of the crisis, Japan resorted to war against China. The world economic crisis intensifies all the inner and outer antagonisms. In order to solve these antagonisms after their manner, the bourgeoisie resorts to fascism and war. But war is just as little a solution for the proletariat as fascism. There is only one real solution: Away with capitalism! And that is the only solution for the proletariat.

It is a very simple idea with which the Second International sets out to catch dupes: War against fascist Germany is, so to speak, an easy matter. Hitler will be overthrown and democracy will triumph. War, however, is an exceedingly serious affair also for the bourgeoisie. It is bound up with enormous risks. As war must forcibly solve all the existing antagonisms, so all sides are pressing for a drastic solution of the antagonisms. War can begin with a few belligerents, but other Powers will be gradually drawn in. Let us imagine, for instance, that France suffers a defeat at the commencement and has to retreat to its girdle of fortresses,

Italy could then intervene and attempt, by a simultaneous advance with Germany, via Switzerland (into Vallis and over the Jura), to invade France. In this war the antagonism between England and the United States and between the United States and Japan must be settled, so that hardly any imperialist State would be spared from war. There could be something even worse: the capitalist Powers might agree among themselves and make war on the Soviet Union. One thing is certain at any rate, the war will demand enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure, will entail indescribable suffering not only at the front but also at home, and as usual the working population will have to bear the cost.

Therefore, contrary to the slogan of the Second International—here fascism, here democracy—the proletariat must recognise the imperialist character of the antagonisms and fight most strenuously against their being settled by imperialist war. The question of the re-arming of fascist Germany is not a question of justice, as Hitler (for whom otherwise justice is only a shibboleth) asserts, but a question of the possibility of entering into a new imperialist war fully armed. France wants to forestall this rival. One should note what Paul Boncour declared long before Nadolny submitted his proposal: In these months the question of war or peace will be decided. Paul Boncour reminds us that we are on the threshold of a new imperialist war. And Wickham Steed's statement: The English imperialists must first think of themselves, should teach the proletariat that in the first place it must think of itself, must exert all its forces in order to avert the terrible war that is threatening. The proletariat must wage this fight against its own imperialist bourgeoisie. This fight must be so intensified that it develops into a revolution in order to put an end not only to this war but also to the possibility of any other imperialist war. If, however, the forces of the proletariat should prove insufficient and the bourgeoisie venture to let loose the dogs of war, then the proletariat must turn against its own imperialist bourgeoisie in order that the war shall not end with a victory of one imperialist Power over the other, but by a revolution which will put an end to all oppression and all exploitation.

Proletarians, think of the proletarian solution of the antagonisms, think in the first place of yourselves, the more so as your cause is the cause of the whole of humanity!

## Death of An Old Bolshevik

Moscow, May 9.

To-day one of the oldest Bolsheviks, the well-known Party writer and historian, one of the founders of the Society of old Bolsheviks, Comrade Olminski, died at the age of seventy years. Comrade Olminski began his revolutionary activity in the 'nineties of last century, and had since taken an active part in the life of the Party press. During the imperialist war he was in the centre of a Bolshevik literary group. From the February Revolution until the October Revolution he worked as a member of the Moscow Party Committee. The best fighting pamphlets to the soldiers and workers were written by him. After the October Revolution he devoted himself to Party history and to the history of the October Revolution. He organised a special commission for this work. He was the editor of the "Proletarian Revolution," as well as of a number of valuable tracts on the history of the Russian Revolutionary Movement and the history of the C.P. of the Soviet Union. He also collaborated at the Lenin Institute.

Olminski used all his knowledge for the good of the Proletarian Revolution. A flaming indignation against all class enemies of the proletariat, against all petty-minded prattlers, against all deserters of the general line of the Party burned in him. Olminski was the "living conscience" of the Party. This reputation will ever be his.

# The Revision of the Versailles Treaty

By Karl Radek

Thirteen years have passed since the Entente Powers, who together with the United States defeated the Powers of the Triple Entente, set about "regulating" the state of the world. The Peace Treaties of Versailles, Trianon, Neuilly, and Lausanne, pursued the aim of creating such prerequisites for the further existence of capitalism as would enable the bourgeoisie to skim the cream off the milk. Everything the Communist International has written with regard to these treaties and the position arising out of them (see the resolution of the First Congress, adopted in March, 1919, which fundamentally provided the most correct characterisation of the contradictions contained in the Treaties, which were then not even official, that has ever yet been), everything that Lenin wrote on the Treaty of Versailles, has proved itself to be the stern truth. Who would now dispute those words of **Lenin**, which he wrote on May 11, 1920:

"The collapse of the capitalist governments is inevitable, for everyone can see that a new war like the Great War is unavoidable, if the imperialists and the bourgeoisie retain power. New quarrels and conflicts are growing up between Japan and America, the bases for which have been created during a decade of the history of the diplomacy of the two countries. War is unavoidable on the basis of private ownership. The war between Great Britain, which has acquired colonies by robbery, and France, which feels itself to have been defrauded, is inevitable. No one knows where and how the war will break out, but it is a matter of common observation, knowledge, and conversation, that preparations for a new war are inevitably being made.

When Lenin wrote these words there was much that he did not know that we know to-day as a result of the voluminous literature that has appeared since that time in the form of memoirs, and as a result of the mass of documentary statements that have become known since then. At that time Lenin could not know all this. He could not know that Clemenceau on his return from India complained to Lloyd George, whom he visited in London, that Great Britain had turned round upon France and that Lloyd George smilingly answered him: "Great Britain has only returned to her old policy. Why should that astonish you?" At that time Lenin could not know of the letter written on July 30, 1919, to Wilson by his chief adviser, Colonel House, who had travelled to London after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles:

"The relations between the two countries (Great Britain and the U.S.A.) are beginning to assume the same character as the relations between Germany and England before the war." (House, "Intimate Papers," Vol. IV., p. 495.)

Without knowing all this, simply as the result of a Marxist analysis of the situation, Lenin, in his draft for a pamphlet on tax in kind in March, 1921, drew up the following table for the mutual relations of the imperialist powers after the war:—

"The Entente against Germany,  
America against Japan (and Great Britain),  
America against Europe,  
The imperialist world against Asia."

Since then, of course, a number of concrete changes in the mutual relations of the various capitalist powers have occurred. It is still impossible to say quite precisely what objectively will be the grouping of the imperialist forces in the event of the war. But the outlines, as well as the causes of the impossibility of maintaining the conditions which arose as a result of the war in 1919, are clear.

The policy of reparations is bankrupt, for reparations enormously sharpened the post-war crisis for capitalism. The burden of interallied debts is a rope round the neck of international capital that it cannot shake off. The frontiers that were drawn with the sword cut to pieces the living bodies of a number of European nations and the wounds caused thereby are festering and causing a continual fever. The colonial policy of the Great Powers is perpetually on a volcano. For not one moment has

India settled down. If British imperialism succeeds from time to time in smothering the growing wave of the people's movement by acts of brutal repression, all the social forces unite in the struggle against British imperialism that are destined to prepare the end of the rule of British imperialism on the great continent of India. In the clutches of world imperialism China cannot solve the problem without a solution of which it must die of hunger and become the source of severe shocks for the continent of Asia.

Still more, there exists this contradiction in the Versailles system: that French imperialism was victorious with the help of British and American imperialism, whereas the latter, since the war, have no longer any wish to defend what France has gained for herself by her arms. A number of imperialist powers were left unsatisfied at the end of the war. Italy and Japan demand a re-division of the world. The United States, the greatest and richest imperialist power, have not only no colonies worth mentioning, but also have no naval base for their fleet, which set itself the task after the war of achieving equality at least with the British fleet.

The complete revision of the Treaty of Versailles is demanded by the capitalist countries that were beaten in the war. These are no longer in 1933 what they were in 1919. They have restored their economic and military machinery. A generation has grown up in these countries that does not remember the defeat, but is realising its consequences. As a counterblast to the cry for revision of the Versailles Treaty, behind which lurks the watchword of a fresh, wholesale division of the world can be heard the cry for the preservation of the status quo.

Ever since 1919 the bourgeois opponents of the Versailles Treaty who were clever enough to realise that it can be no basis for the further development of capitalism, have been racking their brains to think out a Peace Treaty that would be good enough to satisfy all the capitalist powers. Since the appearance of Keynes' "Economic Consequences of the Peace" a voluminous literature has appeared on the revision of the Versailles Treaty which is very reminiscent of the squaring of the circle. Not one of the proposals favourable to German imperialism is accepted by French imperialism, not one of the proposals that might be of advantage to American imperialism is accepted by Japanese imperialism, not one of the "conciliatory" proposals of British imperialism is accepted by French imperialism, not to speak of all the plans for the re-division of South Eastern Europe, or of the solution of the question of the Polish coastal district (known as the "Corridor").

Even such a question as that of reparations and inter-allied debts, for the solution of which the simple economic fact should serve as a basis, that no country can pay its debts otherwise than with its exports, and that therefore every country on whom the burden of debts is placed is compelled to harm its opponent by dumping—even this question cannot be solved on the basis of this simple consideration; against the liquidation of inter-allied debts the fact tells that these debts would fall on the shoulders of the American taxpayer, were France, Great Britain, etc., to be freed of them. The only solution, namely the cancellation of all war debts, would mean an enormous blow for the rentier, and for finance capital—and hence the bourgeoisie will not agree to it.

Those powers that are striving for the revision of the Versailles and Washington Treaties, demand a re-division of the colonies in the name of justice. It is sufficient to point out the fact that the German Society for the Return of the Colonies is even demanding that the colonies taken by Japan during the war should be returned to Germany in view of the fact that Japan has left the League of Nations. Yet this demand is being made at a moment when dozens of millions of colonial peoples are rising up against the existence of colonial possessions at all.

What is the position with regard to the question of redrawing the frontiers of Europe from the standpoint of the interests of those nations who are suffering as a result of the present frontiers?

The whole district of the lower Vistula was for centuries the object of a struggle between Germanic and Slav tribes. Later it was the object of a conscious policy of colonisation on the part of the Order of Crusading Knights. After the partition of Poland Germany carried on in these districts a policy of colonisation and

extermination (repression of the indigenous population). Germany attempted to extend the frontiers of the areas inhabited by the German people by subjecting the Poles to economic and political pressure. On their side the Poles, after the territory which had been conquered by Frederick the Great in order to unite so-called Royal Prussia with the Principality of Prussia had been restored to them (this area was restored to Poland not, according to the German legend, because Paderewski misled Wilson with maps that had been tampered with, but because the return of the coastal district to Poland was in the interest of the French General Staff), ousted hundreds of thousands of Germans out of this district, which they had possessed for more than a hundred years, by means of economic and political pressure. Can capitalism justly solve this question, that is, so that the masses of the people shall not have to suffer from its solution?

This it cannot do, neither from the standpoint of the satisfaction of their national interests nor that of their economic interests. Under Socialism the close co-operation of two peoples that are administratively separated and have their own national frontiers, is possible. Under capitalism every advance in the economic sphere, every economic question is the object of the struggle for supremacy of the bourgeoisie of one country in relation to the bourgeoisie of another country.

There is no just solution of the national question in North-Eastern Europe and there is no just solution of the still more complicated national relations of the Danubian and Balkan countries. In old times whole streams of peoples passed through these countries, and they left behind an ethnographic mixture out of which new peoples have arisen. Only the revolutionary unification of South-Eastern Europe, based on the interests of the masses, would create the foundation for a just solution of the national question.

Thirteen years have passed since the Treaty of Versailles. Unfortunately it was impossible for the proletariat of the leading capitalist countries in these thirteen years to go the road that the proletariat of the Soviet Union has gone, it was still not possible for it to wrest the power from the hands of the capitalist cliques and to take into its own hands the solution of the question of the life and development of the peoples. And imperialism, which has failed in the attempt to force on the world the conditions of Versailles, is not in the position to give the world conditions of life differing fundamentally from those of Versailles.

The best proof of this is the fact that it is the fascist governments that are the standard-bearers in the cry for revision, the governments that oppress the masses in their own countries in the most ruthless fashion, the governments whose ideology harks back to the Middle Ages. The mere fact that the revision of the treaties is bound up with the victory of fascism shows how much this revision has to do with the national interests of the peoples who are designated as "inferior" by the fascists.

The path of revision of the robbers' peace of Versailles is the path to the new world war. All the attempts of the interested parties to represent the matter as though it were a question of a peaceful transformation of the old treaties, cannot deceive us. The diplomatic fuss with regard to the revision of the Versailles Treaty is only one of the forms for the preparation of the war. The word "revision" is only another name for the new world war. It is therefore not to be wondered at that one of the basic demands of the revisionists is the demand for the right to those armaments which are forbidden by the Versailles Treaty. The discussion with regard to revision is the smoke screen behind which imperialism is preparing the most horrible, cruel war which the human brain can imagine, a war that will completely put in the shade all the horrors of the imperialist war of 1914-1918.

What has been said suffices to determine the attitude of the international proletariat with regard to the clamour about the capitalist revision of the Versailles Treaty and what is actually behind this clamour. The international proletariat continues to be the enemy of the Versailles Treaty. Only its own victory, however, can replace this treaty by peace treaties based on the right to self-determination of peoples, by peace treaties which take into consideration the national needs of even the most backward peoples and clear the way for the common struggle against want, misery and ruin which have been brought about by post-war capitalism. But this will be a socialist revision. No new grouping of imperialist Powers and no redivision of the

world on the basis of the predominance of a new imperialist group over the victorious Powers can bring about a just peace.

Only the victory of the proletarian revolution and of the revolution of the colonial peoples can rid the world of the horrors of a new imperialist war, and can pave the way for the true and peaceful solution of the questions at issue.

Apart from its attitude towards imperialism, towards the question of the self-determination of peoples and towards imperialist wars, the international proletariat—the enemy of the Versailles Treaty—cannot range itself on the side of those imperialist Powers who wish to carry out a redivision of the world amidst the conflagration of a new imperialist war. The fight against the peril of a new imperialist war will be the central task of the international proletariat. With it is closely bound up the struggle against fascism. The historic function of international fascism consists in postponing the moment of the complete overthrow of capitalism by means of the complete enslavement of the masses, in order to drive them into the shambles of a new imperialist war.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union is the leader of the international proletariat in its fight for peace. The Workers' and Peasants' State came to birth in the struggle for peace and has not only stood firm, during all the fifteen years of its existence, as the guardian of its own peace, but it has always with the utmost consistency appeared in the international arena as a champion of peace. The Soviet State is fighting for peace, not only because the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. needs peace in order to build up socialism in its territory, which has been freed from the yoke of the bourgeoisie; it is fighting for peace because it is deeply convinced that peace is the best prerequisite for the victory of socialism on a world scale. The miserable defenders of the international bourgeoisie have always accused the Soviet Union of contemplating war, and hoping that by means of the disturbances of war the victory of the international proletariat will come to pass.

This nonsense does not merit a serious answer. War means not only the unleashing of the savage bourgeois-nationalist dogs of war, but it will, on account of the nature it has assumed in its latest developments, bring about such a destruction of productive forces that the victorious proletariat would have to struggle to build up socialism under the most difficult conditions. The immediate interests of the Soviet proletariat and those of the international proletariat dictate categorically a policy of peace; they dictate categorically to the Soviet State a policy of non-interference in the criminal struggle of the imperialist cliques and they dictate categorically the defence of the peaceful work of the Soviet territory against every effort to drag it into the whirlpool of imperialist affairs.

The imperialist Powers, who are making preparations for a new imperialist war, are at the same time very much afraid of this war. They realise that even if they should succeed in breaking the resistance of the masses and driving them on to the battlefield, the revolutionary proletarian movement would, after the first defeat, sweep the masses and that a protracted war would unavoidably lead to a socialist revolution.

They fear that the existence of the Soviet Union, which would be the only haven of peace in this sea of blood, might have a powerful influence on the masses of those countries which would be thrown into the chaos of world war. For this reason there are in existence, in many imperialist countries, groups who are working out plans as to how the redivision of the world should be begun with the war against the Soviet Union.

If Japan could be moved to declare war upon the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union might be weakened by such a war and Japan also would certainly be so far weakened that its opponents or "allies" would no longer have to be afraid of youthful Japanese imperialism.

If Poland could be pushed into a war against the Soviet Union, then it would be easier to persuade it to forego the Corridor, by compensating it with a Ukraine separated from Russia, which would still have to be conquered, and in this way to create for German fascism a way out of the present position.

This programme for the revision of the Versailles Treaty by means of the creation of a still worse form of the Brest Treaty, this programme is the foreign policy of German fascism. It is superfluous to state that the ingenious authors of this programme have arrived in the world too late. The times of the Brest Treaty are long past, and every attempt to enter into a revision of the Versailles Treaty at the cost of the Soviet Union will

endanger the existence of those capitalist Powers who wish to try to put such a programme into effect. The Soviet Union will not meddle in the squabbles of imperialist groups. Any attempt, however, to turn matters against the Soviet Union would raise, not the question of our position in regard to the Versailles Treaty, but rather the question of the very existence of capitalism.

The capitalist world is not in a position to settle a single one of the problems which confront humanity, either by peaceful or by war-like methods. The Soviet Union has actually shown, as a result of the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan and of collectivisation, that it is in a position to solve the fundamental problems of mankind through the building up of socialism. The Soviet Union has shown, by means of its national policy, which makes it possible to utilise all the productive forces of the whole enormous country for the benefit of all the people living within the Soviet frontiers, that it is in a position to solve the national problem. The development of even the most backward peoples in the Soviet Union, who before the revolution did not even possess an alphabet, shows that the victory of socialism means not only the solution of the economic, but also of the national problem of which capitalism has made a tangle of irreconcilable contradictions. If world capitalism turns against the Soviet Union, in order to accomplish its downfall, in order to call down a rain of blood upon socialist territory, then the Soviet proletariat will be confronted with the task of placing itself at the head of the world-proletariat in the fight for the solution of the problems which world capitalism has not and will not be able to solve. Then the Soviet proletariat will say to the world proletariat and to the colonial peoples: If there is to be a revision, let it be a complete revision.

## Politics

### On the Eve of the World Economic Conference

The knives of the world economic crisis plunge swift and deep. As Lloyd George observes, the world (by which he means the capitalist countries.—Ed.) is in desperate disorder. Everywhere there is a staggering decline in industrial production, a fearful *valuta* chaos, a continued growth of unemployment, while hunger and poverty prevail as concomitants. Following the pound sterling, and after a mere six weeks of a frightful credit disaster, the United States dollar, king of currencies, is thrust from its throne of gold and made to roll in the dust and dirt of the international currency chaos. Yet at bottom the struggle between the different national currencies is a struggle for markets, for financial and economic hegemony. As their reply to the U.S.A.'s measures the British bourgeoisie has raised the fund for regulating its currency value by £175,000,000 (to be exact to £350,000,000), in order to fight the dollar. The same object is aimed at by the agreement reached between Britain and France at the end of April whereby the latter country receives credit from Britain to the sum of £30,000,000.

With the sudden depreciation of the pound by almost 30 per cent. British goods were able to compete to better effect on foreign markets, while the opportunity is presented of lowering real wages for the British workers as well. With cheaper British goods being offered on the foreign market the conditions become more favourable for the expansion of British exports. The Government has therefore been doing its level best to prevent any recovery of the pound and has been holding it down at a fairly low level.

Taking advantage of the pound's depreciation, the British imperialists have gone in for dumping on the grand scale, with the result that they have squeezed the American competitors from the international markets.

With the abolition of the gold standard now in the U.S.A. the position has been radically altered. Roosevelt has struck the dumping weapon out of the hands of the Die-hards. As a matter of fact, the Anglo-American economic war had entered an acute phase even prior to the Washington negotiations.

The abolition of the dollar's gold standard had been prepared by the whole course of development undergone by the world economic crisis. The inevitability of disaster for the dollar was all too plain. At the same time there is no doubt that the U.S.A.

was moved to abandon the gold standard out of foreign-political considerations. In fact, the abandonment of the gold standard was the crowning act to the inflationist moves of the American bourgeoisie and the naked edge of that weapon was directed against Great Britain.

The fact is that a war has begun between the Pound and the Dollar and already acquired most violent forms. While MacDonald was in Washington the attempts merely to establish some sort of stable relationship between Pound and Dollar failed. The British Cabinet decided to enlarge its *valuta* fund. As its answer the U.S.A. now threatens to build up an American fund to the value of £800,000,000.

Never, since the end of the imperialist war, have the antagonisms between Britain and the United States been so great, their relations so strained. On all fronts these battles are being fought out between British and American imperialism, both sides making feverish efforts to obtain trumps for the impending battle due to be fought on June 12, in London.

This is one of the reasons for the British imperialists forcing on at top speed the work of concluding trade agreements with Germany, Denmark, and the Argentine. Very soon trade agreements are to be signed with Norway and Sweden. All these agreements are intended to ensure Britain a definite minimum export trade in the countries mentioned.

The agreement signed with *Germany* roused a great deal of stormy opposition from the Conservatives in the House. For, while the British coal industry obtains a certain insignificant advantage (the German Government is to increase the quota of coal imported into that country from Britain from 100,000 to 180,000 tons a month, whereas in 1930 the quota was 400,000 and in 1913 750,000 tons), Birmingham's industries are actually sacrificed to the needs of the agreement.

The agreement with *Argentina* (which was strongly objected to by the Protectionists especially), secures for the Argentine meat and grain exporters a more favoured position as compared with the British industrialists who export to the South American republic. Commenting on the Anglo-Argentine Trade Agreement, the "Vossische Zeitung" observes: England has made certain sacrifices, though she has made up for that by succeeding in establishing trade and political relations prior to the World Economic Conference, which ought to circumscribe the new trade and political orientation which those countries, which constitute such important markets for British goods, threaten to adopt.

The Anglo-Argentine Trade Agreement has greatly sharpened Anglo-American rivalries in South America. Every effort is being made by the American imperialists to organise a bloc of the Latin-American States against Britain by extending their economic and political influence in Brazil, Peru, Chile, Venezuela, etc. They are endeavouring to conclude a "model customs agreement" with Canada, which shall be actually directed against the Ottawa decisions. Canada's abandonment of the gold standard following on the adoption of the same step by the U.S.A. is a fact which only goes to emphasise the financial bonds between the U.S.A. and Britain's greatest Dominion. If one adds to that the talks between Bennett, the Canadian Prime Minister, and Roosevelt without the mediation of the mother country, one gets a good illustration of the "assemblage of forces" which American imperialism is engineering against Britain.

Press announcements regarding the U.S.A.'s agreement with the British formula of a "truce in the tariff war" do not by any means lessen the ferocity of the fight being waged between the two countries. No other than MacDonald and Simon have stated in Parliament that the British formula of a truce in the tariff war is about as effective as the "armaments truce."

There is no doubt that the problem of the debts is one of the most important weapons in the hands of the U.S. Government, which is out to strengthen its influence over capitalist Europe by this means. Roosevelt's most recent statements, in which he categorically insists on the interest being paid on the war debts, indicate that the American President is of a mind to make the fullest use of this valuable trump card at the World Economic Conference where, officially, the question of the debts will not be gone into.

In Britain itself the discussion which has been going on between both governments regarding the debts has become fairly unpopular already. Not to speak of the lower middle classes, the

bankers and big industrialists of Britain express themselves as decidedly against the payment this time of the interest on the war debts to the U.S.A. which falls due on June 15th, when Britain must hand over the huge sum of £29,000,000.

The debts question is becoming an ever more serious factor jeopardising the stability of the "National" Government. Even the extreme wing of the Conservative Press is no longer suppressing the great annoyance with MacDonald, who has returned from America without coming to any arrangement on such a pressing question as that of the debts.

The French Cabinet has not yet announced its agreement with Herriot's statement of policy as to the necessity of paying. As yet no Anglo-French united front on this question has been envisaged. Then again, American Finance Capital also prefers that it should so utilise the trump card of the debts question as to deal individually with each debtor-nation and so check any tendency towards the formation of an anti-American front.

Washington needs allies. She requires them not only and not so much for the purpose of consolidating U.S. influence on the European Continent as in the Far East and in the Pacific, where antagonisms between the U.S.A. and Japan have now assumed a particularly acute form. Regarded from this standpoint, the negotiations between Roosevelt and Herriot become of outstanding significance since—judging from official announcements—during their course Franco-American "collaboration" will be outlined as a policy. The U.S.A. is prepared to back France in the matter of security in Europe provided that France supports U.S. positions in the Far East. A further result of the coming together of Roosevelt and Herriot is that on the question of the "Four-Power Pact" Britain has been made to repudiate her original stand and in matters appertaining to "disarmament" to draw appreciably nearer to the French thesis as to the inviolability of the Versailles Treaty. But on the fundamental issue—in the question of the Far East—British imperialism still sticks to its old positions.

British imperialism's pro-Japanese policy in the Far East arises out of the great extent of the British bourgeoisie's vested interests in China (British capital investments in that country running to one and a half milliard dollars), and simultaneously out of its fear of the U.S.A. Use is being made by Japanese imperialism of these contradictions to manage things just as it likes in China uncontrolled by anyone. It is preparing for fresh imperialist conquests in the Far East and for war against the United States.

Whatever international problem one cared to examine it would be found that contradictions between the U.S.A. and Britain figure most prominently. Entering a new phase with the abolition of the gold standard, the bitter economic struggle between these two imperialist Powers goes hand in hand with intensive war preparations which are being openly carried on by the ruling cliques of the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

There is no doubting the fact that at the World Economic Conference the same attempt will be made which was made at Geneva, that is, to hide these feverish preparations for war behind pseudo-pacifist talk. After the two years' experience of Geneva, however, this attempt is not likely to mislead anyone.

The first series of Washington negotiations finished with their collapse and but too plainly revealed all the wounds in the body of a rotting capitalism and the whole nature of the strained relationships arising out of the antagonisms between Britain and America.

The unsuccessful participants in these talks are now to come to London in the hope that the foggy atmosphere of the British Isles will be able somewhat to veil the acuteness of their conflicting policies. But as can already be seen, the London Conference offers no prospect of the opponents coming to an agreement. All it can do is to lead to a still greater heaping up of these contradictions and differences of opinion between the two foremost imperialist Powers of the world.

#### Decline of Germany's National Economy.

Berlin, May 15.

According to a report of the German Agricultural Board, from April 15 large quantities of last year's crop have remained unsold. In former years Germany not only used up her own crops, but imported large quantities of grain from abroad. This is a proof that, owing to the worsening of their standard of life, the German population is consuming less bread.

## Strained Relations Between Austria and Germany

One of the most important assets possessed by Germany in the field of foreign politics since 1918 was the influence which it possessed in Austria and which was known as the "Anschluss" movement. A few weeks of the Hitler government have sufficed in order to bring about a thorough change here and to complete the isolation of Germany also on this side.

This result was the exact contrary of that which Hitler set out to attain. For if national socialism was to attempt to achieve any foreign political successes, then it had to be on the Austrian frontier and not on the Rhine or in the Polish Corridor. That was the line of least resistance. It could at least create the impression that national socialism wanted to force a breach in the Versailles system.

And in order to achieve this there would have been no need to shift the red-white-red frontier posts. A national socialist government in Vienna would already have meant the actual realisation of the Anschluss. Just as the national socialist party in Austria is not an independent organisation but an agency of Hitler and under the control of the German Reichstag deputy, **Habicht**, so a national socialist government in Austria would have been merely an executive organ of Berlin.

The idea seemed very simple, but there is one thing that the consistent representatives of the principle of imperialist policy lost sight of, namely, that any alteration of the Versailles system would mean war in Europe; that not only Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia would reply to any union of Austria with Germany with an invasion of Austria, but that Germany's two allies on the question of revision, Italy and Hungary, have the greatest interest in maintaining the Versailles system in regard to Austria. Thus the plan for Austria's union with national socialist Germany was torpedoed by Italy and Hungary without French imperialism having to move a finger.

The matter was decided on the occasion of the visit of **Dollfuss** to Rome. A polemic between the "**Deutsche Diplomatische Korrespondenz**," an organ of the German Foreign Office, and the Vienna "**Reichspost**," gave us the key to the true meaning of this journey. The "**Deutsche Diplomatische Korrespondenz**" at that time spoke very maliciously of the uncertain position of the government in Austria and expressed the opinion that Dollfuss had expected to obtain some sort of support for its position through the prestige of the Italian Prime Minister, taking into account the good relations existing between Mussolini and leading German statesmen.

The "**Reichspost**" replied on April 20 that the object of the visit to Rome was "to obtain clarity regarding certain plans which aimed at outside interference in the inner political development of Austria." Already the day previously the "**Reichspost**" had written regarding these plans that the Nazis wished to bring about new elections in Austria, in which event a whole army of election agitators would be sent from Germany. Should these plans be successful, the "**Reichspost**" declared, the result would be the incorporation of Austria as a province in the German Reich after the style of Bavaria.

The Hitler government, however, did not think of abandoning its plans, even when the independence of Austria had again been consolidated in Rome. The "**Völkische Beobachter**" of April 21 quite openly threatened to appeal to the desire of the Austrian people for union with Germany by calling to mind the demonstrations which took place some years ago in different Austrian provinces, "in which the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people demanded union with Germany."

The municipal elections in **Innsbruck**, the capital of Tyrol, where the Nazis polled 40 per cent. of the votes, helped to intensify the problem. The "**Völkische Beobachter**" described the election result as "the signal for the emancipation of Austria."

Since then the Nazis have had further propagandist and organisational successes in Austria. Following the going over in a body of many Pan-German organisations, especially in the Alpine provinces on the Bavarian frontier, to the German national socialist party, the Salzburg Pan-Germans have adopted a decision to put forward a motion at the next party conference to merge the whole Pan-German party with the Nazis.

As a result, the hopes of the Nazis in Germany of a speedy realisation of their Austrian plans rose considerably. As, how-

ever, there could be no thought of holding new elections in face of the obdurate attitude of the Austrian government, the idea arose of an adventurous raid of the Bavarian Storm Troops into Tyrol and Salzburg, a sort of imitation of the Polish *coup d'état* in Vilna, except that in this case the war of conquest was against a German "brother State." The "Reichspost" of May 4 exposed these plans.

The international significance of this situation lies in the **complete foreign-political isolation of Germany**. The Dollfuss government carried out a decisive approachment of Austria to Italy and Hungary. In defending its independence against Berlin it at the same time complies with the wishes of French imperialism, upon which it is financially dependent.

The Austrian bourgeoisie know that they can make use of the position of Austria as a buffer State in order to sell themselves to this or that side at the best price. They would have nothing to gain but everything to lose in a final solution of the "Austrian question" in a future war. The same thing applies also to the attempts of German imperialism, supported by national socialist middle classes in Austria, to seize possession of this country. The attempt is bound to lead to war.

A very complicated inner-political situation arises as a result of this foreign political situation. It is clear that the Dollfuss government, in its fight against the workers, could strengthen itself considerably if it could base itself upon the mass of national socialist followers among the petty-bourgeoisie. It therefore masks all its anti-working-class measures with sham attacks on the Nazis. Thus, for instance, the prohibition of parades and meetings as well as the suspension of the freedom of the press and many other measures were all declared to be necessary in order to check the national socialist propaganda.

In view of the meagre mass basis which the Dollfuss government possesses it is compelled in the present situation to seek support in an approachment to the social democracy. The national party conference of the social democratic party of Austria has already proclaimed Dollfuss to be the "lesser evil" compared with the "brown danger." But here we see also the important role which the Nazis have in the fascist course in Austria, in spite of their oppositional attitude. They supply the social democrats as well as Dollfuss with a justification for their anti-working-class policy.

The First of May in Vienna, in spite of the howitzers and machine guns which were held in readiness in order to prevent the working class from demonstrating in the centre of the town, was characterised by civil peace. Everywhere the social democratic functionaries did their utmost to keep the masses from demonstrating. In return the Dollfuss government, after issuing the decree prohibiting strikes, rapidly endeavoured to introduce arbitration in industrial disputes in accordance with the demands of the social democrats.

For the Austrian working population the only result of the policy of the Dollfuss government is increased oppression. This is clearly seen in the present wholesale arrests of the Communists. The "**Arbeiter-Zeitung**" did not utter a word of protest against hundreds of workers in Austria being arrested and tried for sedition merely on account of their opinions, without the slightest evidence of their guilt even according to the law. In fact, the social democratic press already before the First of May provided the government with a pretext for these persecutions by writing about "provocateurs and Communist fools."

Summing up, one can say that the Dollfuss government is not combating the national socialist designs on Austria in order to defend the "independence" of this country, but in order to defend its dependence upon the Versailles victor Powers.

## Fascist Tendencies in Denmark

By A. H. (Copenhagen)

All bourgeois parties and the leaders of the social democracy in Denmark are developing in a fascist direction. In particular the **State apparatus**, which is represented by Ministers Zahle, Stauning, etc., as being a bulwark against fascism, is permeated with fascism. Differences exist between the various wings and sections of the bourgeoisie only on the question as to what extent fascism must be democratically veiled. A **fascist mass basis** among the peasants and middle classes is being developed, and steps are

being taken for the purpose of winning fascist cadres among the unemployed.

It is particularly interesting to note that the Farmers' League has laid down a programme for Danish economic policy, which represents a fairly exact copy of the measures of the Hitler-Hugenberg government in favour of the agrarian capitalists, the junkers and big peasants in Germany. This programme, which was issued in March, 1933, by the Farmers' League, is summed up in the proposals for "placing agriculture on a paying basis." Like the economic policy of the Hitler government, this programme is based on the principle of national self-sufficiency, autarchy. In this programme it is said, *inter alia*:

"It is important for agriculture to point out that an adaptation need not necessarily be brought about by reducing wages, but that it is also possible by increasing the prices of those agricultural products which the urban population has to buy."

The proposals of the League include, among others, an import prohibition of the most important varieties of grain. In order to force up the prices of potatoes, the League demands the compulsory organisation of all potato-growers, and that potatoes shall be sold only by this central association. The following is demanded as a means to force up the price of butter:

"A tax of 50 ore per kilogramme must be placed on the production of vegetable margarine. The importation of foreign margarine must be prohibited or subjected to a customs duty of at least 60 ore per kilogramme."

The policy advocated by the programme of the Farmers' League of systematically increasing the price of food does not encounter any resistance on principle from the Danish social democracy and the coalition government. The government of the social democracy and the so-called Left Radicals is quite willing to carry out **step by step** the programme of "agrarian fascism" in Denmark. The League wants to carry out the whole programmes all at once. It is therefore quite possible that we shall witness in Denmark the formation of a bloc of national socialists, conservatives, representatives of the Farmers' League and certain elements within the Left agrarian party for the purpose of accelerating the pace of fascist development in Denmark. The Danish social democracy and the so-called Left Radicals, who have capitulated to fascism beforehand, will in this case take part in a race with the pure fascist wing of the bourgeoisie in order to prove that under "democratic" Danish conditions fascism is "superfluous."

To introduce the government system of fascism into Denmark with the aid of the catchword of "bulwark against fascism," that is the quintessence of the political perspectives of the social democratic party in Denmark. In the press and in every political debate in the Reichstag, the leaders of the social democracy and of the Left radicals declare that their policy represents a protection against fascism. They attempt by means of these declarations to hide the fact that all these measures that are being carried out in Denmark are leading, without a fascist *coup d'état*, to the completely developed fascist dictatorship. The declaration of the Danish Minister for Justice **Zahle**: "If we exterminate Communism root and branch, then there will be no fascism," is not only a deliberate historical untruth, but at the same time a signal for the open suppression of the revolutionary labour movement with the aid of the police and all the forces of the bourgeois State; a signal for the annihilation of the anti-fascist front in Denmark. The social democratic leaders, who expel from the Party any worker who takes part in an anti-fascist committee or congress, are in full agreement with the declaration of the Liberal fascist Minister for Justice. The development in Denmark is becoming increasingly similar to that which created the pre-conditions for the setting up of the fascist dictatorship in Germany. The Danish social democracy, it is true, is now criticising the attitude of the German social democracy on certain questions, as, for example, the question of May 1, but at the same time it is following more and more in the footsteps of this same social democracy. A great part of the leading apparatus of Danish social democracy is already being prepared to serve as the main social buttress for a future fascist form of the dictatorship of finance capital in Denmark.

## Germany

# Hitler's Growing Difficulties at Home

By Brand.

The inner political situation of Germany, if all signs do not deceive, is about to enter on a new stage. The population are beginning openly to show their discontent, to complain, to criticise, to grumble and to speak in ironical terms of the Hitler regime. This is a fact of extraordinary importance, following the great wave of enthusiasm for Hitler which swept the whole country in the last few weeks and produced a sort of Hitler mania. This dissatisfaction is to be observed everywhere: in the workshops and factories, in the streets, in the tramcars and especially in the shops, where the increase in the prices of the most important articles of food calls forth very excited discussions. The gist of the complaints is always the same: things have not improved under Hitler, but have become worse; it is high time, however, that things got better. This ferment is not yet conscious enough to develop into a definite rejection of the fascist regime. Most of the people who criticise the fascist regime have not yet abandoned the illusion that Hitler will "perhaps be able to do something." Nevertheless, they declare that it is time something was done and that they are not prepared to wait much longer.

The fascist press, supported by the Institute for Business Research, are endeavouring to create optimistic views regarding the economic situation. But their articles and statistics are encountering widespread disbelief and scorn: they bear so plainly the stamp of the "Reichs Ministry for Propaganda." In all branches of industry and commerce one hears quite openly the unanimous verdict: "The situation was never so bad as it is to-day!"

It seems that the fascist rulers are aware of this feeling among the masses of the people and also realise the danger to them arising from it. This fact was reflected very clearly in Hitler's speech at Kiel. "The future will be difficult . . . the future will be difficult . . ." Hitler confessed to his Storm Detachments, and he spoke again of the ruthless employment of force with which he hoped to master the difficulties; he spoke of pursuing the Marxist leaders to their last hiding places, of their complete extermination, of crushing any sabotage of the "national revolution." That is an unmistakable announcement of a new intensified campaign of terror. The greater the inner difficulties of the fascist dictatorship become, the more brutal the terror against the anti-fascist movement.

But the fascist rule of violence remains entangled in the inner contradictions between the interests and wishes of the anti-capitalist masses and the objective role of fascism as the defender of bankrupt capitalism. Every one of its measures must express these contradictions. Hitler's appeal to capitalist economy is a classic proof of this.

Already in his May Day speech in Tempelhof, Hitler appealed to private capitalist initiative to abolish unemployment. A few days later, on May 5, he repeated this appeal still more urgently:

"The Reich Government has every interest in economic life becoming inwardly peaceful. All rigorous interference must and will be avoided. The economy is in a position to embark immediately on economic projects and plan a long way ahead, as the stabilisation of conditions offers the necessary guarantee. Economy can, therefore, begin to plan on a large scale. Those who commence quickly can be assured of the warmest moral support of the Reich Government. Any nervousness in economic circles is quite out of place. Now that the trade union action has been carried out, a consolidation of conditions has become apparent in economic life."

This declaration, which is of great importance for the inner political development, has a two-fold effect: One on the capitalist economy and the other on the anti-capitalist sentiments of the

masses. The capitalists respond to this declaration by asking: How can we plan a long way ahead when everything still lies in darkness? What will happen to the Mark? Will it follow the Pound and the Dollar? How are the "work provision schemes" to be financed? And before all, will the Hitler party master the anti-capitalist forces which are again growing and making themselves felt in the first place in the factories and workshops and are even compelling the national socialist factory nuclei to put forward wage demands? These are the reasons for the existing "nervousness" which Hitler deprecates. It is not likely that this new appeal by Hitler to his capitalist principals will have any greater result than all his previous exhortations.

But this declaration of Hitler must, on the other hand, have a very sobering and exasperating effect on the anti-capitalist-minded masses among the national socialist followers. No rigorous interference? That is to say, everything is to remain as it was? Is this the abolition of capitalist parasitism that Hitler promised? Hitler guarantees the capitalists the stability of their economy which is based on exploitation. How is this to be reconciled with Hitler's promise of "German Socialism"? What about the promises "to break the fetters of interest slavery"? Where is the expropriation of the trusts, of the bank and stock exchange magnates, of the big stores? Where is the abolition of the crushing burden of taxation? Does Hitler intend to tear up his whole programme?

The passage in Hitler's speech about the meaning of the trade union action is of special importance to the workers. It appears that by means of this action economic conditions are being consolidated! Did not the Nazi leaders declare to the workers that the incorporation of the trade unions in the fascist State was necessary in order to do away with the mismanagement of the social-democratic bureaucrats? Now, however, Hitler has revealed the real purpose of this action: to consolidate the capitalist system!

A new declaration by Göring, the Prime Minister of Prussia, which was published on May 9, is directed before all against actions by middle-class traders and shopkeepers. It is stated in the declaration that the national socialist "Fighting League for Middle-Class Traders and Shopkeepers" has repeatedly taken action against the big stores and multiple shops. Such interference is strictly forbidden in future, and will be punished. A similar prohibition is directed against the "Fighting League for German Culture" and its "national section for theatrical employees," i.e., against national socialist actors, musicians, etc. Such "Fighting Leagues," declares Göring, must not degenerate into bodies representing merely the interests of their members. But why, then, have the artisans, small shopkeepers, theatrical and cinema employees raised cheers for Hitler, if not because they hoped that their interests would be better looked after when he came into power?

To all this there is now added as the last straw the declaration of the Reich government that all taxes and arrears of taxes are to be ruthlessly collected. This is a cold douche for the peasants and middle classes whom the Nazis promised that the arrears of taxes would be cancelled and held out the prospect of a reduction of the burden of taxation.

These are the great inner difficulties of the fascist regime which are now making themselves felt to a growing extent and from which fascism can find no way out. It is attempting to divert attention from these difficulties by means of increased terror and branding all discontented elements as "Communists." But this will be of little avail. That which to-day is only at the commencing stage will grow and to an increasing extent render the ground more favourable for the work of the Communists.



## Growing Ferment Among the Nazi Storm Troops

Letter from Berlin.

There have been increasing signs in the last few weeks of a growing ferment among the national socialist Storm Detachments, so that it seems time to examine a little more closely this discontent among Hitler's Brown Shirts. It may be remarked at the outset that it is in no way a case of isolated phenomena which might perhaps occur in this or that place, but that the reports from all parts of Germany without exception furnish evidence of this growing ferment.

One of the important reasons for this discontent is the job-hunting and corruption engaged in by the Nazi leaders, which surpasses anything hitherto witnessed in this respect in Germany. This job-hunting has become a regular pest. Prominent people such as **Göring**, **Frick**, **Göbbels**, and **Ley** are trying to grab every job in order to draw the salaries and emoluments attached to them.

In Württemberg it came to a fierce quarrel between the various cliques of leaders over the question of the occupation of the Ministries. The police commissioner, **Ingor**, formerly a sub-group leader of the Storm Troops, laid claim to a ministerial position, thereby encountering the resistance of the Nazi leaders **Mergenthal** and **Murr**. Ingor thereupon issued a warrant for the arrest of his two rivals, and gave instructions to a Stuttgart Storm Detachment to carry out the arrest. The Storm Troops, however, refused to obey this order. Ingor then called in a Storm Detachment from outside of Stuttgart. But **Mergenthal** and **Murr** (the latter is at present "President of the State") got wind of the affair and in turn issued a warrant for the arrest of Ingor. The dispute was settled at the last moment. Hitler decided against Ingor and threatened to expel him from the party. **Mergenthal** and **Murr**, however, strongly advised him against such a measure, as it would have led to a first-class scandal in Württemberg. Ingor was therefore appointed chief group leader for Württemberg. But the quarrel over jobs has, of course, been much talked about and has called forth a profound ferment among the Storm Troops.

Again and again we hear complaints not only from ordinary members of Storm Troops but also from lower officers about the rapid corruption of the Nazi leaders.

There is growing dissatisfaction on account of the non-fulfilment of the promises made by Hitler. Many of the Brown Shirts are tired of demonstrations. Characteristic of this feeling is the assertion of the Storm Detachment leader in Kassel: "I will attend the parades once again, but after May 1 I want to see something different."

Significant also is the report of the national socialist local groups of the Hessian villages of Ostheim, Mosheim, Harle, Rhenda, Falkenstein and Hebel to the Kassel district committee. They all declare they have no desire to go collecting food for the parade of Storm Detachments in Homburg; they have had enough of parades and marches and now want to see deeds. One of these local groups wrote that the food only came into the hands of the officers, whilst they would get nothing.

This discontent with what the Hitler government has brought is expressed at times in very drastic forms. A member of the national socialists' air force went to headquarters in order to announce his resignation. "I joined the Storm Detachments as a national revolutionary, but what Hitler is doing is not revolution. He has not kept any of his promises." In spite of all persuasion on the part of the leaders he carried out his intention of resigning.

This discontent, which is partly directed quite openly against Hitler, is causing the Nazi leaders great uneasiness. At the last consultation of leaders in Munich Hitler had a hard job in order to curb the rebellious Storm Detachment leaders. A representative of the Berlin district committee of the national socialist party declared: "As regards home politics, the situation appears very black to me. The Storm Troops are dissatisfied. This is not yet openly apparent, but there is a ferment among the troops. The lower leaders threaten that they will only put up with things for a short time and will then take action in order to enforce their demands. And it is quite impossible to carry out these desires of the Storm Detachments, the programme of the national socialist party, at present. I tell you, most of

the Storm Troops are Communists under their skins. Perhaps this will be apparent sooner than we think."

The old nightmare of the Nazi leaders, the fear of Communist tendencies among the Storm Troops, is general, in spite of all the purging actions which have been carried out.

Besides these signs of political disintegration there are also other symptoms of open degeneration. The banditry of the Storm Troops plays a big role. This is seen in numerous house searches, in which the Nazi special police grab anything that appears of any value to them. It is reported from Cologne that a number of gangs of criminals have been formed out of Nazi Storm Troops. Similar things are also reported from Berlin. A letter which the Storm Troop leader **Könnecke**, of Storm Troop 2/5 Horst-Wessel, addressed to the Storm Troop 1/5 Horst-Wessel is very illuminating in this respect. The letter reads:

"If Storm Troop 1 standard 5 does not very soon cease its many-sided activity in our area we shall take matters into our own hands. We are not prepared to look on idly at the doings of the members of Storm Troop No. 1. The reports which are coming in, and which are not pure inventions, in fact stink to heaven. Only this afternoon a report arrived that shopkeepers in the Paul-Singer Strasse and in Andreas Strasse have been threatened by men of Storm Troop No. 1. These men had placards coloured black-white-red, with a big swastika on the left. On the placard there was printed the inscription 'German Undertaking,' again in black, white and red. The shopkeepers had to buy these scraps of paper for 50 pfennigs each, otherwise. . . . This evening we received another report that men from Storm Troop No. 1 had carried out a house search in the dwelling of a member of Storm Troop No. 36 in the latter's absence and sought for a pistol. Complaints have already been made to you. Things cannot go on any longer like this. Something must be done here."

This ferment among Hitler's Brown Shirts is only at the commencing stage; but it has every indication of becoming very dangerous to fascism. Woe to the fascist rulers when this rebellion becomes a conscious revolutionary movement. It is the task of the Communists to hasten this process by enlightening the misled Nazi proletarians.

## The Proletarian Press in Germany Under Conditions of Illegality

By Fritz Heckert

In a picture painted by the great French artist Daumier, the bourgeois press is portrayed as a prostitute whom anybody can buy for money. If we examine the bourgeois press of our time we see that the actual facts are fully in accordance with the picture drawn by the gifted French artist. The bourgeois press of Germany has sunk so low and engages in glorifying the fascist regime to such an extent, that Hitler and Göbbels rightly fear that the disgust of the readers might put a premature end to the useful work which this press is rendering in the service of fascism. For this reason they have arranged for one or two newspapers to make "opposition."

Hitler's seizure of power coincided with the ruthless persecution of the proletarian press in Germany. A few weeks before the official appointment of Hitler as Reichs Chancellor, the whole of the Communist press was suppressed, the Communist printing works closed and confiscated.

The prohibition of our press left the way open for fascist lies and slanders, which carried the poison of demagoguery into the ranks of the toilers. Our Party was, however (this must be admitted) already sufficiently prepared in order to replace the legal press by a fairly strong illegal press, which could explain to the working population the meaning of events and help the Party to fight under the new conditions.

It was only after the fire in the Reichstag, when the first illegal number of the "**Rote Fahne**" appeared, that every revolutionary worker fully realised what he had lost by the prohibition of the legal "**Rote Fahne**." The distribution of 300,000 copies of the illegal "**Rote Fahne**," although it means imprisonment for anybody found in possession of a copy, best shows the importance which the German workers attach to their revolutionary press.

In spite of its numerous shortcomings, the Communist press has done much in the last fourteen years of its existence to propagate Communist ideas, to consolidate the Party organisationally, and to increase and lead the class struggle of the proletariat. All this is especially true of the "Rote Fahne," the central organ of the Communist Party of Germany, the oldest Communist newspaper in Germany. Right from the first day of its existence the "Rote Fahne" was the object of the most bitter hatred of all counter-revolutionary elements. No matter what government was in power, the "Rote Fahne" was always the first to be persecuted by continual prohibitions and confiscations. For as regards the suppression of our organ, Hitler has only continued the policy of Noske and Severing.

The constant persecution of the legal daily papers soon compelled the German Communists to issue a number of illegal papers, which circulated in the periods of suppression of the legal papers. A few weeks after the founding of the "Rote Fahne" there arose alongside of it the illegal central "Rote Sturmflagge." In addition to this there appeared, under various names, small courageous papers which carried the idea of Communism into the ranks of the working people.

In time newspapers in the different works and factories, as well as the so-called "street cell newspapers," also began to appear. All these papers were run immediately either by the Party Committee or Trade Union Committee or other revolutionary mass organisations. Many German workers have, in this way got an insight into the running of a newspaper. In the majority of cases the illegal factory newspapers were produced by the workers themselves.

Whilst in every period since the November revolution the Communist press in all its forms was subjected to the sharpest persecution, the social-democratic papers and the trade union papers connected with them enjoyed unrestricted freedom. The social democratic press did everything that lay in its power in order to frustrate the united front of the working class and to disorganise the fight against fascism. Even after the seizure of power by the national socialists and after the development of the fascist terror, the social-democratic papers advocated reconciliation with the government which had let loose this terror. In fact, the venality of the German social democracy knows no bounds.

Speaking of the tasks of the press, both legal and illegal, Lenin described their role as being educators and organisers of the masses for the class struggle, and specially emphasised the importance of the worker-correspondents' movement. The correctness of Lenin's views can be seen to-day in Germany, where, thanks to the powerful worker-correspondents' movement, the Party possesses the main cadres of editors and contributors to the illegal press. And, thanks to them, we have in Hitler-Germany dozens of papers which meet the heavy demands which are placed upon the proletarian press.

Our Russian comrades have had great experience, especially in issuing illegal papers. The Soviet press, the powerful worker-correspondents' movement in the Soviet Union, will furnish the best example of how the victory of the proletarian revolution and Communism must be achieved.

## The Resistance of the German Working Class

### General Strike of Danzig Workers Against Nazi Coup.

Warsaw, May 14.

The official Polish Telegraph Agency reports that the Danzig workers proclaimed a general strike as a protest against the attack of the German Nazis, who stormed the trade union house, supported by the Danzig police. All factories, the wharves, the docks and even the railways are idle. The Polish press states that in view of the coming elections the situation in Danzig is becoming more serious every day. The Nazis are conducting anti-Polish propaganda and nearly every day Polish citizens are attacked by Nazis. "Illustrowany Kurjer Codzienny" reports an increased concentration of Nazi Storm Troops on the territory of the Free State of Danzig. Nazi Storm Troops have arrived from all parts of Germany, among them the infamous Storm Troop No. 33, which set fire to the Reichstag. A stormy meeting of the workers took place outside the office of the League of Nations Commission, the workers demanding that measures should be taken against the Nazi pest. The police arrested many demonstrators.

### Courageous Work of the Young Spartacus League.

Berlin, May 12.

In various parts of Hamburg children's meetings took place at which Nazi flags were burnt. In those cinemas where war films and patriotic films were shown, the children shouted their disapproval.

One of the Nazi teachers, who was known to thrash the school children, was removed as a result of a children's demonstration. Three hundred children assembled outside the school and waited for this teacher. As soon as he appeared, wearing the Nazi uniform, the children booed him and demonstrated against him. Thereupon the teacher requested to be transferred to another school.

In Berlin thousands of workers' children refused to take part in the Nazi May celebration, although this was compulsory. In school these children refused to sing Nazi songs.

Eleven school strikes have taken place lately, the children demanding clothes, shoes, milk and bread. At one school a resolution was adopted against the Hitler government. Six of these eleven strikes were successful.

### Bourgeois Press Reports Increased Activity of Communists.

Berlin, May 12.

Bourgeois papers are alarmed at the increasing activity of the Communist Party. The Berliner "Börsen Courier" publishes the following report in its issue of May 12:

In the barrack quarters of Erfurt large quantities of illegal material were confiscated, also many firearms, posters and many other objects and documents, which prove that the Communist Party is organising the workers illegally.

The following is reported from Stettin: Last night leaflets were distributed in the town by Communists in motor cars and on motor cycles. The leaflets called upon the workers to overthrow the government. Police, supported by Storm Troops, occupied the Grüne Schanze, where an anti-fascist meeting should have taken place. Nine workers, who distributed leaflets, were arrested.

Further reports are published of Communist activities in Benrath (Ruhr), Reinickendorf East, Flensburg, Hasseln, Reisholz, Urdenbach, Weimar and other places.

In Arnstadt (Thuringia) the police claim to have found a wireless sender, equipped with a short wave emitter.

### Eighty German Delegates to the Anti-Fascist Congress.

Berlin, May 14.

In spite of the furious Nazi terror, the German working class is making its preparations for the Anti-Fascist Congress at Copenhagen. In Berlin a district committee of twelve, consisting of Communists, socialists and workers who are not organised in any party, are leading this work. Delegates have already been elected in the big factories, in the big stores, and at the Labour Exchanges. In the "Wasserkante" (Waterside) district about thirty meetings on ships have taken place. The dockers have already elected delegates. Collections among the sailors showed splendid results. Enough money was collected by them to send three delegates to Copenhagen. Up to now ten delegates have been elected in the "Wasserkante" district. In the Ruhr district seven delegates have been elected, among them four social democrats. Three delegates have been elected in the big metal works, two in the pits, one in a textile factory. An intensive campaign is also being conducted in the Middle Rhine district. In Central Germany the chemical workers have taken the lead, closely followed by the iron industry and the miners. A strong delegation from Germany is assured. Lower Saxony is sending three delegates, Silesia two, Pomerania seven, Saxony twenty, Central Germany fifteen, Stuttgart three, Ruhr district seven, Danzig five. Up to now it is not known how many delegates will be sent by Berlin and Hamburg. At least eighty delegates have been elected already.

### Workers Disarming Fascists in Berlin.

Berlin, May 14.

The Berlin workers have organised an action to disarm the Nazi gangsters in the south-east quarters of this city. They hold up Nazis going in the street, threaten them with a big key (which looks like a revolver), disarm them, and give them a good thrashing. In the course of a single day the workers succeeded in obtaining about 200 revolvers from the Nazis.

## International Solidarity with the German Working Class

### Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. of France on the Events in Germany

(Adopted on May 11, 1933.)

The Central Committee of the C.P. of France congratulates the German proletariat on the heroic fight against fascism it is conducting under the leadership of the C.P. of Germany and its Central Committee, whose policy, both before and during the seizure of power by Hitler, was perfectly correct.

The Communist Party of France is determined to strengthen the international solidarity action on behalf of the German people by intensifying the fight of the working masses against French imperialism, this main pillar of the Versailles system, which has prepared the way for Hitler fascism.

When the French bourgeoisie, which poses as being democratic, but at the same time supports, finances and arms fascism in Poland, Yugoslavia and Roumania, attempts in the interest of its imperialist aspirations to mislead the proletariat of France with lies that France is "the last trench of liberty" and about "war of democracy against fascism," our Communist Party calls upon the working people to strengthen the fight against their own bourgeoisie, against the Treaty of Versailles, and powerfully take up Liebknecht's slogan: "The enemy is in your own country!"

The French social democracy, which is endeavouring to prevent the absolutely necessary unity of the working masses for the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, just like the German social democracy emphatically opposes the fighting united front of the exploited, and thus, just as in Germany, fetters a part of the working class to the bourgeoisie, supports the bourgeois governments, conducts the policy of the "lesser evil," and thereby weakens the proletarian forces in face of a bourgeoisie, which, under the conditions of the intensified class struggle resulting from the crisis, is resorting to increasingly brutal dictatorship measures.

The proletariat is in a position to-day to judge between the methods of the Second International and of the Communist International. The first have prepared the way for fascism; the second have led to the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The attitude of the social democracy in Germany, which is an expression of the policy of the Second International, is rich in lessons for the French proletariat. Our Party, in the highest interest of the working class, will expose the anti-working class policy of the German social democracy. This policy, which met with the approval of the French social democracy, consisted from the time of the defeat of the Spartacus movement right up to the incorporation of the trade unions in the fascist system in the toleration of the Hitler movement by the social democratic Ministers, in the suppression of the Communist Party of Germany, in abominable campaigns against the Soviet Union, in order thereby to divert the workers from the revolutionary way out of the crisis, in supporting the Brüning government, in the election of Hindenburg, in capitulation to Papen, and in negotiations with General von Schleicher. The social democracy played its role as the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie right up to the end.

This social democratic policy is characteristic not only of the social democratic party of Germany. All parties of the Second International have followed and are still following a similar line on all important questions of principle. And at the moment when the German social democracy tears the international veil with which it had covered itself and openly joins the nationalist front of the German bourgeoisie, we see how, simultaneously with the collapse of the Second International in every individual country, the social democratic parties prove themselves to be valuable tools of their own bourgeoisie.

Just as the German social democracy again and again rejected the proposals for common action made by the C.P. of Germany—this was the case on the occasion of the *coup d'état* of July 20, 1932, in Prussia, as well as Hitler's *coup d'état* on January 30, 1933—so the French social democracy opposes the united front. On the other hand, the C.C. of the Communist Party of France, which is guided by the policy pursued by the

C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany, has followed the path of realising the united front. Our Party has already succeeded in drawing many social democratic workers into the common action against the bourgeoisie. The C.C. of the Communist Party of France is attentively following the development of the fight of the German proletariat, which is led by the C.P. of Germany under conditions of complete illegality and bloody terror, and this in spite of the gaps which have been torn in its ranks by the arrest of its leader, Comrade Thälmann, as well as of thousands of members of the Party—for the release of whom the C.P. of France pledges itself to fight still more energetically.

With the intention of weakening the impression made on the French workers by the heroic attitude of the C.P. of Germany and the self-sacrificing spirit of its members, the French bourgeoisie and the social democracy attempt to besmirch the German Communists with the bankruptcy of the German social democracy.

In these endeavours they are supported by the renegade Trotsky, who is vainly endeavouring to undermine the confidence of the workers in the Communist International.

Our Party is determined to increase its fight against all these enemies of the proletariat and to enlighten the workers of France, who in ever-increasing numbers are seeing in the C.P. of Germany the deadly enemy of fascism, and the only Party fighting for the freedom of the German proletariat.

The social-democratic workers of Germany are joining the anti-fascist united front and turning away from the policy of treachery and capitulation pursued by the social democracy. They are recognising more and more that the C.P. of Germany is the only Party which is capable of leading them to victory. The confidence which ever-increasing numbers of the social-democratic workers are showing towards the C.P. of Germany is also shared by the working people of France. We shall win the confidence of the social-democratic workers of France by convincing them that the policy of their Party will land them in a position similar to that of their German brothers if they do not set up the fighting united front of the workers against the bourgeoisie.

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.**

### Save Thaelmann and the Thousands of Arrested Proletarians

Prague, May 8.

"*Rude Pravo*" publishes an appeal, pointing out the danger which threatens the imprisoned German Comrades Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitroff, Taneff, and Popoff. The appeal continues:

"It is the solemn duty of the international proletariat to organise a big fight for the protection and release of these comrades. The Czechoslovakian proletariat will do its share in this fight. It will protest on every occasion against fascist dictatorship in Germany. It will continually demand the release of Comrades Thälmann, Torgler, Dimitroff and all other proletarian prisoners. It will closely connect this fight with its fight against its own bourgeoisie and against the Czechoslovakian fascists. It will prepare the International Anti-Fascist Congress in Copenhagen under the slogan of this fight against international fascism.

### Russian Revolutionaries' Appeal to Save the Arrested Bulgarians.

Moscow, May 10.

The well-known veterans of the Russian Revolution, Vera Figner, Frolenko, and Schebalin have sent a telegram to Bernard Shaw, George Lansbury, and a number of well-known writers and politicians. The contents of this telegram are as follows:

"We old political prisoners of the Tsarist time, who faced death many times but never feared it, hear with horror that the Bulgarian revolutionary Dimitroff, who was arrested in Berlin, is accused of complicity in the Reichstag fire and that he is threatened with the gallows. Dimitroff is innocent; he cannot be guilty. His whole life is proof of this. This is a question of conscience for all honest men. We have the firm belief that the mighty movement led by you will be able to stay the hand of the hangman. We count upon you to do your duty."

## To the Toiling Peasantry!

Hitler has set up his dictatorship in Germany, the land of hunger, misery and suffering, of unemployment, exploitation and suppression. He has established his dictatorship on the instructions of the captains of industry, the bank and Stock Exchange magnates, the big agrarians, barons and generals. And he was able to establish his dictatorship with the aid of the bankrupt petty bourgeoisie and big sections of the peasants, who had been plunged into misery, as well as of the treacherous policy of the social democrats.

Hitler promised to do away with all misery and suffering, all injustice and corruption; he promised a fight against banking and Stock Exchange capital, the expropriation of the big landed estates, reduction of interest and taxes, a fight against the trusts and the monopolies, destruction of the Versailles system.

Hitler has now been in power for months. We ask: What has he done for the toiling peasants?

**Hitler has not kept even one of his promises; there is no turn for the better for the peasants! Things have become even worse than they were before.** The peasants are paying the old taxes and the old interest, the old prices for products they have to buy. They are being exploited and plundered just as much as before. In the villages the gendarmes have been reinforced by the Brown Shirts, by the special police of the Storm Troopers. Many toiling peasants who offered resistance to their being plunged into misery and starvation, are persecuted; the militant members of the Peasants' Committees are arrested, tortured and dragged to the concentration camps. The best friends and allies of the toiling peasants in their struggle against exploitation, the workers, are being brutally oppressed throughout the whole country. The agricultural organisations, which always posed as best representatives of the peasantry, have exposed themselves as the agents of the Junkers and big landowners; they have betrayed and sold the toiling peasantry to Hitler.

The "national revolution" is a deceitful phrase. In reality no revolution has taken place, for the system which rules in Germany has remained the same; only the men at the helm have changed and the terror has increased. The capitalist system cannot be consolidated by means of phrases and festivals. Therefore another way out of the tremendous economic crisis is sought: **war!**

"New Germany" has already become a huge barracks. Everywhere people are trained and drilled; armaments are increased feverishly and imperialist war propaganda is carried on by means of the press, speeches, wireless, cinema, theatre, in labour camps in order to make the toilers ripe to become the blood victims of the organised fratricidal murder. Millions of human beings are again to be slaughtered in the interest of capital.

**Fascism means not only increased exploitation, greater misery, terror and suppression, Fascism means also WAR.**

Rise up against this regime, peasants! Fight shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary working class against the common enemy! It is only in the closest alliance of all exploited, persecuted and oppressed that the fight can be carried to a successful issue, the exploiters defeated and war avoided.

**Set up new peasants' committees to organise your struggle, increase your resistance, fight still more energetically, still more consciously and more actively than hitherto under the Red Scythe flag.**

### Toiling Peasants of Germany!

Demand the immediate release of all workers and peasants arrested by the fascist rulers, abolition of "preventative arrest" for revolutionary deputies, municipal councillors and functionaries of revolutionary organisations, withdrawal of all measures to gag the press, to prohibit meetings and demonstrations!

Demand the immediate dissolution of the auxiliary police and the disarming of the Storm Troops and the Stahlhelm!

Fight for the abolition of the Versailles Treaty, as well as all treaties based on it!

### Fight against taxes, tenancy and interest!

### Fight for freedom, bread and land!

### Toiling Peasants of Europe!

Express your solidarity with the peasants and workers of Germany who are engaged in a hard fight for the emancipation of all toilers from the yoke of capitalism. Organise powerful demonstrations against the fascist world danger. Fight for your rights! Elect delegates to the Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress!

**European Peasants' Committee.**

## Fight Against Fascism

### The Fight for the United Front in U.S.A.

By Jack Stachel (New York).

The appeal of the Comintern for the establishment of the united front of labour against the attacks of capital and fascism has already proved a most powerful weapon in the development of the movement for the united front of the masses, and has helped to expose the A.F.L. and socialist party leaders as opposed to the united action of the masses. The C.P.U.S.A., in line with the proposals of the Comintern manifesto, addressed letters to the national committees of the socialist party, the A.F.L. and the C.P.L.A. (Muste), proposing united action in the struggle against the severe attacks now being made against the masses by the capitalists of the U.S. and by the Roosevelt government, as well as joint actions against fascism. The Party lower organisations, the mass organisations sympathetic to the Party, have simultaneously made similar proposals to the lower organisations of the socialist party and the A.F.L. for joint actions in connection with the most vital economic and political needs of the masses.

What have been the results thus far? The A.F.L. Executive Council has completely ignored replying to the proposal. It could not, however, entirely avoid this issue which is more and more agitating the rank and file membership of the *American Federation of Labour*. In the last issue of the weekly Federation News Service there is contained a special editorial slandering the Communists and the Red International of Labour Unions. By this the A.F.L. leaders hope to silence the ever-louder demands of the rank and file for the united front. The National Executive of the *socialist party* has had a discussion and vote on the question and decided to table the motion for setting up a joint negotiation committee with the Communist Party by a vote of six to five. It is most interesting to note that all the five socialists who voted for setting up a committee to negotiate attacked the Communist Party as insincere on the united front. In this they did not differ from the majority position which was put forward by the chairman of the party, Mr. Morris Hilquit.

The conference for *Progressive Labour Action* (C.P.L.A.), while it has not entered into a united front with the Communist Party on a definite programme, as was the case in Great Britain between the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party, which the C.P.L.A. generally supports, has, however, entered with the Communist Party in a whole series of united actions such as the Mooney Congress, the Scottsboro' Campaign, May Day, etc. It is, however, already clear that the C.P.L.A. is manoeuvring to remain in the middle between the socialist party and the Communist Party, and is more interested in strengthening itself by this than it is in developing the united actions of the masses in the struggle against capitalism.

But what is going on below? There the movement for the united front is gaining ground steadily and is already in many cases being realised in joint actions. Despite the fact that the National Committee of the socialist party has denounced the Mooney Congress and has called upon its organisations to stay away from the Mooney Congress, dozens of socialist party locals and locals of the Young People's Socialist League are electing delegates to the congress and actively participating in the work for the Mooney Congress. In *Chicago* the socialist party has especially been vigilant against their locals sending delegates to the Mooney Congress, which takes place in the city of Chicago. Nevertheless socialist locals, and especially socialist locals in the Illinois mining fields are electing delegates to the Mooney Congress. In *Philadelphia*, in *New Jersey*, in the *Anthracite*, in *Colorado* and numerous other cities the socialist party locals are electing delegates.

In the fight against German fascism the leaders of the socialist party rejected joint actions. But nevertheless at the conference which the socialists and the socialist unions called in New York city, which was attended by only a small number of top delegates, there was a strong minority for united actions. This desire for united actions was especially noted on the part of the representatives of the German and Italian language groups of the socialist party, whose masses are desirous for united struggle against fascism. In these language groups there has been formed an all-inclusive united front of all labour organisa-

tions, including socialists, Communists, notwithstanding the opposition of the leadership of the socialist party. In a whole number of cities, including Cleveland, Detroit, the locals of the socialist party have entered into a united front with the Communist Party for the organisation of the struggle against fascism in Germany and against anti-Semitism. A number of the leaders of the socialist party, among them *J. B. Mathews*, have appeared on the platform of the united front committee to fight against fascism organised by the initiative of the Communist Party. In the Mooney activities, in the Scottsboro' campaign as well, many of the well-known socialists, among them *Heywood Brown*, are participating, despite the opposition of the National Committee of the Socialist party.

The issue of the united front is becoming the most important issue within the socialist party. In the New York City convention of the socialist party held recently the vote for the united front was rejected after a bitter fight by a vote of 72 to 38. In the Illinois State convention the vote for united action received a very large vote. The leaders are now beginning to resort to expulsions. Already a number of socialist leaders in Chicago who are members of the Y.P.S.L. have been expelled. Charges are now pending against *J. B. Mathews* and others. The struggle on the top between Hilquit and Thomas is not a struggle in which the Thomas group represents the interests of the masses. Norman Thomas, who claims to be fighting for the united front, who is even being labelled as a "militant" socialist, is one of the worst types of liberal-socialist opportunists. He supports the inflation programme of Roosevelt. He supports the Black 30-hour bill. He utilises every possibility to attack the Soviet Union.

The A.F.L. Executive Council is even less able to control the locals of the A.F.L. from joining with the Communist Party, the T.U.U.L. and the Unemployed Council in united actions. Many hundreds of locals have already elected delegates to the various Mooney conferences throughout the country. In San Francisco, Cal., despite the opposition of the Central Trades Body, 37 locals out of about 96 active locals are participating in the Mooney Congress. A.F.L. locals are also entering into the united front actions against fascism, for the freedom of the Scottsboro' boys, for the May Day demonstrations, in the fight for federal unemployment insurance, etc. More and more locals of the A.F.L. are fighting over the heads of their leaders against wage cuts, for unemployment relief. The A.F.L. Executive Council and the leaders of the various internationals are dropping hundreds of thousands of unemployed members from the unions. They are also now resorting to mass expulsions. Already in the last two months some fifty workers active in leading the opposition have been expelled and numerous locals have had their charters revoked. But this terror is by no means stopping the growth of the opposition. On the contrary, it grows with every attack. A referendum in the Painters' International directed against the expulsions, for exempt stamps to the unemployed, for lowering the salaries of the officials, etc., was endorsed by over 200 locals.

These achievements have been made with but little work. The movement would be much greater if the Party organisations and the mass organisations sympathetic to the Party, especially the T.U.U.L. unions, would be more active, if they would receive better leadership and guidance from the leading committees. There is a great danger with regard to tendencies to form top committees without mobilising the masses. There is also a danger in under-estimating the manoeuvres of the "left" reformists. The C.C. of the Party is watching these developments and making strenuous efforts to overcome all deviations.

One of the most basic tasks in connection with the development of the united front for struggle is to develop the fight against Roosevelt's attack on the masses. Our Party is now stressing the need for united actions for the most pressing economic needs and political rights of the masses. This requires that in the first place we shall develop the united front in the factories, in the neighbourhood among the unemployed. And this in turn requires a strengthening of the work in the factories and in the trade unions in which there has been some progress of late, but which still remains the weakest spot of all our work, thus hampering the development of the mass struggles, and resulting in a considerable lagging behind the growing struggles of the employed and unemployed workers.

## Growing Resistance of the Italian Workers Against Fascism

Letter from Rome.

The news which has reached us lately from various provinces of Italy tells unanimously of the growing resistance and fighting spirit of the toiling masses against the regime of Mussolini, but also of the growing anxiety in leading fascist circles on account of this development.

Already on the occasion of April 21, the day fixed by Mussolini as the "Day of Labour," the fascist authorities deemed it advisable, in several industrial centres where the majority of the population belong to the working class, not to hold the parades and demonstrations usually held on this day.

The events of the First of May in fascist Italy also bear witness to the growing anti-fascist feeling among the masses. In several industrial towns in the North, illegal Communist leaflets were distributed in large quantities. Revolutionary slogans were painted on the walls, and in the factories the walls were covered with the sign of the sickle and hammer, which had been imprinted on them by means of rubber stamps. In a number of localities the authorities completely lost their heads and ordered the mobilisation of the whole of the police force, the carabinieri and the fascist militia. For three days, from April 29 to May 1, it was forbidden to remain in the streets after nine o'clock in the evening. But the population, which had been well prepared by our oral propaganda and our leaflets, exercised a sort of passive resistance and walked demonstratively in the streets after nine o'clock. The workers discussed in little groups and passed on the slogans which had been issued through our illegal press.

In certain localities one could observe symptoms to which great political importance must be attached. In those places where our propaganda was very strong, even the fascists responded very feebly to the order to mobilise—at most 15 to 20 per cent. In . . . for example, out of a total of sixty members of the fascio, only nine obeyed the mobilisation order, and these were elements notorious as plunderers and murderers of the workers in the year 1920-21. Large sections of the population, hitherto under the influence of the fascists, are beginning to think over the fascist regime of hunger and terror and turn away from it.

In a very well-known industrial centre the employers used the fact that the First of May was also a local festival as an occasion, in face of the ferment among the workers, to close their enterprises for the first time since the establishment of fascism. In the morning of the First of May the whole of the working population were on the streets. The meaning and importance of the First of May and the leaflets distributed by our comrades formed the sole topic of conversation. Some Black Shirts sang some anti-Labour songs in order to intimidate the population. But this provocation had the exact opposite effect. The feeling of the workers was such that when the political secretary of the fascio fiercely attacked a young worker who had openly and loudly expressed his opinion about the First of May, even the fascist militia intervened to calm them in order to avoid the worst.

The growing fighting spirit and the desire for the united front is also expressed on other occasions. Thus, for instance, in one town the leaflets calling for a fight for the release of Comrade Gramsci, the beloved leader of the C.P. of Italy, were gladly welcomed by all workers, no matter of what political opinion. In an important undertaking the staff drew up a message of greeting to the German workers who are heroically fighting against the fascist oppressors. A group consisting of workers of all political beliefs wrote a joint letter to the newspaper, "Frontier Rossa" (the organ of the united front organisation of the Italian workers published abroad), in which they declared their intention to join the united front movement.

Our comrades seized the initiative in various factories and organised collections in order to finance the sending of delegates to the Anti-Fascist Congress in Copenhagen, the importance of which as a means of uniting all the workers in the fight against fascism is profoundly realised by the Italian working class, which has had to suffer ten years of fascist oppression.

## Italian Young Workers Demonstrate Against Fascism

By Maruccci.

Italian fascism boasts that it has the youth behind it, that it has created a "free path for the youth." There is no greater lie than this assertion. For years the young workers have been fighting courageously against Mussolini's regime. It suffices to point out that 70 per cent. of the workers who have been sentenced by special courts since the introduction of the Exceptional Laws are under 25 years of age. All the endeavours of the fascists to destroy the organisation of the Communist Youth by terror and provocation have failed. The only result has been that the Young Communist League has been steeled in the fight.

A few weeks ago the Y.C.L. of Italy addressed an appeal to all young workers, to the socialist, Maximalist and Republican Youth, calling upon them to realise the united front and support the Anti-Fascist Congress in Copenhagen. A special number of the "Avanguardia" devoted to the Anti-Fascist Congress was widely circulated. Further, thousands of illustrated leaflets were distributed among the young workers in the fascist youth groups.

The fight of the young workers has also increased during the past weeks. In various villages in the province of Bologna detachments of young recruits went to the recruiting offices, singing the revolutionary song, "Bandiera Rossa" (The Red Flag), which called forth enormous enthusiasm among the working population. The soldiers of a regiment stationed at the barracks in Gorizia refused *en masse* to eat the food, which consisted of stinking dried fish. This protest action was carried out so unitedly that the officers were compelled to promise them better food.

In Udine over 800 students in the technical school protested most vehemently against the fascist discipline prevailing in the school, as well as against the exorbitantly high school fees. The demonstration, which was carried out under cries of "enough of this discipline, we are not dogs, more liberty," lasted more than twenty minutes. The windows were smashed as a sign of protest and the demonstrators only dispersed when the police arrived.

Of late the fascists have again strengthened their campaign to draw young workers into the fascist youth organisations. The most shameful means are employed for this purpose: dismissals, persecution of their families, threats, etc. Nevertheless, in several places the young workers have refused *en masse* to enter the fascist organisations. In a locality in the province of Piedmont, an officer in the fascist militia called upon the youth to enter the fascist youth organisation after the conclusion of their preliminary military training, requesting those who were prepared to do so to hold up their hands. Out of 200 youths who were present, only one responded. The scandalised officer scolded and threatened, but the young lads refused to budge. In Cormona, in face of the unanimous refusal of all the youths who had undergone preliminary military training to enter the fascist youth organisations, they were summoned to appear before the officer singly. They were threatened, they were beaten, but nevertheless only 30 out of 140 allowed themselves to be enrolled in the fascist youth organisation. Similar cases occurred in other localities.

Discontent is growing even among the young fascists. In a locality in Liguria there took place a few weeks ago a mobilisation day of the fascist youth organisation. On this occasion an officer of the militia rebuked a young fascist because he frequently disobeyed the mobilisation orders. The young fascist replied to this rebuke in a loud voice: "What have you done for me, who am unemployed?" In reply the officer ordered him to be arrested, but from the ranks of the young fascists there arose the unanimous reply: "He is quite right, bravo!" The young fascists broke their ranks and prevented the arrest of the young worker who had demonstrated against the fascist hunger-regime.

From all these incidents there is an important lesson to be drawn; we must work among the masses of youth who are misled by the fascists, increase their fighting spirit, and wrest them from the class enemy. The Italian young workers will attend the Anti-Fascist Congress in Copenhagen and there submit their ten years' experience in the fight against fascism.

## Manifesto of the French Committee for Organising the Anti-Fascist Congress

We publish below the most important passages from the Manifesto of the French Committee for Organising the European Anti-Fascist Congress in Copenhagen.—Ed.

In Europe, which is shaken by a crisis, fascism is spreading. After Italy, Poland, Finland, Hungary and Yugoslavia, it has now spread to Germany. In face of this danger all the proletarian forces, all men to whom the hard-won liberties are dear, must bestir themselves.

The French government bears a heavy responsibility for the coming into power of Hitler, who knew how to exploit the misery of the German people arising from the carrying out of the Versailles Treaty. The French government also does not shrink from resorting to police forces and court proceedings any time the existing order seems to be endangered.

Hitler's seizure of power has stimulated the activity of the fascist and white-guardist organisations in France. It was only due to the united front of all toilers of all shades of opinion that the fascist meetings were broken up and their provocations frustrated (as, for instance, in Courbevoie, in the 20th Paris district and in Lille).

Taught by the example of the German social democracy and of the A.D.G.B. trade unions, which, as a result of the treachery of their most prominent leaders, have been delivered over to fascism and are now incorporated in it, a call must be sounded for the rallying of all those who have to defend themselves against fascism.

The anti-fascist fight of the working people of France means a firm support for all those who in Germany, Italy, and Poland are still heroically carrying on agitation, strikes and demonstrations against the fascist bands, and at the same time it is an encouragement to them to persevere in their fight.

Workers in the factories and on the land!

Fascism jeopardises all the conquests of the working class, intensifies the capitalist offensive against your miserable standard of living; it will attempt to drive you into the war which the imperialists have long been preparing.

Small traders and artisans:

Fascism offers you no way out of your desperate situation, but, on the contrary, causes the competition of its masters, the big capitalists, as well as the burden of taxation to weigh still more heavily upon you. The purchasing power of the wage workers is everywhere being reduced.

Peasants!

Fascism has brought only misery to the peasants of Italy, Poland, and Hungary. The recent hunger revolts in Trani (Province of Bari, Italy), where 8,000 of your brothers destroyed the headquarters of the "fascii" and of the fascist trade unions, are a striking proof of this misery.

Intellectuals, scientists, and artists!

Fascism prostitutes the sciences and the arts, which have already been hampered and fettered by capitalism. The banishment of such a great genius as Einstein and numerous other scientists and artists, who are subjected to persecution by Hitler or have fled to escape it, is sufficient proof of this.

Jewish toilers! Toiling women! Ex-Servicemen and war victims! Young workers and students!

You must rise all together against this scourge, because you have to defend your common interests. Only in a united front can you smash fascism, which threatens to overrun the world. Only by this means can you nip in the bud every attempt to establish fascism in this country!

An Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress will be held on June 4 and 5 in Copenhagen at which delegates from all countries of Europe will be present for the purpose of organising the fight against fascism. Form at once a united front against the common danger! In doing so you must, should it be necessary, combat those who wish to prevent you from fighting. March unitedly, act unitedly, and you will be the victors!

Long live the fighting unity against fascism, against the capitalist offensive, against imperialist war which has already begun!

There follow over forty signatures, including those of Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, André Gide, and representatives of trade unions, socialist organisations, as well as organisations of progressive bourgeois intellectuals, etc.

## In the Camp of Social Democracy

# The Crisis of the II. International

By Knorin

(Conclusion)

### "Against Germans and Communists."

There is this difference between 1914 and 1933 that to-day the working class has the advantage of the experience of the imperialist war, the experiences gained through the successful revolution in the Soviet Union and the experience of the defeated revolution in Germany. The difference between 1914 and 1933 also exists in the fact that there are already Communist Parties in all countries. As yet they are only leading the minority of the working class behind them, but are setting up the tactics of the revolutionary struggle against the tactics of surrender and strike-smashing favoured by the social democracy.

Furthermore, another difference exists in that there has been an extraordinary sharpening of the crisis generally such as did not obtain in 1914, a process which originated during the war, that capitalism has been deeply undermined whilst the inevitability and necessity of working-class revolution has become apparent. The difference further exists in that developments in Germany have shown the toiling masses that democracy offers no road to socialism. Which is why, unlike the year 1914, the **open** capitulation of the S.P.G. has roused the social-democratic masses of the workers to a spirit of plainly-evidenced discontent and resentment. This discontent has found expression in the urge of the masses for unity which would have endowed the proletariat with an utterly unassailable power if the revolutionary leadership had been forthcoming. The urge of the social democratic rank and file towards unity with the Communist workers is forcing the Second International—which already stands on the **defensive** against Communist criticism—to manoeuvre somewhat and to assert that it had never refused the united front with the Communists which it is prepared to establish by means of direct negotiations between both Internationals.

Yet when the Communist International suggested that all its Sections should approach the corresponding S.D. parties with proposals for the establishment of the united front to fight on the basis of perfectly concrete demands understandable to every worker, all the parties of the Second International except the Independent Labour Party of Britain, which had already left that International, turned down the offer thus made by the Communists and thereby preserved their reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie. After this frank repudiation by the sections of the Second International of the revolutionary united front it is **useless to make any more proposals to them of that kind**. It is perfectly clear to everyone that the revolutionary united front of the working class from below, and only from below, can be established solely by organising the revolutionary struggle of the masses, as the Communists have been contending all along. It is plain that apart from the Communist Party there is no other force capable, and with the will to do it, of organising the struggle of the working class. And if the forces of the working class are being made to suffer partial set-backs, are still insufficient to secure the revolutionary repulsion of the fascists, the blame for such a state of things lies **exclusively** with those social-democratic workers who have not yet realised the betrayal that has been committed by the social democracy, and are still to be found in the ranks of the S.D. organisations which fetter the revolutionary initiative of the working masses to-day. The social democracy is carrying on with its policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and will make every effort **in the future as well to maintain the disruption of the working-class ranks in accordance with the various groupings of the international bourgeoisie**.

The reason therefor has been blabbed by the Czech social democracy in these words:

"We want the Zurich Executive to state openly and plainly that under no circumstances will it conduct negotiations with the Moscow International concerning the defence of the democracy, for that would be a most ridiculous beginning to

start off from to achieve that end. Further, that it inform Herr Wels that through its attitude towards Zurich and its present attitude towards Hitler the German social democracy has gravely injured international solidarity. It depends upon what attitude the Zurich Executive takes up on these fundamental demands of the sound labour movement of Czechoslovakia as to **what attitude we shall take up** towards the International." (Nova Doba, April 1, 1933.)

This means that the Czech social democracy demands a determined stand on two issues: **against the Germans and against the Communists!** Which is the policy required by the Czech bourgeoisie for its onslaught upon the working class at home and for the realisation of Entente policy abroad.

The Czech social democrats are provincial, but they are by no means a solitary case of the kind. At bottom, however, the same demand was more diplomatically formulated by Leon Blum, the leader of the French social democracy, when defining his position in his article on "Working-Class Unity" in the "Populaire" of March 11, 1933.

In actual fact the German social democracy has ceased to exist as the result of its complete surrender to fascism. In the two months since the fire in the Reichstag and since the fascists launched their reign of open terror throughout Germany it has actually given very few signs of life. The fascists have been successful in winning over Wels, Leipart, Stampfer, and Loebe, but they have not won over the social-democratic workers, and never will. They have managed to obtain the support of the T.U. leaders, but they have not captured the trade unions. What they aimed at in the measures they adopted against the social democracy was **to penetrate the working masses** and to get the reformist unions into their own hands. The fascists have not given up the idea of making the utmost use of the social democrats and do not intend to do so. **Only the self-sacrificing struggle of the communists to win the working class will liquidate the social democracy.** There is in Germany **only one party unifying the working masses for the struggle against fascism, the party that is being persecuted by the fascists, the heroic C.P.G. with its great spirit of self-sacrifice, the Party of the German Bolsheviks.**

### Under the Sign of Internal Decay.

Now the victory of fascism in Germany and the collapse of the S.P.G. both equally sharpen the struggle going on inside all the S.D. parties everywhere.

The same imperialist bourgeoisie which has bought the labour aristocracy with the super-profits wrung out of the colonies is now endeavouring to draw the S.D. leaders to its fold, to "win them over" completely. While the first cycle of proletarian revolutions has provided the bourgeoisie with such men as Pilsudski and Mussolini, it now has men like MacDonald, Snowden, Thomas, Boncour, Braun, and Severing. It does not require much effort to win men like these, and Vandervelde showed that he knew his Second International only too well when he wrote:

"It was some thirty years ago, after the German dock workers' strike, that the Conservatives noted the towering figure of John Burns, the man who declared once that the foot of a republican should never enter the Court. At the first official reception the King of England sent his tailor to him to take his measure. The English aristocracy had very soon caught poor John Burns like a fly with the bait of sweet syrup. And it began all over again. The English aristocracy, and especially the feminine representatives thereof, possesses such an attractive force to which no one can remain indifferent, the workers especially. Consider, for instance, the psychology of the miner, and particularly of his wife, whom the Labour Government appointed Lord High Commissioner of the Church of Scotland, the wife's train borne by two

duchesses. Naturally, when it comes to dealing with more influential personalities the same end is achieved with other means. I should not be very much surprised myself if my old friend Ramsay MacDonald were not to be overpowered by the select society which surrounds him today and who maintain that he alone can save the Empire, that he only can be Britain's saviour." ("L'Europe Nouvelle," December 24, 1932.)

As a matter of fact, it does not need so very much after all to buy over the social-democratic leaders. The bourgeoisie has need not only of the MacDonalds, but also of the Hendersons and the Blums who so faithfully safeguard their interests. The S.D. workers are beginning, however, to see this pretty clearly now.

Two processes along these lines are now taking place. On the one hand the fascisation of those elements of the social democracy most clearly connected with the bourgeoisie is being accelerated. On the other hand the mass of the proletariat is being roused to fierce resentment, the same masses who have hitherto been blindly following the social democracy, but are now demanding the united front with the Communists and class struggle against fascism and the capitalist offensive. It is under this plain sign of a deep-reaching cleavage from within that all recent congresses of the different S.D. parties have been held. At these congresses many of the delegates have frequently had the words **disruption and split** in their mouths. The Avignon Congress of the **French** social democracy called by the party leadership to settle the extremely acute differences between the Central Committee and the Parliamentary Fraction, between Renaudel and Blum, failed, of course, to reconcile these differences. On the contrary, these differences, which are not at all differences on principles, merely became acuter still. At the same time the Congress brought to the fore a **new radical opposition** against both Renaudel and Blum. Then the **Swiss** S.D. Party Congress which was to have rallied the party as a whole against the "Lefts" of Geneva turned out to have a new radical group headed by Walter, Secretary of the Zurich organisation. This Walter emphatically declared that "the best revolutionary workers are to be found in the ranks of the Communist Parties," that "every Communist is a real driving force of the revolutionary struggle," and that if he had to choose between the tactics of the S.P.G. and those of the Russian Bolsheviks he should not hesitate to choose the latter's tactics. Again, the conference held by the **Austrian** social democracy which was intended to draw the party back to Danneberg's "sane and reasonable" policy and away from the "Left" theories of Otto Bauer showed all the speakers criticising the party leadership from the "Left." In all S.D. parties radical wings have taken shape which stand for the weapon of the general strike as a means of fighting the offensive of capital, fascism and the reaction. In some of these parties quite imposing groups exist which no longer fear to pronounce such words as "civil war." And while, for example, Grimm is much concerned to eliminate the issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the programme of the Swiss social democracy, the whole question is being raised by the radical workers' groups inside many of the S.D. parties.

#### **Towards a United Front against Fascism and Social Democracy!**

The Social democratic leaders are beginning to feel the ground burning under their feet. The masses are beginning to move towards a united front with the Communists. They are beginning to demand the application of a class policy. Without their leaders, and against the will of these leaders, they are beginning to oppose the social democratic policy of class collaboration. In **Austria** S.D. opposition conferences are being held; in **Switzerland** the workers have been demanding joint May Day demonstrations; there are the anti-war committees in **France**; in **Czechoslovakia** joint demonstrations have taken place against the German fascists; while in **Britain** the I.L.P. Conference adopted the decision to collaborate with the Communists.

As against the united front from below, the social democracy has demanded the conclusion of "non-aggression pacts," whilst being careful at the same time to evade the demands of the working masses fighting for unity. There is no road to working-class unity **save and except the road of determined and ruthless struggle against the social democracy which is helping fascism to smash the working class and to destroy its organisations. And the working masses are taking that road.** It was under the slogans calling for revolutionary **unity** to further their struggle that millions of workers demonstrated on this last May Day all over the world.

The crisis overwhelming the social democracy reflects the extreme acuteness of the entire international situation. It shows that fascism's victory in Germany is a relative thing, a victory calculated to endure for a very brief space. It accelerates the setting up of one of the most important prerequisites for the victory of the proletariat—the unity of the working class.

And in this matter of consolidating the revolutionary front of the working masses the role of the Soviet Union is a greater one than ever it was. The victory of socialism in our country constitutes a powerful motive force for the creation of the revolutionary united front. The achievements of the Soviet Union are drawing the working masses towards communism. **There is no doubt that these achievements will change the face of the whole world and emancipate the entire working class.**

## **The Labour Movement**

### **Some Important International Lessons of the Lodz Textile Workers' Strike**

By R. Thomas

The heroic strike of the textile workers in Lodz, which was conducted for nearly two months against the capitalist triple alliance—the employers, the fascist State and the social-fascist trade union leaders—ended with a **tremendous victory for the Lodz proletariat**. The lessons of this strike struggle, which is of great international importance, as it represents an important stage in the class struggle of the international working class, must be drawn not only by the Polish textile workers, but also by the textile workers of all countries.

#### **The New Feature in the Lodz Textile Workers' Strike.**

Since 1928 there existed no collective agreement in the Lodz textile industry. The owners of the big textile mills obstinately refused to conclude a new collective agreement, putting forward as a reason the competition of the small and middle undertakings. During the last 18 months the textile workers were exposed to a whole series of partial attacks of the employers on their wages and working conditions. Under the leadership of the Red Trade Union Opposition, the textile workers replied to these partial attacks of the employers with partial strikes. But during the whole of this time the Red Trade Union Opposition did not succeed in linking up these partial strikes into a general strike in the whole of the Lodz textile industry and thus enforcing the demands of the textile workers.

Whilst the Lodz textile industrialists wished, by bringing about a state of affairs in which there existed no collective agreement to offer an example to the whole of Polish industry of how best one could systematically reduce the wages of the workers, the R.T.U.O. quite rightly concentrated its efforts on repelling the partial attacks of the employers, without, however, putting in the forefront the demand for the conclusion of a uniform collective agreement. This omission was due to the fact that the role of the collective agreement was greatly underestimated. Thanks to the circumstance that in this last strike of the Lodz textile workers the demand for the conclusion of a uniform collective agreement was placed in the foreground, it was possible to mobilise the whole of the textile workers and bring them into the strike front.

#### **The Forms and Methods of Strike Leadership.**

A second important lesson to be drawn from the Lodz textile workers' strike is regarding the question of the forms and methods of this fight, the question of securing the revolutionary leadership of the strike.

The Lodz strike began on March 5. On the previous day there took place a conference of mill delegates convened by the reformists, which in the presence of 800 mill delegates decided on a strike and elected a Central Strike Committee numbering 100. In this Central Strike Committee the R.T.U.O. had 25 representatives. Already on the first day 16,000 workers, mainly from the big undertakings such as **Schiebler & Gromann, Widzevska Manufaktur**a, followed the call of the Central Strike Committee.

The chief task confronting the R.T.U.O. was to extend the strike front and bring in other mills. In order to achieve this aim as soon as possible and to thwart the attempts of the reformist



trade union leaders to throttle the strike, the R.T.U.O. adopted the following decisions, which it also realised:—

1. Concentration of all forces in the mills and election of strike committees in each mill.

2. Election of so-called "flying" strike committees in the mills in addition to the existing strike committees. These "flying" strike committees to be sent by the meetings of the staffs of the striking mills to the mills in the vicinity, in order to help to draw these mills into the strike and set up strike committees in them.

3. To send mass delegations from one mill to the others.

Together with the flying strike committees, these mass delegations played the most important role in extending the strike. For example, the Poznanski mill, a stronghold of the Polish social fascists with a staff numbering 6,000, was still working on the fourth day of the strike. The workers of the mills on strike in the neighbourhood organised mass delegations and marched in a body 1,500 strong to the Poznanski mill. The strikers broke through the police cordons, forced open the gates of the factory and held a meeting together with the workers of the mill, in the course of which they succeeded in getting work stopped, first in the weaving department and then in the spinning department.

Another example. In the Horak mill in Roda Pabianitska (a suburb of Lodz), the millowners kept the works going with the aid of blacklegs obtained from the country. The R.T.U.O. organised a mass demonstration in front of the mill, in which 2,000 strikers took part. The workers surrounded the mill, drove away the police, forced their way inside, thrashed the blacklegs and enforced the closing of the mill.

By these methods of organising mass activity in the mills, the R.T.U.O. succeeded very rapidly in extending the strike front, sharpening the forms of struggle and frustrating the attempts of the employers and fascists, actively supported by the social fascist trade union leaders, to break the strike.

The Central Strike Committee, which was greatly under the influence of the social fascist trade union leaders, adopted a very vacillating attitude during the whole course of the strike. The R.T.U.O. was compelled every time to conduct a hard and fierce fight in the Central Strike Committee in order to put through its demands. The R.T.U.O. therefore concentrated all its forces in the mill strike committees, which held the immediate operative leadership of the strike in its hands. Immediately after the outbreak of the strike the R.T.U.O. demanded that the Central Strike Committee should be supplemented by co-opting on to it a representative of each of the mill strike committees. The P.P.S. leaders fiercely opposed this proposal in order not to lose their influence in the Central Strike Committee.

The R.T.U.O., which was backed by the mill strike committees, was able by means of mass work and revolutionary mass mobilisation to frustrate in every concrete instance the attempts of the social fascist trade union leaders to throttle the strike. This was shown with particular clearness during the decisive conference of the strikers on March 30. The social fascist trade union leaders attempted at this conference to impose upon the strikers the collective agreement they had concluded with the employers in Warsaw behind the backs of the textile workers. The R.T.U.O. sounded the alarm and mobilised the masses against the threatening betrayal of the strike. They led a demonstration of over 40,000 striking textile workers, carrying with them a coffin on which was written that the trade union leaders had buried their demands, before the premises in which the conference was taking place and thus prevented the trade union leaders from betraying and throttling the strike. In spite of the fact that the trade union bureaucrats had already signed the collective agreement, the masses of the textile workers adopted almost unanimously the proposal of the R.T.U.O. to continue the strike until final victory was attained. And thus the strike went on.

This splendid example of revolutionary strategy and tactics in conducting strikes must be popularised among the international revolutionary textile workers, and above all among the textile workers in the fascist countries.

#### The Role of the R.T.U.O. as Leader in the Strike.

How did the R.T.U.O. succeed, in spite of the monstrous fascist terror, in maintaining its position as leader of the strike and in leading the strike to a victorious conclusion? The answer to this question has been partly already given above. It is to be sought

in the close connection of the R.T.U.O. with the broad masses of striking textile workers, in the setting up of mill committees, in the organising of mass activity and initiative from below, in the real revolutionary strategy and tactics of the strike leadership.

Not a few attempts were made by the fascist State Power, in alliance with the P.P.S. leaders, to deprive the R.T.U.O. of its leading position, of its decisive influence on the course of the strike. Here we only mention the arrest of numerous leading revolutionary members of the Central Strike Committee, the monstrous repressive measures against the mill committees, the wholesale arrest of revolutionary workers and members of the strike committees, the shooting of numerous striking workers at demonstrations, the attempts of the social fascist leaders at decisive moments to break up the meeting of the Central Strike Committee in order to prevent decisions being adopted.

The capitalists and the fascist State power, in spite of all their efforts, were unable to oust the R.T.U.O. from its leading position, because the latter was firmly anchored in the broad masses of the textile workers and possessed decisive influence in the mill committees, and because it kept the masses of the strikers in motion. In the first week of the strike two mass demonstrations of the strikers, in which the number of workers participating was never less than six to seven thousand, took place every day in Lodz. In the second week of the strike there was a falling off at the demonstrations, but in the third and the subsequent weeks, when other branches of industry joined the strike front, the demonstrations increased enormously in strength. These demonstrations caused the capitalists to shake in their shoes.

By revolutionary mass work in other branches of industry the R.T.U.O. succeeded in leading numerous leather, clothing, timber, metal, and food works and factories into solidarity strikes, and in numerous cases in extending these strikes into strikes for their own demands. These solidarity strikes, this fighting united front of the Lodz workers, prepared the ground for the complete 24-hour general strike of the whole of the Lodz proletariat on March 23, and greatly contributed to the successful termination of the textile workers' strike.

The big mass demonstrations attended by 30,000 workers on March 30, and 20,000 workers on March 31 (on the occasion of the funeral of a woman textile worker who had been shot by the police), and the numerous other mass demonstrations broke down the barriers of the fascist terror and won for the workers the right to the streets. A decided weakness in this really heroic fight was the fact that the R.T.U.O. did not succeed in securing the co-ordination of the Lodz strike with the strike of the Dombrova miners.

As a result of the strike, the R.T.U.O. has considerably increased its membership and enhanced its prestige among the broad masses. At the factory council elections which took place after the strike, the R.T.U.O. received a majority of the votes in most of the enterprises.

The Lodz strike is of international importance. Its lessons must be drawn by the textile workers of all countries.

The strike has resulted in the conclusion of a collective agreement for the whole of the textile workers in the Lodz district, the general recognition of factory councils and the prevention of the projected fascist law to worsen or completely liquidate social insurance.

The Lodz strike has in fact realised the united front of all workers and proved once again that only the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. fight for the vital interests of the workers. The way of the Lodz textile proletariat is the way which the international working class must follow in the fight against the capitalist offensive and fascism and for the setting up of the united front of all workers.

#### Gramsci must be saved from the Fascist Hangmen!

Paris, May 8.

The "Humanité" publishes the following alarming report about the condition of the well-known leader of the Communist Party of Italy, Comrade Gramsci, who has been kept a prisoner for several years in the terrible dungeon of the Turi di Bari.

In the medical report about the state of health of Gramsci, signed by the first physician of the Roman Hospital, Gramsci's condition is stated to be very grave. Gramsci suffers from tuberculosis, he is weakened by attacks of fever, cannot sleep and loses weight steadily. It is absolutely necessary that Gramsci should at once be removed to a hospital, writes Umberto Arcangelo, who signed this certificate.

## India

# The Indian Labour Movement

### I. The Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party.

One of the finest pages of the Bombay Labour Movement is no doubt the 1928-1929 period which has demonstrated the enormous growth of the class consciousness of the Indian proletariat. The strikes in the Bombay textile industry, the establishment of the mass revolutionary trade union, **Girni-Kamgar**, the political demonstrations against the Simon Commission, etc., held under the leadership of the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party, and so forth—all this deserves to be critically studied again and again by Indian Communists, in order to assimilate the lessons, negative and positive alike, of this period. We will try to sum up in this article the work and policy of the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party, without touching upon the question of the two-class composition of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties, a question fully and correctly analysed in the resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

The Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party (1927-1929) from its very inception was a top organisation. It was in reality nothing but a "club" of leaders of the revolutionary labour movement, most of whom had come from the National Congress and had not yet fully outlived Congress traditions and views. In the first period of the existence of this party, it was particularly noticeable. At first it was called a labour group which existed within the National Congress, and acted as its left wing. Its connection with the masses of workers was insignificant. The second period, approximately from the beginning of 1928, was marked by the turn of this party towards the masses. This found expression in mass workers' demonstrations (the February 20,000 demonstration against the Simon Commission, etc.), the subsequent participation in the Bombay strike (1928) and, finally, in establishing the mass textile trade union, **Girni-Kamgar**. It also found expression in the leadership of the strike of 1929 which started in an organised fashion at the call of the **Girni-Kamgar** union, and demonstrated the further growth of the class consciousness and organisational ability of the mass of the workers. However, even then the development of the Workers' and Peasants' Party proved to be inadequate. The historical role of the revolutionary group of the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party consisted precisely in the fact that it turned towards the masses and showed in practice that the working class of India is capable of setting up independent mass organisations and carrying on a revolutionary struggle. The trend of events in 1930, the experience of the Meerut trial, the activity of the Communist group and so on have shown that the revolutionary group of the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party would have certainly been able to overcome all its vacillations, confusion, etc., and make a beginning, if arrests had not prevented it, in the creation of an "underground" Communist Party.

In that period (1928-1929) a considerable number of active workers came forward from the ranks of the working class and some of the worker-leaders joined the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

However, the development of the labour movement, the enormous growth of the political consciousness of the working masses, were not seriously reflected in the position of the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party itself. The membership did not increase. The Workers' and Peasants' Party remained an upper stratum top organisation, a "club" of the leaders of the labour movement. The facts proved that most of the intellectuals, though connected with the masses, appeared to be unable to understand and solve the tasks of creation of a mass political party of the working class. The revolutionary intellectuals, despite their subjective devotion to the interests of the proletariat, proved to be unable to see the growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat and its ability to become the leader of the people's movement. This way they showed some lack of faith in the strength of the proletariat. The members of the W.P.P., being carried away by their success in the establishment of the mass Red textile union, concentrated whole attention on its organisation, and neglected the task of politically organising the vanguard of the proletariat, i.e., the building of the Communist Party.

And the result of this was that the members of the Bombay W.P.P. appeared before the masses rather as individuals or small groups of leaders, and not as representatives of the Party who would have tried to organise a mass political party of the proletariat, the leader of the masses.

As a result of such a practice of the W.P.P., an artificial division into leaders and masses, became the custom. The fact that it neglected to build a political party brought it into a difficult position when the **Girni-Kamgar** trade union began to replace the party. The influence of the revolutionary leadership was not strengthened by organising fractions in the trade unions and revolutionary groups in the factories, neither was a clear political programme of the Communists brought forward. The task of drawing advanced strata of the working class into the legal political organisation—the Workers' and Peasants' Party—on the basis of a clear political programme, not to mention the setting up of an "underground" Communist Party, was not brought forward. This neglect of the task of organising the vanguard of the proletariat, in its turn brought about a situation when the mass trade union was left without a backbone. This considerably weakened the **Girni-Kamgar** Union in face of the pressure of the imperialists and their agency—the **Bakhene-Joshi** group, manufacturers and national-reformists.

The revolutionary Marxist group of the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party by its activity has proved that it is possible to build mass trade unions and carry on a revolutionary policy, and that the proletariat is becoming the leader of the Indian people. But being unable to break entirely with "left" national reformism and establish a political party of the proletariat—the Communist Party—the revolutionary Marxist group of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, despite the fact that many of them had subjectively broken with national reformism, were unable to carry to the end the task of making the proletariat an independent class force and obtain its hegemony in the people's movement. More than that, in a number of cases the members of the W.P.P. adopted the methods of work of the bourgeois National Congress, its organisational principles, which the latter had borrowed from the British bourgeoisie.

### II. The Ways of Establishing a Communist Party and the Struggle for the Hegemony of the Proletariat.

The struggle of the Indian proletariat for hegemony in the popular movement, and the creation of a mass Communist Party can proceed satisfactorily only while following Bolshevik traditions:

**First:** Advanced workers must participate in the struggle for the independence of India and in all democratic movements, and will be not only the most active force but will place themselves at the head of the people as pioneers and show by their example and their agitation, by their slogans and self-sacrificing determined struggle (drawing thereby to their side all the revolutionary democratic elements, including broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie) that they, and they alone (the Communists who lead the working class) are the vanguard of the people, of the toiling masses, and that only by following them the country will obtain freedom and independence. And for this, a Communist Party is needed.

**Second:** Communists must participate energetically in the daily struggle of the working class, in the defence of its interests, in the establishment of mass trade union organisations and factory and works committees, in the leadership of the unemployed struggle, etc. For the Communist Party cannot be strong unless it wins the confidence of the working class. And this can be attained only when broad masses of workers will be able to see and verify in practice that Communists not by words but by deeds are the vanguard of the proletariat, that the Communist Party is flesh of the flesh of the working class, its best part. It is only then that the working class will loyally follow the Communist Party which, leading the economic and political struggle of the toiling masses, will educate the workers, raise their class consciousness, draw

them into the ranks of the mass organisations and the ranks of the Party.

**Third:** Communists must participate energetically in the struggle and the organisation of the peasant masses, showing by facts and explaining in the courses of agitation that there is no other way out for the peasantry, no other way of liberation from the yoke of the slave-owning imperialist, the barbarous landlord and the bloodsucking money-lender, but the way pointed out by the working class in the **programme of action** of the C.P. of India. In alliance with urban workers, joint struggle together with and under the leadership of the working class following the revolutionary path of agrarian revolution under the banner of the Communist Party.

Only in this way, only proceeding along these three channels, can Communists establish a mass Communist Party and secure the leadership of the proletariat in the people's movement. The activity of the Party in these three directions is inter-connected. At the same time **the basis** of this activity must be the struggle against and the exposure of national-reformism in all its shades ("Lefts," the Roy group, etc.). Exposing the national-reformists, isolating them, exposing every fact of their anti-revolutionary activities, every slogan and tactical manœuvre of theirs, and defending at the same time a consistent Marxist standpoint, only then the Communists will be able to organise a party, firmly establish the hegemony of the proletariat, and draw broad masses of workers into the revolutionary struggle, for independence, land and power. The proletarian revolutionaries from the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party, while turning towards the masses in the field of economic and trade union work proved to be unable, despite their subjective devotion to Communism, to break entirely with "left" national-reformism, and to carry to the end the task of making the working class an independent class force, a force that makes itself felt as the **vanguard** of the masses, in the struggle for independence, the vanguard with its own programme and under the leadership of its party. They showed inability to get hold of the democratic movements, the movement for independence, showing hereby **underestimation** of political struggle, etc., i.e., their actions were **one-sided** and, because of this, incorrect. The experience and practice of the Bombay W.P.P. did not correspond to this policy, and as a result of this the Communist Party was not created, and there was some delay in the development of the revolutionary working-class movement.

Therefore, it is not correct when some active workers in the labour movement, for instance, declare now (1932) that in view of the weakness of the labour movement: "Our immediate task is—to improve the position of our own class," and that there **does not arise** now the task of "helping its allies"—this refers to the peasantry and as a matter of fact to the movement for independence, "and that every class (the proletariat and the peasantry) must be united and "aware of its interests and aims." This was written in 1932. Such an attitude to the peasantry is a symptom of one-sidedness and an erroneous tactic.

**First**—the struggle for the establishment of the Communist Party, the development of the consciousness of the working class and the struggle for hegemony certainly demand that, **alongside** of the daily struggle for its partial demands, the working class should not only respond to all democratic movements, but actively intervene in these movements, including the struggle of the peasantry. Otherwise one cannot educate the workers and, under present conditions, strengthen the position of "one's own class" and the contacts of the Communists with the masses of workers.

**Second**—under present conditions of gigantic upsurge of the agrarian movement in India (Bengal, Alwar, etc.)—giving up our leadership in the peasant movement leads to the strengthening of the positions of national-reformism; and

**Third**—the point of view that the Workers' Party must concern itself **only** with the affairs of the workers, whereas the peasantry must set up its own organisations, is also erroneous, because it leads to giving up struggle on the part of the proletariat for the leadership over the peasantry, it repudiates the problem of alliance of the working class and peasantry and **hegemony** of the proletariat, as the principal condition of the victory of the Indian anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. One must fully understand the process of the development of the consciousness of the working class.

"Those who concentrate the attention, observation and the consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even

mainly, upon itself alone, are not social democrats; because, for its self-realisation the working class must not only have a theoretical—rather it would be more true to say: not so much a theoretical as a practical understanding of the relationships between all classes of modern society, acquired through experience of political life." (Lenin.)

Only on the experience of the many-sided political struggles of the working class it is possible to establish a mass Communist Party—leader of the toiling masses of the country—to develop the consciousness of the proletariat and to secure proletarian hegemony in the popular movement.

### III. Utilisation of Legal Possibilities and Struggle for the C.P.

That the Communist Party cannot exist legally under the terrorist regime in India, has been vividly demonstrated by the **Meerut trial**, and thousands of other facts. One of the mistakes of proletarian revolutionaries in the 1927-1929 period consisted exactly in the fact that they worked **only** openly and did not attempt to develop "underground" work, agitation and propaganda, and did not set up "underground" organisations. The point of view of the Communists is, while paying maximum attention to the establishment of a mass "underground" Communist Party, the only leader of the working class and thereby of the toiling masses of India, Communists must at the same time make full use of all legal possibilities. Communists must establish and participate in all factory, trade union, cultural and other organisations, endeavouring to extend everywhere their connection with the masses of workers, spreading Communist agitation, organising and rallying the workers around their banner. Successful struggle of the Communists against the terror and provocations of the government and creation of **stability** of the Party organisation can be attained **only when** Communists, while taking the necessary precautions, will establish thousands of contacts with the toiling masses. **Only** going right into the masses and securing a strong foothold there, extending its contacts and drawing thousands of workers into its ranks, combining legal and "underground" forms of work and organisation, the "underground" Communist Party will be able not only to **withstand** the terror of the government, but also to mobilise successfully the toiling masses for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism and feudalism.

Legal forms of organisation do not exclude the expediency and necessity of setting up **local** legal **political** organisations with a revolutionary leadership. Communists cannot, of course, have illusions about the longevity of such organisations under the terrorist regime. In this respect Indian revolutionaries have had sufficient experience.

However, the establishment of such legal political organisations must not replace or weaken the work for the establishment and consolidation of a mass "underground" Communist Party. It is only through the existence of an "underground" Communist Party that the temporary local political organisations can serve the interests of the working class, can help to mobilise broad masses of proletarians and workers in general, develop their consciousness and strengthen their organisations, hereby **strengthening** the Communist Party. Such is the "useful role" of such organisations, useful, provided they develop everyday activities on a large scale.

There are now two dangerous tendencies in the Indian revolutionary labour movement: **one of them**—sectarian self-isolation, withdrawal from the mass movement for independence, actual refusal to work among workers who follow the reformists and placing on par reformist traitorous leaders and honest misled rank and file workers who follow them. Disdainful attitude to the utilisation of the legal forms of the movement, actual refusal to carry out daily routine work and apply the united front tactic from below, inability to conduct the struggle for trade union unity, etc. **And the other:** opportunistic legalism which does not see the need to criticise national reformism, the "left" especially, which under-estimates the possibility with regard to the creation of a mass "underground" Communist Party, and shows a lack of faith in the capacity of the working class to establish leadership in the popular movement. In practice the representatives of such a tendency go to the length of abandoning the idea of the establishment of the proletariat as an independent class force (with a programme of its own), a force that struggles for hegemony in the independence movement. Such comrades fail to understand that both tasks—creation of a mass Communist Party, establishment of the proletariat as an independent class force, and the task of winning the masses, are

dialectically connected and must not be set up against each other. Whoever takes in practice a one-sided view, inevitably comes to an erroneous position. Petty bourgeois lack of faith in the ability and strength of the working class is at the basis of such views or moods. It is characteristic of the anti-proletarian, anti-revolutionary Roy group that from the very beginning of its activity, and in its statements in the press, it always was against the independent role of the proletariat and its hegemony, claiming that the role of the working class merely consists in bringing pressure to bear on the leadership of the National Congress. In its "political letters" and other works, and also in its practice, the Roy group deliberately fought the line of the Comintern, spread mistrust in the forces of the proletariat, struggled against the creation of the Communist Party, urging that a "left" party be organised instead, i.e., it strived, under the colours of "left" opposition, to strengthen the leadership of the bourgeoisie and betray the struggle for independence.

It is therefore all the more necessary to warn Communists, especially those who work in legal political organisations, against these theories, against petty bourgeois lack of faith in the strength of the proletariat, against all these tendencies that are deadly hostile to the interests of the Communist Party and Indian revolution.

\* \* \* \* \*

In what does the useful role of a legal political organisation consist? The answer is that, given a correct policy, it facilitates the establishment of contacts with broader strata of workers, lifts backward strata from a state of apathy on to the broad path of revolutionary political struggle and widens the **development** of mass work. Such legal parties inevitably concentrate their activities on current questions. It is up to Communists to see that the agitation, slogans and forms of struggle of such parties should help the development of class struggle, growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat, and its transition to higher forms of struggle. It is up to Communists not to allow such legal political organisations (local parties, etc.) to follow the line of reformist **adaptation** to legal conditions, refusal to carry on political struggle, and thus becoming a weak appendage of national-reformism and come to a position of bourgeois legalism. For if they (these parties) did so, they would demoralise the consciousness of the workers and hereby strengthen the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. Against this Communists must struggle.

The most important guarantee against such legalism and substitution of a legal political organisation for the Communist Party is the organising of factory nuclei and setting up of Communist fractions in all the groups of the legal political organisations. The Communists must strive to secure leadership and put forward a correct revolutionary programme which, while taking into consideration the existing police conditions, should not change the revolutionary class essence of its programme. And, finally, such a Party must carry on energetic daily work among the broad masses of workers in the spirit of the revolutionary struggle. In other words, consolidation of the "underground" Communist Party as the backbone of all the legal political organisations is the main guarantee.

However, preservation of an entirely **local** provincial character of such legal political organisations is **at present** an additional guarantee against the substitution of a legal political organisation for the illegal Communist Party. For instance, it would be a mistake if some would propose to establish now an All-India legal political party. The time is ripe for the development of an **All-India** workers' movement, in the political, economic, and trade union field. However, this task must be solved now through more energetic development of the Communist Party: establishment of local organisations and their amalgamation into one Party, establishment of new trade unions where workers are not organised, and work in existing trade unions (including reformist) and in the All-India Trade Union Congress, and also through participation in the preparation of strikes (on the railways, etc.), which are of national importance, and general struggles of the toiling masses, etc.

This is particularly necessary now because the practice of the legal **political** organisations which claim to be of an All-India importance, have given evidence of many negative traditions of the past period, not to mention the fact that, though they called themselves an All-India organisation, they actually worked in one province or rather in one town, and have never been All-India organisations.

#### IV. Local Workers' Parties.

Legal workers' parties, socialist parties, etc., are springing up lately in various parts of the country. Even the agents of British imperialism, Joshi, Siva, Ras and Co., have become very active. Several conferences of national reformists (V. W. Joshi, etc.) and representatives of the Joshi group have been held in **Bombay**. The advisability of establishing a **socialist party** was discussed at these conferences. In **Madras** a beginning has been made with the establishment of a workers' party. All these facts demonstrate the development of the working class as an independent class force, and creation, at the desire of the workers themselves, of political class organisation of their own, is ripe. This is being taken into account by reformists of all shades. They can see that the old forms no longer suffice, as the movement has outgrown them.

The whole policy of national reformists and reformists consists in preventing the establishment of a revolutionary class party of the proletariat. They try to drag the labour movement along the reformist path of development, the path of the British Labour Party. Reformists strive to establish a parliamentary labour party, which, with the support of the exploiting classes, would take upon itself the function of workers' "representatives" in the Legislative Assembly. The task of such a reformist party would consist in preventing by all means the development of a Communist Party, sabotaging the struggle of the workers, strengthening the power of the imperialists and defending the interests of the Indian exploiters.

The establishment of such a labour party is the necessary complement to the whole scheme of "reforms" which British imperialism bestows now on the Indian people. This explains the activity which Joshi, Siva, Ras and Co. are developing now.

Among the numerous attempts to organise legal workers' parties there are no doubt such which represent the efforts of honest revolutionary working-class fighters, who try to strengthen and extend the workers' movement, and organise the proletariat for revolutionary struggle. Communists welcome the activities of such parties and will participate in them, giving the necessary help and support. They will set before themselves the task of securing and strengthening in them revolutionary leadership and revolutionary programme. Legal, local workers' parties are by their composition and character broader organisations than the Communist Party, for they include workers who have not reached the stage of understanding the aims and tasks of the Communist Party. However, by participating in the mass struggle, legal, local workers' parties, given energetic daily work by the Communists, can contribute to the growth of the class consciousness of backward strata of workers, to their inclusion into the political struggle, and to the spreading of revolutionary Marxism.

However, no local workers' party in India can be regarded as a party of the working class: (1) Unless it participates in and carries on the struggle against imperialism for the independence of the country (although the Communist Party **alone** can fully develop and lead revolutionary forms of struggle, not being tied by legal conditions); (2) Unless it pursues a consistent policy of daily defence of workers' interests; (3) Unless it sets itself the task of attracting broad masses of proletarians; (4) Unless it exposes the treacherous policy of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the labour movement; and, finally (5) Unless it supports the struggle of the peasants. However, on the strength of its character and legal existence, such parties cannot develop decisive forms of struggle for independence (carry on open propaganda for the overthrow of British imperialism . . . , etc.). This demonstrates their auxiliary and transitional character. Such an organisation and leader of the masses is only the Communist Party, which, having carried to the end the struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist and feudal rule, will go farther and will lead the masses into the struggle for socialism.

Local legal workers' parties in India cannot and must not stand aside in the struggle for independence, for then, whether their followers want it subjectively or not, they will help the national reformists to carry disorganisation into the popular movement, and spread the ideas of economism and sabotage of struggle for independence, i.e., keeping India in the position of an imperialist colony. All the facts show that the local legal workers' parties are not Communist organisations. The fact of their existence only shows that the working class has an ardent desire to establish its own political party, that the necessity of organising a political party—a Communist Party—is very urgent. The development of the labour movement follows various channels,

and it is up to Communists to make use of all the channels and forms of the movement, in order to get into contact with the masses, and establish a mass "underground" Communist Party. For there can be no other All-India Party of the Indian proletariat but the Communist Party, section of the international organisation of the world proletariat—the Comintern. The establishment of an "underground" Communist Party is the principal guarantee that Communists will be able to permeate all the forms of the movement (workers' parties, trade unions, clubs, etc.), with their class, revolutionary essence, promote the organising of the Indian workers' and peasants' revolution, guarantee its victory, and subsequently its further progress towards the struggle for socialism.

While taking up this attitude to genuine workers' parties, Communists and the C.P. must constantly criticise their mistakes and erroneous views, in order to foster the growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat, strengthen the workers' ranks and help to understand the elementary truth that the only party of the Indian proletariat is the Communist Party.

We have before us the programme of one of the workers' parties. Without knowing whether its followers are adherents of revolutionary Marxism or not, and not having any data with regard to this, we shall try to make a few general remarks.

The programme and activity of this party shows that it is rather the "club" of a small group of leaders who try to establish contact with the trade unions than a mass organisation whose aim consists in drawing thousands of workers into its ranks. It is, for instance, said in the statute that a few tens of Party members have the right to call an emergency Party conference. This alone shows that the Party does not set itself the task of drawing broad masses into its ranks, and that its idea of a mass political organisation does not go beyond a membership of a few hundred people. And yet, such a view would be utterly mistaken. It would mean full repetition of the experience of the top Workers' and Peasants' Parties. Such a peculiar political "club" in which an artificial position is created for "leaders" who claim to be defenders of the "masses" represented by them, would as a matter of fact express lack of confidence in the proletariat. And yet, the task of the political workers' organisation does not consist in setting up a small political club instead of a broad organisation, but in going into the masses, to the factories, works, and trade unions, building up there its own groups, and drawing thousands of workers into its ranks, applying the method of individual and collective membership as well. It is, of course, useful to set up educational, sport, and such-like workers' clubs in factories, workers' districts, etc., but this is quite a different matter. The setting up of such clubs is one of the most useful forms of work among workers, of establishing contacts between Communists and the masses and drawing them into the class struggle and organisations.

The organisational structure of the Party must be as simple as possible, without super-centralisation, without highbrow methods and indulgence in complicated statutes. The organisational structure must guarantee the broadest possible inclusion and participation of the workers, and also serve as a guarantee against bossing from above, and must foster the development of the workers' initiative from below. This is all the more necessary as the previous practice shows that frequently a small number of intellectuals, maybe even sincere revolutionary intellectuals, used to issue decrees and order the workers from above, claiming full and unconditional representation of the workers' interests, whereas in practice they crushed the initiative of the workers, hardly did anything in the direction of organising broad masses of workers, did not promote and teach active worker activists, did not promote leaders from workers' ranks, did not carry on a consistent revolutionary policy, and did not raise the class consciousness of the working class. And yet, the methods of work of the Party, abandonment of bourgeois methods, and transition to proletarian methods of struggle and organising must demonstrate that lack of confidence in the proletariat is being overcome.

This is all the more important as the political programme of a series of local political organisations is full of "omissions" which show that not everything is as it should be in their ranks.

Let us examine, for instance, one of these organisations.

In its programme and demands it confines itself entirely to struggle for a series of partial economic demands. The Party

does not even struggle for the independence of the country and, generally speaking, circumvents the problem and necessity of political struggle, as a necessary condition of realising the main economic demands of the working class. They forget that the attitude to the struggle for independence is a decisive issue which cannot be ignored. Otherwise it will go along reformist lines even with the best subjective intentions of its followers.

With such a programme the role of the legal political party of the working class is reduced to moderate trade unionist activity and organisation. One gets the following picture: A small club of trade union functionaries is set up. They concentrate on active trade union work, on struggle **only** for economic demands. The role of the Party is reduced to the role of a trade union opposition which abandons entirely, at least in its programme, political struggle. The struggle for economic advantages and routine work in trade unions is certainly **extremely** important, and is the **foremost** duty of every Communist.

However, a decidedly bad situation arises. Consideration of legal conditions and desire on the part of revolutionary leaders to take an energetic part in the daily struggle and strengthen hereby their contacts and influence among the masses—is a **correct** and necessary condition of the growth of the labour movement. But it cannot be fulfilled by abandoning political struggle and refusal to bring forward political slogans. By acting in this manner one might approach the position of the traitor Ruikar, who urged the workers to abandon political struggle and confine activity of the workers to purely trade union and partially economic struggle. Such is the advice given by agents of British imperialism—Joshi, Giri, Shiva, Rao, Roy and Co. It is up to revolutionary workers to expose them. This must be done even by the "left" opposition in the trade union movement. For has not even the National Reformist Trade Union Congress in Madras come forward with a programme of political demands. And this is but natural. Any political organisation which claims, if it be only in words, to represent the toiling masses, and yet stands aside in the political struggle, is doomed to stagnate. It would not only not help development and growth of the consciousness of the toiling masses, but will act as an obstacle, and serve **objectively** the interests of the enemies of the people. Revolutionary leaders are responsible for the slogans and forms of struggle. These slogans and forms of struggle must arise out of consistent class defence of the interests of the working class, the interests of the struggle for proletarian hegemony, and the development of the people's movement and help to expose and isolate the reformists who are against the interests of the people.

Therefore, revolutionary workers must see to it that such political legal organisations, apart from energetic daily economic and trade union work should take an **active part** in the political struggle, **in the struggle for independence.**

### V. Conclusion.

Practice will show Communists what the correlation between legal and "underground" work must be. Practice will show what kind of agitation and slogans can be spread by legal, and what kind by "underground" means. But in the course of building up an "underground" Communist Party and developing "underground" activity, Communists must bear in mind that legal local political parties in India which claim the title of class, workers' parties, cannot abandon struggle for independence and its slogans, if they do not want to become a replica of the British Labour Party of the Hendersons and Lansburys.

The turn towards the masses on the basis of clear exposure and struggle against national reformism, is the **principal** task which Indian Communists must solve now; the turn towards the masses **on the basis** of struggle for an independent proletarian Communist movement; the turn towards the masses, the struggle for proletarian hegemony, the application of the united front tactic, **on the basis** of making the proletariat an independent class force, the leader and organiser of the peasantry and the people's revolution; the turn towards the masses **on the basis** of struggle against imperialism and consistent isolation of national reformism and its "left" wing—Nehru, Boze, Roy, etc.—that is the task which Communists must solve now. For Communists this is the only way of winning over the masses and to prepare the victory of the Indian revolution.

This policy must be carried through by Communists, whether

they work in legal or "underground" organisations, taking into account concrete conditions.

But there cannot be such legal daily work which leads to abandonment of political struggle, of the movement for independence, of the agrarian movement. Communists who have worked in the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party in 1928-29 have learned by experience how dangerous and ruinous it is to neglect political struggle and delay the organising of a political party of the proletariat, the Communist Party. The experience of this Party has shown that it was necessary to accelerate the complete break with "left" national reformism, and establish an independent Communist Party. But this does not mean that Communists had to abandon the mass movement and the application of the united front tactic from below. The Communists must not forget the difference between the bourgeois leadership of the National Congress and the rank and file masses that follow them, they must see the difference between the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, etc.

The turn towards the masses which begins to take place now among the revolutionary groups of some provinces, the development of the daily work, etc.—all this must be **welcomed**. But the experience and lessons of the past must be taken into account. And this means that while Communist groups should work much more energetically than before in trade unions (including the reformist), factories, youth leagues, in the legal press, in strikes, etc., they must not delay the building and strengthening of an "**underground**" Communist Party. While developing legal forms of mass work, one must simultaneously build and strengthen the "**underground**" Communist Party, factory Party nuclei, the "**underground**" press and agitation, spreading the Communist platform, and creating hereby conditions for the establishment of proletarian hegemony in the people's movement. It is by combining the various forms of the movement that the development of the Communist movement will go ahead.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### A Fresh Victory on the Dnieper

Kitchkas, May 10, 1933.

Another victory for Socialist construction has been scored at Dnieprostroi. On May 1 the two river steamers, "*Sophia Perovskaya*" and "*October 25*" made a successful test passage through the new locks of the great Dnieprostroi dam.

The steamers were raised nearly forty yards in three locks and released into the open waters of the river Dnieper.

Thus the famous rapids of the Dnieper have at last been conquered, and for the first time in history a through passage by water has been established.

The test passage was carried out with all due solemnity. Tens of thousands of Dnieprostroi workers crowded the steep river banks awaiting the opening of the lock gates.

On the steamers themselves were hundreds of the best shock brigade workers of the town.

Over the entrance to the first lock there was a red streamer with the words "The lock is ready" and over the last lock gates another streamer worded "The through passage of the Dnieper is completed."

The opening of the last gates was marked by one of those tense silent moments that one does not readily forget.

It was broken by a boatswain's voice hailing: "Comrade commander! The lock gates are open; the Dnieper passage is clear."

"Full steam ahead!" came the order in reply. The bands assembled on the banks and on the steamer struck up the "International," and, to the accompaniment of salutes and roars of cheering, the vessel passed out into the open river.

Before this ceremony took place there was a tremendous demonstration of tens of thousands of the Dnieprostroi workers, together with the local units of the Red Army.

Columns of demonstrators began to gather at the Trade Union Hall in the early morning. There was an air of general excitement and all were in holiday mood.

The Trade Union Hall and the whole town were splendidly decorated. Portraits of the best shock brigade workers and slogans of international solidarity and Socialist competition made a brave show.

Comrade *Petrovsky*, representing the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, paid a special visit to take part in the official opening of the locks. He received a great ovation.

Forty thousand people massed in the square facing the Trade Union Hall to greet Petrovsky, who spoke from the balcony of the hall.

In the course of a brief speech, Petrovsky said: "We declare to the whole world that we will fight with every means against a new imperialist war." Sketching the great achievements of Dnieprostroi, Comrade Petrovsky urged all to further efforts on the field of Socialist construction and in the defence of the Socialist Fatherland.

One of the most inspiring moments of the great May Day demonstration, of which the opening of the locks was the central point, was the solemn taking of the Red Army oath by the new entrants to the Red Army.

All told there were 110,000 persons taking part in the demonstration.

The passage of the first steamer through the locks was not something isolated.

It took place with the great half-mile dam of Dnieprostroi as its background, with the powerful hydro-electric power-station and the new gigantic factories, such as the Aluminium Combine and the Zaporozhie steel plant, which are already partly completed and operating.

It had as its background also the new Socialist City of Dnieprostroi. Everything in this new town, with its excellent architecture and amenities of every kind, is calculated to satisfy alike the material and cultural needs of the workers.

Bright, spacious houses, broad streets and parks combine to give this new Socialist city a most impressive appearance.

In order to complete the work on the locks and have them ready for the ceremonial opening on May Day, Socialist competition was widely developed and the shock brigaders performed heroic feats.

During the last two days before May 1 the last remaining obstacles were really taken by storm; and every worker in Dnieprostroi was jealously watching the progress of the work.

It scarcely seemed possible that the work would be finished in time; but one shock brigader said quietly to me: "Do not worry. We will have her ready at the time fixed."

And it was so. The work was completed in one final furious night's work, scoring one more victory for free Socialist labour and opening the Dnieper to navigation from end to end.

### The Fight for the Quality of the Soviet Automobile

By I. Lichatchev (Manager of the "Stalin" Automobile Factory)

Complete utilisation of the total capacity of the industrial undertakings created under the first Five-Year plan is inconceivable without a persistent fight for the carrying out of the qualitative tasks. These include: increasing the productivity of labour, reducing overhead charges, and strict economy. These are the tasks on which the "Stalin" automobile factory has concentrated its attention. In the current year the "Stalin" automobile factory is to produce 19,000 cars with the spare parts belonging thereto and a number of other products.

In order to fulfil this programme it was necessary correctly to organise the work and carry out a proper wages policy. The solution of these two questions will bring the factory nearer to its objective.

Already in November last the management of the "Stalin" automobile factory undertook an investigation of the wages and work of the staff. On the basis of this investigation various changes were introduced in the process of production and the organisation of work, as a result of which it was possible to increase the productivity of labour. The working time necessary for producing an automobile was reduced by 38 hours.

On April 1 the factory management had enough data at its disposal in order to undertake a general revision of rates. The

complicated work of the technical statistical bureau justified the assumption that it will be possible by July to introduce piece-work up to 80 per cent.

In the struggle for the reduction of overhead charges good results were achieved by using other material in place of material which was hard to obtain, and by having all the special instruments manufactured and repaired by the instrument department of the factory itself.

The great attention which was devoted to the reduction of waste products resulted in a reduction of broken and spoilt products from 31.47 per cent. in January to 23 per cent. in March, which is of course still a very high percentage. A further reduction must be achieved in the near future mainly by carefully observing and improving the technological process.

In the fight for all these qualitative achievements, it is the human factor which decides. The success of the Soviet automobile depends upon the devotion and self-sacrificing work of the workers. The factory organisations are therefore devoting great attention to socialist competition and the movement of the business accountancy brigades. In January, 1932, we had 139 such brigades; at present we have 424.

A systematic testing of the administrative apparatus enabled us to reduce the technical and office staff by 429. A further simplification of the whole administrative system will render it possible to release other workers.

For the first quarter of this year the plan envisaged an output of 5,180 automobiles. The actual output was 5,316, which means that the plan was fulfilled 102.6 per cent. The plan proposed an output of spare parts to the value of 1,950,000 roubles, but the actual output was 2,150,000 roubles, which is 110.3 per cent. of the plan.

In January, 5.15 per cent. of the wages fund proposed by the government was saved; in February, the saving effected was 14.79 per cent. The correct organisation of work, the fight for perfecting the technological process, rendered it possible to exceed the production plan and at the same time save large sums.

The factory has achieved good results in the fight against fluctuation, which declined from 7.13 per cent. in January to 6.59 per cent. in February. The cases of absence from work without excuse declined from 3.5 per cent. in August to 0.14 per cent. in January, and to 0.09 per cent. in February.

All this has enhanced the productivity of labour. The January programme provided for an output of 1,374 roubles 30 copecks per worker. The actual output per worker was 1,531 roubles 17 copecks, i.e., 111.5 per cent. of the programme. In February, according to the plan, the output per worker was to amount to 1,274 roubles 92 copecks. The actual output per worker was 1,593 roubles 42 copecks, i.e., 114.98 per cent. of the plan.

In autumn the "Stalin" automobile factory will produce a new type of automobile, the construction of which is based on the experiences of the last few years. The factory is already being utilised to 95 per cent. of its capacity, and the workers and engineers want to bring it up soon to 100 per cent.

#### The Day of the Soviet Press.

Moscow, May 5.

The Soviet Union is celebrating to-day the twenty-first anniversary of the "Pravda." The first number of the "Pravda" appeared on May 5, 1912. All Soviet papers to-day publish articles on the development of the press in the Soviet Union. In 1928, 576 papers were published in the Soviet Union, with a circulation of about nine million copies. This number increased to 3,000 newspapers in 1930, 5,359 in 1931, and 6,683 in 1932. The daily circulation has risen to 36 million copies. Of the first number of the "Pravda" 60,000 copies were printed; in 1919 the daily circulation was 138,000, rising to 846,000 in 1930, and is now 1,600,000.

The number of district newspapers rose from 46 in 1928 to more than 2,000 in 1932. At the beginning of 1933, 2,304 district newspapers were published in 47 languages. The factory papers have also considerably increased. In the middle of 1930, 845 factory papers were published. At the beginning of 1932, this number had risen to about 1,600. The daily circulation in 1930 was about 3½ million.

## In the International

### The Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain

By Vincente Arroyo (Madrid)

The **Enlarged Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain** was held from the 7th to 10th of April in Madrid. This first meeting of the Enlarged Executive since the Fourth Party Congress in April, 1932, and since the expulsion of **Adame, Bullejos, Trilla and Vega** group showed both by the importance of the questions dealt with as well as by the number of delegates taking part (94 delegates from all parts of Spain) the progress which the C.P. of Spain has made on the way to Bolshevisation, its contact with the broad masses of workers and toiling peasants.

The agenda included a number of important questions: (1) Fight against reaction and fascism and the tasks of the Party in the municipal elections; (2) Checking up of the carrying out of the decisions of the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the resolution of the Politbureau of the C.P.S.U.; (3) The tasks of the central organ of the Party "Mundo Obrero" in developing the Party; (4) The tasks of the Party in the trade union movement and the economic struggles.

In the present stage of the Spanish revolution it was impossible to pass over the **question of the peasantry**. Although this question did not constitute one of the special points of the agenda, it was nevertheless dealt with by a special agrarian commission which studied all questions and gave the Party a clear programme for the peasantry.

One of the positive sides, showing the great progress made on the way to Bolshevisation, was the exhaustive discussion which arose on all problems. On all questions the Party leaders and also the workers' delegates subjected the work of the Party to **sharp self-criticism**.

When the fight against the fascist danger was being discussed, a delegate proposed an unconditional united front and demanded a revision of the political line of the C.I., as this political line he alleged had proved bankrupt in Germany. The Plenary session calmly listened to these Trotskyist statements and then replied to them by **unanimously approving the political line of the C.I. and of the Communist Party of Germany**.

In view of the fascist danger in Spain, which has been further intensified by Hitler's seizure of power in Germany, and in view of the regrouping of the counter-revolutionary forces, the Party immediately adopted the correct line (Open Letter to the Socialist Party as well as the reformist and anarchist trade union organisations and to the Iberian Anarchist Federation). The meetings and demonstrations organised by the Party over the whole country against the fascist plans and also against the fascist terror in Germany, likewise represent a considerable success for the Party, which succeeded in issuing the proper slogans at the right moment and thereby mobilising thousands of workers and peasants.

Some achievements are to be recorded also in the **reorganizational field**. Since the Fourth Congress, i.e., within 12 months, the Party has doubled its membership (11,000 at the Seville Congress and 20,000 at the time of the meeting of the Enlarged Executive). The Party was able to attract to itself new revolutionary forces which were hitherto in the petty-bourgeois parties (social revolutionary party and Iria party, which came over in a body to the C.P.).

Districts like **Estremadura**, where a year ago we had no influence and where recently the landworkers and poor peasants marched at the head of the revolutionary movement, seized the land and agricultural implements of the big landowners and set up "peasants' committees," are to-day bulwarks of our Party.

**The greatest weaknesses are in the sphere of factory work**. 90 per cent. of the members of our Party are in street nuclei. This hinders the realisation of the chief task of the Party at the present time, namely the creation of factory councils.

In a number of districts (Canary Islands and Almeria) resistance is to be recorded against the utilisation of all possibilities of legal action and its connection with illegal work. Sectarianism is not yet completely eradicated from our ranks, even in regard to drawing in and accepting new members.

Another serious shortcoming, which was strongly condemned at the Plenary Session, is the tendency to be observable in some districts **not to take part actively in strikes called by the reformists**,

to make no attempt to obtain the leadership of these movements, but merely to point to the treachery of the reformist leaders whilst leaving the leadership in their hands.

The prospects are favourable, but our Party must make strenuous endeavours in order to make good for lost time if it does not wish to be overtaken by events, which are developing exceedingly rapidly compared with the development of our Party.

## The Political Situation in Turkey and the Tasks of the C.P. of Turkey

By Fachri

In the following article we shall attempt to analyse the fundamental questions now confronting the revolutionary working class of Turkey.

### The Class Nature of Kemalism.

The Kemalists are opposing their economic system to both socialism and capitalism. They designate their system as **Kemalist etatism**. This must be thoroughly exposed. Kemalist Turkey is a capitalist country in the full sense of the word, albeit a backward capitalist country with feudal remnants.

Kemalism has promoted the capitalist development of Turkey, which the old regime of the Sultan, aided by world imperialism, attempted for a long time to hamper. To-day the commencement of the development of monopolist-finance capital can already be observed, although at present capitalism in Turkey is still very weak.

The position of the exploited classes in Turkey is still worse than in the advanced capitalist countries, because labour legislation is entirely lacking. For instance, a worker who has been incapacitated for work owing to an accident in the factory, is simply dismissed without receiving any compensation whatever. And still the Kemalists assert that there is no capitalist exploitation in Turkey.

The propaganda of etatism carried on by the Kemalists is at bottom nothing else but a masking of their policy of granting government subventions to the backward capitalist undertakings of the Turkish bourgeoisie at the cost of the majority of the people and by their increased exploitation.

### The Nationalism of the Kemalists and their policy towards the Imperialists.

The Communists of Turkey have written in a declaration:

"In a period of extreme intensification of the struggle for raw material sources and markets, in a period when the general crisis of capitalism has enormously sharpened and relative stabilisation has come to an end—in such a period the realisation of economic independence on a capitalist basis is impossible for a backward country like Turkey, which is economically and financially dependent upon other countries."

The Communists must incessantly demand of the Kemalists that they conduct a real fight against imperialism, and for the independence of Turkey. But what value can be attached to this demand of the Communists, if our comrades at the same time continually repeat that this is "impossible."

The Kemalists themselves pose before the masses as genuine anti-imperialist fighters. The C.P. of Turkey denies this, and is perfectly right in doing so. But they must not represent the Kemalists merely as tools of world imperialism. In Turkey there exist direct agents of world imperialism—the feudal land-owners and the bourgeois compradores, who are reinforced by a continual influx from the ranks of the Kemalists. It would, however, be incorrect to lump the Kemalists together with these elements. As representatives of national bourgeois Turkey, the Kemalists are conducting a double policy against the imperialists: at one time they capitulate to the imperialists, at another time they offer resistance to them. It must be realised that in each case they act in the class interests of the national Turkish bourgeoisie. We must not be afraid of openly admitting that the Kemalists are nationalists.

There exist certain **objective contradictions** between the

interests of the national Turkish bourgeoisie and those of the imperialists. The imperialists are conducting a policy of expansion, of subjecting Turkey to their hegemony. It is French imperialism in the first place which is endeavouring to subject Turkey to its influence, to compel the Turkish bourgeoisie to be satisfied with playing the role of compradores, or agents of French imperialism.

The Turkish national bourgeoisie is defending its role as an independent exploiter of the toiling masses of Turkey, without, however, objecting to the participation of foreign capital in the exploitation of the toiling masses. It is even seeking to obtain favourable conditions of agreement with the various imperialist countries, thereby making use of the antagonisms among the various capitalist countries themselves, as well as between them and the Soviet Union. This bourgeois class character of Kemalist nationalism must be correctly exposed.

But in their criticism of Kemalism the Communists must not simplify this question. The masses will not trust them if they indiscriminately lump the Kemalists together with the venal agents of imperialism and deny that there exists any antagonism between them. It is the duty of the Communists to dissociate themselves from the agents of imperialism. They must show their independent features by criticising the Kemalists precisely for evading a determined fight against these elements and against the penetration of foreign capital, which constitutes a basis for reactionary movements of revolt.

If the C.P. of Turkey thus exposes the Kemalists, their fight against the Kemalists and the reactionaries will be understood by the masses and they will be able to mobilise these masses for the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Kemalists systematically and consistently defend the class interests of the Turkish bourgeoisie. However, the conditions are not favourable for this class policy, and are becoming more and more difficult. The basis of the Kemalists is being undermined from two sides: on the one hand by the penetration of imperialism, on the other hand by the development of the class struggle and the revolutionary movement of the toilers. Foreign capital, in particular French capital, is penetrating the country more and more (before all under the cover of joint stock companies) and is developing into a great danger for the independence of the country.

If it were not for the existence of the Soviet Union and its support of the independence of the Turkish people, the Kemalists would have been compelled long ago completely to capitulate to world imperialism. Then the revolutionary movement in Turkey would be faced with the chief enemy in the shape of world imperialism, which is a far more formidable enemy than the Kemalist bourgeoisie.

### The Dictatorship of Violence of Kemalism.

After the upheaval the Kemalists established the rule of the bourgeoisie not in the form of a peaceful bourgeois democracy, but in the form of an open, undisguised violent bourgeois dictatorship. The Communists must sharply expose this character of the Kemalist regime and must raise again and again the demand for the most elementary democratic rights for the workers and peasants: freedom of the press, of elections, freedom of assembly, right of combination, etc. If the Communists do not give prominence to this fight against the dictatorship of violence of the Kemalists, they will lose one of the most important weapons in their hands in the sphere of revolutionary mobilisation of the broad toiling masses who have not yet clearly realised the anti-democratic character of Kemalism.

The Communists must fight against the anti-democratic regime of Kemalism not from the standpoint of bourgeois democracy, but from the standpoint of a workers' and peasants' democracy. In this respect it must be emphasised that here it is a question not only of the formal rights of the toilers, but of the possibility of the masses really utilising these rights. It must be shown to these masses, on the basis of concrete facts, what a genuine proletarian democracy means under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet Power.

(To be concluded.)

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