

INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 13 No. 34

PRESS

4th August 1933

CORRESPONDENCE

CONTENTS

Politics		L. F. Boross: The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity	750
Z. Gregor: Gömbös' Visit to Rome	741	On the Upgrade	751
Earl Browder: The New Stage of Crisis and the Extra-Ordinary Party Conference of the C.P.U.S.A.	741	In the International	
Aodh MacManus: Fascism Makes its Bow in Ireland	743	The Situation in Austria and the Tasks of the C.P. ..	752
Germany		The Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P. of France	753
German Exports and the Soviet Market	744	Against the Communist Renegades in the Service of the Japanese Imperialists	754
L. K.: New Forms of Social Fascist Class Betrayals	744	Declaration by Comrades Katayama, Okano, Yamamoto ..	755
Expose the Bestialities of the Fascist Regime in Germany! ..	747	The Foundation Congress of the C.P. of Ireland	756
India		Proletarian Women's Movement	
Soumyendranath Tagore: Meerut	748	The Annual Labour Party Women's Conference	758
Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union			
N. Buchwald: Another Giant is Born. The Opening of the Uralmash	749		

The Campaign for the Victims of the Reichstag Fire Frame-Up Must be Increased

Only a World-Wide Mobilisation of the Masses Can Save Torgler, Dimitrov Popov and Tanev

By Willy Trostel (Zuerich).

After the German authorities had maintained silence for weeks regarding the trial in connection with the Reichstag fire, and accordingly nothing was to be read about it in the German press, in the last few weeks several, partly contradictory, reports have reached the public. First the foreign lawyers from Brunn and Strasburg, who had offered to defend the accused, were informed that they would not be permitted to act as defending counsel. The Leipzig Court then announced that the preliminary investigation was concluded and that the trial would take place in the first half of September. Shortly afterwards the Bavarian Minister for Justice, *Frank*, declared that the trial would not take place until December, and stated at the same time that Van der Lühbe could not have set fire to the Reichstag alone, although he did not repeat the charges hitherto brought against Torgler, Dimitrov and the other accused. On the other hand, the "Berliner Boersen Zeitung," which is more or less the official mouthpiece of *Vogt*, the investigating judge, reported that the trial would nevertheless take place in September. But this paper likewise spoke only of the trial of the incendiary Van der Lühbe. Finally, the Leipzig

Court announced that it had appointed official defenders for the accused.

It is obvious that here we have to do with a *tactical* move and not a real retreat on the part of the Nazi authorities, who calculate as follows: As ever wider circles of prominent and world-famous newspapers, scholars, artists, and statesmen have taken up the cause of the innocent victims of the Reichstag fire frame-up, and ever broader masses are being mobilised on their behalf, it would be unwise to talk a lot about Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev, as this would only further the campaign for their rescue. On the contrary, they argue, it would be much wiser to create the impression that they are considering the idea of quietly dropping the charge. People will say: they no longer speak of Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev; they only speak of Van der Lühbe, the Reichstag incendiary, who was actually found in the Reichstag at the time of the fire; to-morrow they will perhaps go still farther and abandon the proceedings against the former joint accused. The result of such a line of action will be that people will talk less about the affair; there will be a relaxation of interest; fewer

prominent persons and ever fewer workers will come forward on behalf of the accused, and then we can prepare to deliver a crushing blow!

We repeat, it is not a case here of a retreat on the part of the Nazi criminals. On the contrary, all reliable news in connection with the judicial murder which is being prepared indicates that the number of the accused is being increased. The fact that the prosecuting authorities are endeavouring to involve Comrade Werner Hirsch, the former editor of the "*Rote Fahne*," in the trial, who was arrested at the same time as Comrade Thälmann, is sufficient evidence that here an attempt is being made to stage a monster trial. This is also confirmed by the statement which the investigating judge, Vogt, made to the Bulgarian lawyer *Detchev*, who has been instructed by the parents of the accused Bulgarian comrades to defend their sons. Vogt said that, in addition to Torgler, Dimitrov, etc., there are other accused.

The lives of Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev and Popov are in serious danger. The statements of the Bulgarian lawyer *Detchev* are exceedingly alarming. They were published in the "Anti-Fascist Front" of July 28, and read as follows:

"I went to Berlin in order to obtain from the accused permission to act as their defender and in order to inspect the dossiers. In Berlin I went to the investigating judge Vogt, and requested permission to speak with the accused and to see the dossiers. Vogt replied that the preliminary investigation

are being tortured behind barbed wires, behind prison walls, on whose lives attempts are made, which attempts sometimes fail and then the victims are rescued by the prison doctor. What happened to Comrade Tanev yesterday can happen to-morrow to Comrade *Popov*, to Comrade *Dimitrov* and Comrade *Torgler*. And if by a miracle they neither commit "suicide" nor are "shot while attempting to escape," then a trial awaits them which is being prepared by an unscrupulous band of forgers who have at their disposal the powerful means of a huge State apparatus.

Prompt aid, which can only be rendered by a powerful international mass movement, is necessary.

It was a splendid idea to arrange a trial by a people's Court in the Hague at the same time as the trial in Leipzig. The preparation of this trial alone has rendered inestimable service to the cause of our innocent comrades. But in addition, if this action is to be effective, the factories and Labour Exchanges must be fully mobilised, huge meetings must be held and the streets and squares must re-echo with the campaign. The agitation must stir up the whole of society and call forth a tremendous response in the press. Lawyers, writers, and workers' delegations must go to Germany. The German Consuls, the German Ambassadors abroad must be allowed no peace; they must be bombarded with petitions, besieged by delegations. Firms which have business connections with Germany must be used as mediators on behalf of the accused, until finally, in the whole world, in all languages, the cry is heard

Hamburg Anti-Fascist Workers Beheaded!

THE BEGINNING OF LEGAL MASS MURDERS

German Frontier, 2nd August, 1933.

Early yesterday morning the four young anti-fascist workers, **LUETGENS, MOELLER, WOLFF and TESCH**, who were sentenced to death on the 6th June by the fascist special court in Hamburg-Altona, despite the fact that the offences with which they were charged could not be proved, were executed in the prison yard. After the death sentences had been passed they were completely at the mercy of the fascist murderers who have now beheaded them in order to slake their bloodlust. All four young Communists mounted the scaffold calmly and courageously and shouted, "Red Front!" "Down with Fascism!" and "Long live Soviet Germany!"

was already at an end and that I must apply to the Public Prosecutor in Leipzig. I thereupon proceeded to Leipzig, but the Public Prosecutor told me it was not true that the preliminary investigation was over, and that in addition to Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev and Torgler, *there were other accused*. The investigation was still going on, he said, and only Vogt could decide whether my demands should be granted or refused.

"I therefore went back to Berlin and made a fresh request to Vogt, who informed me on July 13 that the matter rested with the Public Prosecutor. . . . It is clear that they in any case wanted to prevent me from seeing the accused and the dossiers, because they were afraid I might find proof of the innocence of the accused.

"But I refused to give way and went once again to Vogt. On the same day he went away on his summer vacation, while Dimitrov and Torgler were lying in iron fetters. I therefore spoke with Vogt's representative, to whom he had referred me, and declared to him that according to Paragraph 137 of the German criminal code, foreign lawyers have the right to act as defending counsel in Germany and to speak with their clients. But my words fell on deaf ears and I learnt from Vogt's representative only the terrible fact that *a few days previously Tanev had attempted to commit suicide, but his life had been saved by the prison doctor*.

"He refused to reply to my question in what way Tanev had attempted to commit suicide and what reasons had induced him to make this attempt. I was very excited and requested that I at least be allowed to see Tanev, if only for a moment and without speaking to him. The investigating judge declared that this also was out of the question."

Tanev's fate is now the fate of thousands and thousands who

from millions: save Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev and Popov, down with their tormentors, with Göring, Hitler and Göbbels!

Nothing is farther from our thoughts than to harbour optimistic illusions, especially as regards our successes hitherto. Nevertheless, we see that the Nazi authorities are compelled to resort to manoeuvres, to issue confusing reports in order to frustrate our campaign. The fact that Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev and Popov are still alive and that by their *innocence* they constantly remind Göring and Göbbels of their *guilt* in connection with the Reichstag fire, the fact that these comrades have not been simply *killed* by the unscrupulous tools of Göring and Göbbels—all this proves that these gentlemen cannot simply ignore public opinion. They now find themselves in a dilemma. The trial is bound to lead to their exposure; on the other hand, if they kill the prisoners who are now in their power without bringing them to trial, they will expose themselves still more. The more insistently public opinion calls them to account, the greater will be their embarrassment; and finally there will be no other course left open to them than, with a humanitarian gesture, to release the prisoners.

This will happen all the sooner, the more powerful the world movement for the release of Comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev becomes. In our fight for the release of the victims of the Reichstag fire frame-up we are faced with a relatively small clique of Nazi leaders. They, on the other hand, are opposed by millions and millions. Millions of voices mean also millions of fists. And those who yesterday called for the *rescue* of Torgler will to-morrow call for his *revenge*.

A tremendous responsibility rests upon us. It depends upon our mobilisation work when our imprisoned comrades Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev will be freed, and when German fascism will receive its first mortal blow.

Politics

Gömbös' Visit to Rome

By Z. Gregor.

There can be no doubt about the importance of the visit of M. Gömbös, the Hungarian Prime Minister, to Rome; it is to be seen from the fact that Gömbös was previously in Vienna and Berlin, and that the visit to Rome took place immediately after the conclusion of the Four-Power Pact and before the announcement of the commencement of the Franco-Italian negotiations on the problem of the Danubian countries. The greater the importance of these meetings, the less we may hope to hear about them from official sources.

The Rome correspondent of a Vienna paper telegraphed as follows regarding these negotiations between Gömbös and Mussolini:

"According to information and reports regarding the negotiations in Rome, a closer union between Italy, Austria and Hungary is being aimed at, based on an economic foundation, but which will have certain attributes of a political union. On the negative side it can be said that the idea of revision will not be dropped and there will also not be a sort of inclusion of Hungary in the Little Entente, as has been rumoured in certain quarters. The mood in Budapest has improved as a result of the latest news from Rome. All reports agree that Italy still remains firmly on the side of Hungary. There is nothing which could give occasion for exaggerated hopes, but also nothing which would be prejudicial to Hungary." ("Neue Wiener Tageblatt," 28th July.)

What strikes one here is the statement that the "mood in Budapest has improved." It must, therefore, have previously been pretty despondent if it has improved merely because "there exists nothing which would be prejudicial to Hungary."

To improve the mood in Hungary was one of the reasons why Gömbös went to Rome. In the policy of the ruling class of Hungary the demand for the revision of the peace treaties was the common basis of all groups, the axiom of every party programme. The conclusion of the Four-Power Pact shook this basis. A new formulation was necessary in order to maintain the old illusion among the Hungarian petty nobility and petty bourgeoisie who form the social basis of the government. The friendship with Italy, however, is one of the supporting pillars of the policy of revision, and if this pillar was shaken by the Pact of Rome then its repair must be sought in Rome.

There is no doubt, however, that Gömbös' visit to Rome is of more than demonstrative importance. As a result of the conclusion of the Four-Power Pact, which is regarded by French imperialism as a suitable platform for co-operation with Italy in Eastern Europe, and also as a result of the separation of Austria from German influence, for which Italian and French diplomacy are jointly striving, there has come about a disturbance of the unstable equilibrium hitherto existing in the Danubian countries, so that a new stabilisation is necessary.

Such a new stabilisation has, of course, nothing to do with a revision of the peace treaties. Italian imperialism is seeking an understanding with France. The foreign-political weakening of Germany by national socialism, which is obliged to concentrate all its forces on defending its power at home, on civil war, on the fight against the working class, has given French and Italian imperialism a splendid chance of plundering Central Europe together and ousting Germany from its most important positions in this area. In order to make use of this chance, it is necessary for them to sink their differences for the time being.

If, however, Rome and Paris find the basis for common action in the Danube area, then Mussolini for some time will not need Hungary as an instrument of pressure against Yugoslavia. Not that Hungary is to disarm either morally or militarily, for the "understanding" between Rome and Paris is a pact between imperialist robbers, each of whom feels more comfortable the more pistols he has in his pocket. But Hungarian foreign policy is compelled to renounce for the time being such claims as might disturb the temporary understanding and endanger other plans of Mussolini. For whilst Rome and Paris are negotiating over an understanding, each is trying to snatch the trumps from the hands of the other. Italy is not only seeking to create a counterweight to

the Little Entente in a closer union between Hungary and Austria, but is continuing to intrigue in Rumania in order to draw this country into its sphere of influence, as at the time of the government of General Averescu. If it should succeed in this, then Yugoslavia will be surrounded by a ring of States, all of which are to a greater or lesser extent under the influence of Italian imperialism. This game in Rumania would, however, prevent the support by Italy of Hungary's desires for revision in Transylvania. The Rumanian Minister for Justice, M. Popovici, recently declared in an interview with a representative of the "Neue Freie Presse" in Vienna:

"Rumania's relations with Hungary are better than they have been for years. Talk about revision will not be heard for ten years. Should it, however, be resumed, it could not lead to the slightest success. It must be said quite plainly, revision is a question of power. Revision means war."

Hence the gloomy feeling in Budapest, which had to be improved by optimistic reports from Rome about the magnificent reception accorded Gömbös.

The correspondent of the "Pester Lloyd," the official organ of the Hungarian Foreign Office, wrote from Rome on July 26:

"It is certain—and all circles in Rome are of this opinion and confidential hints by Julius Gömbös confirm it—that we are faced to-day with a combination of political and economic problems in the Danube area, or perhaps it would be better to say, we have arrived at a point at which the economic merges into the political and demands a solution at the key point of the Danube region, a solution which touches the economic and political sphere of strongly antagonistic European interests."

This means nothing else but what we have said before; a regulation of the economic and political relations in the Danube basin is being sought which could accord with the strongly antagonistic French and Italian interests.

It is clear that whatever solution for this problem will be found, it will only be a temporary solution, arrived at on the basis of the exclusion and isolation of a third imperialist Power—in this case Germany—and will lead to an increased exploitation and robbery of the toiling masses in the countries coming within the scope of the "settlement."

The New Stage of Crisis and the Extra-Ordinary Party Conference of the C.P.U.S.A.

By Earl Browder (New York)

On July 7th to 10th, 350 of the most active workers of the C.P.U.S.A. met in an extraordinary conference, which issued an **Open Letter** to the entire Party. This Open Letter established the extreme deepening of the crisis, the growing misery of the masses under the attacks of the Roosevelt administration and the feverish preparations for imperialist war. It called for the mobilisation of all the forces of the Party from below in order to make use of the exceptionally favourable conditions for mobilising the masses for struggle and for the creation of a proletarian mass party in America.

The days in which the conference met marked the period of the full emergence of the new policies of Washington, i.e., the so-called "New Deal" of the Roosevelt administration. The London Economic Conference had just been given the death blow by Roosevelt's message which proclaimed a currency war with Great Britain and a policy of extreme national chauvinism in foreign relations generally emphasised by the enormous navy building programme and army appropriations. Inflation at home has already sent prices mounting skyward, with the resulting feverish speculation, the enormous increase of merchandise stores which had momentarily brought about a sharp upturn in certain basic industries such as steel, textile, automobiles. The government had just begun the application of the Industrial Recovery Act, with its system of government price-fixing and guaranteeing of profits, freezing out of the small producers, trustification, government fixing of wages and hours, and the regimentation of labour under government "codes" and forced labour camps. The agrarian programme of the "New Deal" had materialised itself in a 30 per cent. tax on wheat and cotton, proceeds of which were turned to reimburse the farmers for the partial destruction of their crops and the restriction of planted acres which is being carried out under government direction.

The "New Deal" is nothing but an intensified offensive

against the masses at home and an imperialist aggression abroad. It has been carried through behind a smokescreen of unprecedented demagogy. The masses have been told in a thousand different ways, and everyday, that this programme is the road to salvation, that it is the way out of the crisis. The workers have been promised higher wages and shorter hours through government regulation. They have been promised the quick return of jobs through the recovery of industry. The farmers have been promised that higher prices will solve the ills of their bankrupt agriculture. Millions of toilers have fallen under the spell of the illusions created by the government, the press of all political shades from the Democratic and Republican, through the Liberal and Progressives to the Socialist Party and American Federation of Labour. The radios are shouting day and night the message that "prosperity" is returning.

All these illusions have been given an appearance of reality by the increased production in some industries. But that this production was entirely of a speculative character, as had been pointed out by the Communist Party, was admitted even by the government spokesman in the days that the Party conference was in session. The orgy of speculation which is still going on is preparing a new and greater collapse of industry than has ever been seen before.

The American Federation of Labour is acting as the special instrument of the government for mobilising the masses of workers behind its programme. Under the slogan of "participate in the benefits of the Industrial Recovery Act," the A.F. of L. is conducting an enormous recruiting campaign. It is participating with the employers and the government in working out wage and hour schedules, which behind an apparent wage increase, are freezing the wage standards in the face of rapidly-mounting prices which actually reduce real wages; and which in establishing limited hours of labour are legalising the stagger plan of short-time work without compensatory increase in wage rates.

The Socialist Party is participating valiantly in putting across the "New Deal." Its leaders have declared their complete solidarity with the American Federation of Labour and its programme. They are calling upon the workers to support the "New Deal" as the road to socialism.

Simultaneously with the great wave of illusions that have swept over the masses, there is a growing disillusionment of the most exploited and politically most advanced workers, and a consequent rising wave of struggles that effects all industries in all parts of the country. Hundreds of small strikes are taking place every week. The organisations of the unemployed are multiplying and growing throughout the country and their struggles for immediate relief are becoming sharper and more extensive.

The present strike wave began with the successful auto workers' strikes in Detroit in January and February. Since that time strike actions have been increasingly successful in winning wage increases and shortening of hours. One highly significant struggle of Negro women food workers in St. Louis won a more than 100 per cent. wage increase in June. This strike, involving 2,000 women, was organised and led by the Communists and resulted not only in winning the demands, but also establishing 100 per cent. union organisation recognised by the employers. A strike of 1,500 Negro garment workers in Chicago was similarly won and resulted in establishing union organisation led by the Communists. Even in the steel industry the attempts of the Steel Corporation to set up company unions in Gary and in Ecorse, Michigan, resulted in both places in repudiation of the company union by the workers and decision to set up branches of the revolutionary union in two important units of the industry. Among the miners, forty local strikes had been led by the Red Miners' Union since April, about one-third of them being successful and winning their demands. These are typical examples of the hundreds of strikes that are occurring every day.

The Comintern Manifesto of March 6 on the united front has had a profound effect upon this growing mass movement. The idea of united struggle is penetrating the masses. Especially has the appeal of the C.P.U.S.A. penetrated the ranks of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League. In the latter organisation, the demand for united front with the Communists became so great that the S.P. leaders have been forced, in order to stop it, to expel the Y.P.S.L. national secretary and dozens of its branches. The indignation of the Socialist workers against the actions of their leaders in rejecting participation in the united

front Mooney Congress, and in voting down proposals for united front by a narrow margin in the so-called Continental Congress (S.P. controlled) in May, has become so great as to force Hillquit and Thomas to make some new manoeuvres. Thus the S.P. voted to join the united front Anti-War Congress called by Dreiser, Anderson, and Sinclair, and in the preparations of which the Communist Party has been actively participating.

The most significant developments of the unity movement have been among the unemployed organisations. The Socialist Party attempted to hold a convention of unemployed organisations in Chicago in order to consolidate a national organisation against the National Unemployed Councils led by the Communists. However, when the National Unemployed Councils approached the convention organised by the S.P. with proposals for a federation looking towards the unity of all unemployed mass organisations, the large majority of delegates adopted this proposal, rejecting the proposals of the Socialist leaders, who thereupon split their own convention, walking out with a small minority. In the State of Pennsylvania, a convention of unemployed organisations called by the Musteites overwhelmingly endorsed the movement for the united front, defeating the Socialist Party elements, which here again split the convention. In Ohio, soon after the great Hunger March of a thousand delegates, led by the Unemployed Councils, a convention of the Musteite unemployed organisations endorsed the unity movement, and immediately thereafter a national convention under Musteite leadership adopted the proposals of the National Unemployed Councils for: first, a united struggle for unemployment insurance in support of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill drafted by the Unemployed Councils; and second, to establish local federations everywhere for united action, looking towards a national unity convention which would merge all the unemployed organisations into one great movement.

These developments have stimulated a broader effort towards setting up a united front. A joint manifesto has just been issued under the signatures of seventy-eight leading trade union and unemployed leaders, comprising the Red Unions and Unemployed Councils, the Musteite organisations, a large number of A.F. of L. local unions and a number of independent unions. This manifesto exposes the true character of the Roosevelt "New Deal," lays down a six point workers' programme of demands and proposes concrete means of struggle on every front. It calls for a united front conference in Cleveland, Ohio, on August 26, to work out the programmatic and organisational basis for such united struggle, emphasising unity from below of the unemployed organisations and of the class struggle groups in each important industry such as steel, textile, coal, etc.

The Extraordinary Party Conference reflected the growing struggles of the workers and all of the problems arising out of it. The wealth of experience in these struggles was brought together and examined. The main note of the conference was a stern self-criticism, a merciless exposure of all weaknesses and mistakes and a full recognition that the C.P.U.S.A., in spite of various successes in the strike struggle, in the movement of the unemployed, among the farmers, the veterans, the students, etc., still remained a small party isolated from the large masses of the American proletariat. In adopting an Open Letter to the Party membership, the Conference began a great campaign to root the Party among the decisive strata of the American workers in the basic industries.

The conference pointed out that the greatest weakness of the Party was its failure to concentrate its main energies at the most decisive points; in the tendency to surrender planned work to the daily pressure of the spontaneous movement, to take the line of least resistance; in the failure to rouse and unloose the initiative of the Party and the masses from below and to direct this into planned activity through a well-organised proletarian democracy.

In the united front movement, which is gaining great influence among the masses, the conference mobilised the Party against serious deviations which have shown themselves. These dangers, mostly of a right opportunist character, express themselves in tendencies to substitute conferences and manifestos in place of real mass struggles from below; in slurring over differences in principle between the C.P., the S.P. and Musteites in the name of "unity"; and in the tendency to neglect the tasks of penetrating the lower organisations under reformist leadership and winning their members for concrete proposals for action.

The Conference heard a special report on the situation in Germany and the heroic struggles of the German Communist

Party. It adopted a resolution endorsing the Comintern resolution on the German situation and sent a message of solidarity to the German Party and its Central Committee, and especially its imprisoned leaders, Comrades Thälmann, Torgler, and others, and laying down a programme of struggle against fascism among the American workers. The Conference adopted resolutions expressing its grief at the recent deaths of **Clara Zetkin** and **Gusev**, and expressing its deep appreciation of the special services of Comrade **Gusev**, who had long been a friend and counsellor of the C.P.U.S.A. The Conference also paid tribute to the memory of one of its own comrades, **Rose Pastor Stokes**, who recently died as the result of injuries received at the hands of the police during a demonstration against American military occupation of the Negro Republic of Haiti.

The Conference sent greetings to its recently organised brother parties in the **Philippine Islands** and **Ireland**, and also to the Communist Parties in the **Caribbean countries**, which are conducting heroic struggles under the most severe White terror.

Although bringing out all weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes in the sharpest possible manner, the Party Conference in no way expressed the slightest pessimism as to the future developments. In all reports and speeches at the Conference, there was the note of enthusiasm and confidence of struggle and of achievement.

Fascism Makes its Bow in Ireland

By Aodh MacManus (Dublin)

Fascism has openly made its bow in Ireland, in the transformation of the Cosgravite Army Comrades' Association (A.C.A.) into a so-called National Guard, uniformed but outwardly unarmed, and under the leadership of **General Eoin O'Duffy**, chief of police under the Cosgrave regime.

Several hundred delegates met at the first convention here last week of the A.C.A. All were in the hated blue shirts of this Army pensioners' organisation. One and all, the delegates were ex-members of the Free State Army murderers who smashed the Republican resistance to the Treaty of surrender in 1922-23. On the platform were **Ernest Blythe**, Cosgrave's Minister for Finance; **General Mulcahy**, the Free State Army chief after Michael Collins' death; and other leading figures of the Cosgrave administration.

The convention greeted O'Duffy by standing to attention and raising their arms in the fascist salute, the first time the salute has been seen in Ireland. O'Duffy in his speech said:—

"I believe there is a feeling in the country generally, and amongst the youth in particular, that economic measures of a really lasting and constructive character will prove unduly difficult, if not impossible, without political changes. . . . We must work, therefore, for changes in the parliamentary system which will bring the constitution of the State into closer harmony with national needs. . . . One of the principal objects of the Guard is to combat Communism. We stand for an aggressive attitude towards Communism; we do not accept the view that Communists should be free to organise."

The constitution of this fascist Guard has none of the demagogy made so familiar by Hitler. Its aims are stated to be: to obtain a united Ireland, to transform the parliamentary system, to promote "the formation of co-ordinated national organisations of employers and employed which, with the aid of judicial tribunals, will prevent strikes and lock-outs and harmoniously compose industrial differences," to oppose Communism, and to foster the Irish language. It will be seen that the representatives of the big bourgeoisie who are launching their military wing have no use for ranting phrases against financiers, poverty, etc.; the only approach to demagogy is the talk about a united Ireland and about the Gaelic tongue—talk which will deceive nobody who is aware of the national treachery of these pensioner heroes.

In an interview published in the Irish edition of the London "**Daily Herald**" on July 26, O'Duffy "admitted that it (the National Guard) had a good deal in common with the fascist outlook, but declared that it stopped short of dictatorship."

"We are an anti-Communist organisation," he said.

He was asked to define the Guards' attitude towards Jews. Only those of Irish birth and parentage and of the Christian faith are eligible for membership, he pointed out, admitting that this was directed against the Jews.

"The Jews are the instigators of Communism," he said. "We had to exclude them from the Guards, but that does not mean that we are going to exclude them from the country."

So far the **de Valera Government** has not even made a pronouncement on the new force. The only cognisance it has taken of the development is to state that the Guard will not be allowed to parade in uniform on August 13th (the Collins-Griffiths anniversary), while a pointless editorial in the **Fianna Fail** organ merely says:—

"The whole business is an obvious effort to sustain the falling structure of Cumann na nGaedheal with the buttress of a military organisation aiming at dictatorial changes in the parliamentary system. . . . It all boils down to the simple fact that the A.C.A. is to remain the A.C.A. in everything essential except the name, an auxiliary to Cumann na nGaedheal, an opponent of **Fianna Fail** and other Republican movements, the whole wrapped up in the poor disguise of woolly words about national ideals."—("Irish Press," July 21, 1933.)

Not even a verbal protest has come yet either from the reformist Labour movement (indeed, a Labour leader, Mr. W. Davin, T.D., in a recent outburst against Communism and "unofficial strikes," delivered himself of a provocation against Jews); but a number of trade unions are expected to take up the matter. The **Communist Party of Ireland** has issued leaflets and stickers to be distributed at the factories and through the countryside rousing the workers against the menace.

A resolution passed at the recent meeting of the Political Bureau of the C.P.I. characterises the new development as follows:—

"The formation of the National Guard is a new step in the organisation of the bourgeois imperialist reaction against the anti-imperialist working masses of Ireland. The movement is supported by the conservative and national-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie and the Church. The coming of O'Duffy, ex-Police Commissioner, and for whom the de Valera government is providing a pension of £520 per annum, to the leadership of this force is an open challenge from the imperialist bourgeoisie to the anti-militarist and working masses. The political leaders of the big capitalists—**Mulcahy**, **Blythe**, etc.—openly espouse this fascist force, whose object is the establishment of a regime of fascist dictatorship. The Irish capitalists are learning from the defeat of the bourgeoisie in the Russian Revolution and the methods of the Italian and German bourgeoisie in their struggle against the workers. The organisation of this fascist Guard shows that the capitalists anticipate the steady development of the economic crisis, the growth of the militant upsurge and the spread of Communist ideas among the working masses. To rouse the masses against the fascist menace, to expose it as an agency of imperialism and tool of the employers, is a task demanded of every Party member."

The "Pravda" on the Establishment of Relations between the Soviet Union and Spain

The "Pravda" writes:—

Moscow, July 31.

The Soviet Union is a stronghold of peace. Even its class enemies are forced to admit this. The number of great capitalist countries which have not yet established normal relations with the Soviet Union is lessening steadily. Spain has now taken this step. Spain is exposed to the blows of the ever acuter crisis. The "Pravda" goes on to describe the steady falling off of imports and exports in Spain during the past year. The peseta has depreciated in value. Unemployment is growing rapidly. The crisis has extended to agriculture. The radical bourgeois groups now holding power, especially the social-democratic leaders of Spain, have been forced to give way before the demands of the masses of the Spanish toilers, who have exerted enormous pressure for the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Union. The capitalist world is bound to admit that the Soviet Union is the only country in which the economy is advancing, the only country in which there is no crisis, and a secure and stable political regime prevails. The recognition of this fact, inevitable in view of the continuous successes of our foreign policy and our renewed victories in the sphere of socialist construction, has awakened in the capitalist countries a wish for improved relations with the Soviet Union."

The "Pravda" comments further that Spain, like the Soviet Union, desires to develop exchange in its products. Spain needs Soviet oil and other raw materials. The pre-requisites for the development and consolidation of relations between the two countries already exist.

Germany

German Exports and the Soviet Market

The statistical survey of Germany's foreign trade in the month of July published the other day is exceedingly alarming for German economy as well as for the Hitler government, for it shows the constant retrograde tendency of the foreign trade development so plainly that even the fascist apostles of autarchy are no longer able to close their eyes to it. Since February last, that is, since the Hitler government came into power, Germany's foreign trade has developed as follows:

Month	Exports	Imports	Export Surplus
February	373.6	347.4	26.2
March	425.6	361.8	63.8
April	381.8	321.1	60.7
May	421.8	333.2	68.6
June	384.5	355.7	28.8

As the export figures of May have been somewhat increased by the inclusion in them of goods delivered earlier in the year, the actual decline of exports in the month of June compared with the preceding month is not quite so great as appears in the statistics. But the important thing is not so much the decline in exports, but the fresh decline in the export surplus. This indicates that it will not be possible to maintain the transfer of interest on foreign loans even up to 50 per cent., and further that with the continued decline of exports which is to be expected, difficulties will arise in obtaining raw material for German industry. Germany is therefore already approaching the point at which the agrarian protectionist policy carried on in the interest of agrarian capital (and with a view to rendering the country independent of foreign food supplies in the event of war) jeopardises the maintenance of the industrial apparatus itself!

Exports to the Soviet Union are of decisive importance in connection with the development of Germany's foreign trade. The fact that in 1931, the year of crisis, and last year German industry achieved a relatively high export surplus was due in the first place to the huge orders received from the Soviet Union. But these orders of the Soviet government have now been reduced to a minimum and will probably cease altogether. The fact is also emphasised in the official foreign trade survey, where it is stated: "Exports to the U.S.S.R. have declined to less than a third." The decline of exports to the Soviet Union is all the more significant as these exports consist mainly of highly valuable machines. It is the German machine-building industry, therefore, that is hardest hit by this falling off of exports to the U.S.S.R. As the Union of German Machine Manufacturers reports, business abroad deteriorated exceedingly. The inflow of orders in the first six months of 1933 was about 40 per cent. below the level of the last half of 1932, and the Union of German Machine Manufacturers adds:

"This is to be attributed in the first place to the almost complete cessation of trade with Russia, and also to the effects of the uncertainty in regard to foreign exchange conditions."

There is no doubt that the loss of the Soviet market, which the German bourgeoisie only very reluctantly admits, means a very severe blow to the German export industry, the more so as no substitute can be found for this lost market.

The Hitler government, which is being urged and importuned by the firms interested in Soviet business to do something for the promotion of exports to the Soviet Union, has sought to console the leaders of industry with its "programme for providing work" and the revival of the home market which is hoped to result therefrom. But the tax exemptions which the government granted to industry in order to enable the latter to invest capital in new plant, and which, it was promised, would serve to help the machine-building industry, have up to now remained without effect and will not have much effect even in the future. Moreover, there are strong groups in the Hitler party who are aiming at a restriction of the employment of machinery. Thus, for instance, the Thuringian Nazi government has prohibited the further installation of machinery in the glass industry for pharmaceutical articles. And now even the Reichs government has restricted the employment of machines in the cigarette industry. It is vain that the machine

industry has protested against this "machine-wrecking which is to be here observed," and which is bound to restrict its markets still further. But even if these reactionary restrictions did not exist, there cannot be the least doubt that the German home market, particularly in view of the disastrous situation of the whole of economy, will never be able to serve as a substitute for such a big market as the Soviet Union. The machine industry is therefore crying for help.

But the Hitler government is now beginning to learn that it is much easier to destroy economic relations with a country like the Soviet Union than to restore them again. The attacks on the Derop (German-Russian Oil Products), the incitement against the Russian Trade Mission in Berlin, the terrorist measures against a number of Soviet citizens, and above all the outspokenly hostile acts against the Soviet Union, were hardly calculated to promote German-Soviet economic relations. The Hitler government actually believed they could exert pressure on the policy of the Soviet government by an anti-Soviet campaign of calumny. True, economic motives are not the only, and not even the most important, reasons for the launching of this new anti-Soviet campaign, but they at least played a part in it. That is the method of the adventurers who are ruling in Germany at the present time. But here again they have miscalculated. Right up to recently the national socialist politicians attempted to deceive the people regarding the change in the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. The "Angriff" of July 5 published an article by Th-Böttiger, its new foreign-political correspondent, in which he endeavoured to prove that

"the Eastern Pact, which has just been concluded in London, has not made any fundamental change in German-Russian relations."

The few days which have elapsed since then have completely dispelled this illusion. The "foreign political correspondent" of the "Berlin Börsenzeitung," Professor Gerland, is now compelled tearfully to record that the Eastern Pact is of vital importance to German foreign policy.

"In the future France will in all probability occupy the position in Moscow which we occupied up till now."

This change in the foreign-political situation will have a very big effect on the development of German foreign trade and on the situation of the German export industry. If one remembers that in past years German supplies to the Soviet Union amounted at times to 1,000 million marks and thereby gave work to half a million workers, one can easily judge the loss which German economy has suffered. This, too, is one of the results which the national socialist "Saviours of Germany" have brought about in the course of a few months.

New Forms of Social Fascist Class Betrayal

By L. K. (Berlin)

The "Open Letter" of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. to the social democratic workers is immediately connected with the fact stated in the resolution adopted by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., that the "establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany is the consequence of the social democratic policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie during the whole of the existence of the Weimar Republic, the consequence of the brutal reprisals against the revolutionary movement," of the line taken for the splitting up of the working class, causing the "vanguard of the revolutionary wing of the German proletariat, the Communist Party, to be robbed of the support of the majority of the working class."

The Open Letter to the S.P. workers is the manifestation of our strategy and tactics for securing the hegemony of the proletariat and the consolidation of the revolutionary leadership in the camp of the proletariat under the present conditions of fascist dictatorship. Only in proportion as we make the winning over of our own class our main line of united front policy, the winning

over of the S.P.G. workers and social democratic trade unions on the basis of factory and trade union work, and maintain this main line inexorably against all opportunist and defeatist vacillations and against all sectarian deviations—only in proportion to the extent to which we accomplish this, will the duration of the fascist dictatorship be shortened. The solution of this decisively important question facilitates at the same time the destruction of the proletarian and petty-bourgeois mass basis of fascism, and leads us to the threshold of the people's revolution against the regime of ruthless violence, starvation, and war.

Why did Hitler Prohibit the S.P.G.?

The prohibition of social democracy by the fascist dictatorship has only altered the forms and methods of social democratic betrayal of the workers, but does not abolish it. It narrows the organisational radius possessed by social democracy as a legal bourgeois party, but at the same time it increases the danger of a new "Left" deceptive manoeuvre, of new deceitful forms of social democratic collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The most essential reason for the "unification action" on the part of Hitler, for the "totality" of the National Socialist Party, for the suppression of the other bourgeois parties, has been the fear of the bourgeoisie that any legal bourgeois and social democratic party, however reactionary its leadership, might form a centre around which petty bourgeois and proletarian oppositional tendencies gather, a channel through which these tendencies might break their way through, and might become dangerous for the continued existence of the proletarian dictatorship in proportion as the C.P.G. is successful in assembling these oppositional forces for class conscious action against capitalism and fascism. But could a legal social democracy, with its record of shameful capitulations to capitalism, maintain its proletarian mass basis in defence of capitalism against the revolution? Is there not reason to suppose that the repetition of such scoundrelly actions as the vote of confidence of the social democratic Reichstag fraction for the anti-Bolshevist warmonger speech of Hitler in the Reichstag would be likely to accelerate the going over of the S.P.G. workers to the revolutionary united front? In order to avoid this danger, fascism is forced to thrust Löbe and his companions, with all their "Left" agents, into illegality, to surround them with the halo of martyrdom, to allow them to appear radical in order that they may the more effectually stab in the back the actual revolutionary united front. The prohibition of the S.P.G. is not directed, in its objective effect, against the policy and leadership of the social democrats (in spite of the arrests), but against the social democratic workers and trade unionists and their endeavours to lead the anti-fascist mass struggle together with the Communists. To draw any other conclusion, to assume that the suppression of the S.P.G. puts an end to its role as main social support for the bourgeoisie for the maintenance of the split in the proletariat, to assume that therewith its ideological and even its organisational basis is thereby finally destroyed, to assume that the annihilation of social fascist ideology lies in the interests of financial capital and its Hitler dictatorship, would be to render very bad service to the proletariat, to hamper the advance to proletarian class unity, and to destroy the watchfulness of the revolutionary vanguard towards the enemy in its own camp. The social fascist influence in the camp of the proletariat will not be destroyed by the twin brother of social fascism—fascism—but only by the realisation of the hegemony of the Communist Party in the camp of the working class, and by means of the going over of the S.P.G. workers into the camp of the revolutionary class struggle.

New Sources of Danger for Revolutionary Unity.

Although the S.P.G. is prohibited, there are numerous sources of danger, supplying social fascism with constant new supplies of nourishment and enabling it, in spite of its ideological exposure and its temporary organisational disabilities, to attempt to form a new mass basis in the struggle against revolutionary class unity.

1.—The ideological influence of social fascism continues to exert its power, and finds special expression at the present time in supporting and organising defeatist tendencies in the most backward strata of the working class (the theory of waiting—the proletariat has suffered a severe defeat, it is impossible to fight under crisis and terror; the "revolutionism" of the C.P.G. and its dependence on the Moscow State policy of red imperialism are to blame for the defeat of the proletariat, etc.).

2.—The ideological confusion deliberately carried into the

working class is being constantly fed by the new and dangerous manoeuvres of the "Left" S.P.G. leaders who are externally least compromised, as also by the Second International and its German foreign branch à la Stampfer in Prague, Saarbruck, etc., and by the Brandlerists and Trotzkyists.

3.—Although at the present moment the organisational centres of the S.P.G. are a heap of ruins (openly going over into the camp of fascism, panic, flight abroad, arrest of Löbe and others after their vain grovelling before the "leader" a few days previously in the Reichstag), still it would be an illusion to suppose that the S.P.G. leaders are likely to abandon the idea of reconsolidating their influence within the still existing lower and middle organisational units, of sidetracking the will of the social democratic workers for the united front, into support for the reconstruction of a social fascist organisation on an illegal basis (see the leaflets which have appeared in Germany—if only in small numbers—published by the "Left," speaking in radical phrases of the "total revolution," of the "final clearance of the old leaders," etc., but at the same time inciting savagely against the C.P.G. and the U.S.S.R., that is to say, against revolutionary class unity and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the sole means of escape from the crisis).

4.—We must regard the relations of the S.P.G. to the fascist dictatorship not only from the viewpoint of the present class relations, but of the relations now developing. The more rapidly and powerfully the C.P.G. is able to lead the masses to the attack against the fascist dictatorship, and to blunt the weapons of fascist terror and deception by means of the partial struggles in the works and factories, at the labour exchanges, and in the labour service camps—the more effectually the C.P.G. is able to shake capitalism to its foundations by organising the proletariat for the general strike—the greater the importance of social democracy for the bourgeoisie, that it may once more, as in 1918-19, act as dam and breakwater against Bolshevism. We must commence at once to combat the undialectic idea that the fascist dictatorship is indubitably the last form of the rule of the bourgeoisie against Communism, and that the transition from the fascist to the proletarian dictatorship is a process bound to come to pass automatically. Whether this direct transition takes place, or whether the German proletariat will have to pass through still another form of bourgeois rule, depends chiefly on whether the C.P.G. succeeds in destroying the influence of social fascism in the camp of the proletariat by the time that the decisive class battles are fought.

Social fascism is not yet dead. The S.P.G. saved capitalism in Germany, at the end of the war, with the aid of Noske's machine-guns and of the Weimar National Assembly. After the defeat of the proletariat in October, 1923, the S.P.G. put its coalition policy at the service of capitalist stabilisation, of rationalisation, of economic democracy. At the beginning of the third period of post-war capitalism, it carried on the policy of the rapid fascisation of the bourgeois forms of rule, and prepared the bourgeoisie for the struggle against the fresh cycle of wars and revolutions, of battles between the classes and the states. After being thrown out of the state apparatus on 20th July, the S.P.G. concentrated the whole of its powers and its oppositional weapons of deceit on combating the idea of the general strike for the prevention of the fascist dictatorship. As in the past, at the present juncture it again adapts its forms of collaboration with the bourgeoisie to the relation of class forces and to the given form of the bourgeois dictatorship, thus fulfilling its task as main social support of capitalism. This remains its task also in the future and in the final collision between revolution and counter-revolution it will again come forward as defender of "pure democracy." "At such a moment it is backed up by the whole mass of reaction. . . . All that is reactionary assumes the attitude of democracy. . . . this has happened in every revolution. . . ." (Friedrich Engels.)

Only a few weeks ago the social democrats who had fled abroad to Prague—Stampfer, Wels, and consorts—were belly-crawling before the "leader." They scorned the united front offer of the C.P.G. for a general strike, and called upon the workers to wait in view of the "constitutional character of the Hitler dictatorship." At the Reichstag session in Potsdam they recognised bourgeois legality, and assumed the position of a legal parliamentary oppositional party. It only needed the flight from Berlin to Prague to transform the Blood-Wels of the revolutionary days of 1918 to a "permanent revolutionist," the worshipper of bourgeois legality to a praiser of revolutionary overthrow.

"Total revolution" shout Stampfer and his adherents, and at the same moment they sneer at the Open Letter of our Central Committee to the S.P.G. workers, which endeavours to secure the unity of the proletariat by means of partial struggles and day to day demands. ("New editions of old tunes. Among the many absurd demands put forward at the present time, in spite of the distressed position of the workers, is that of the mobilisation for strikes, partial strikes, and similar actions." Saarbrück "Volkstimme," S.P.G. organ, No. 154, commenting on Open Letter.) Before the Hitler dictatorship was established, the social democrats prevented the general strike by saying that "we must not let our action be prescribed by the enemy," "we must not split up the forces of the workers by Communist provocations and wild actions." (See Stampfer's article in the "Vorwärts" on the occasion of the Nazi provocations in the Bülow square in Berlin.) And now they shout the hymn of "total revolution," pursuing the self-same object of preventing the proletariat from organising partial struggles as bridges leading to the final revolutionary struggle.

Stampfer and his followers write of the "total revolution," and continue to direct their poisoned arrows against the Soviet Union, against the dictatorship of the proletariat. They identify the plundering of the people by Hitler and the gifts which he enforces with the enthusiasm of the emancipated proletariat for socialist construction ("In Stalin's footsteps"). The "compulsory loan taken out of the scanty wages of the German workers and peasants, is there . . . it is nothing more nor less than a compulsory loan on the Russian Bolshevik pattern."—"Deutsche Freiheit," 7th July, 1933, S.P.G. newspaper for the Saar district.)

"Revolution" without any preparatory partial struggles, "revolution" without the participation of the masses in the general strike, "**révolution**" without the dictatorship of the proletariat, this is the new melody of the heroes of 20th July, after being kicked into illegality by Hitler.

Like Stampfer and Scheidemann abroad, their "Left" agents in Germany brew their own particular mixture:—

"It must be stated beforehand," says a leaflet distributed in the 3rd and 4th districts of the Berlin S.P.G. organisation by the "Left" oppositional group around Gregor Bienstock, "another wind is blowing in social democracy. **Wels, Leipart, and their like are done for.** The day of the lesser evil is over." The leaflet states as aim of the new movement: "We are striving for a united working class, capable of taking up the fight with reaction. A mobile working class, ready to attack at any time and to strike at the right moment. **The socialist state of society is our aim.**"

In the following sentences these "Left-Wingers" then go on to show their real relations to the "socialist state of society" which they allege they are striving for:—

"**Soviet Russia is an alarming example.** We shall have to sacrifice much, but we shall not let ourselves be robbed of our liberty. Give the worker in Russia freedom in work and in politics, he needs air in order to live."

It would indeed be too much impudence for even these deceivers to try to defend Wels and Leipart before the S.P.G. workers, therefore: down with Stampfer and Leipart, for the socialist state of society, but in the same breath the Soviet Union, **the dictatorship of the proletariat** as the state form of the victorious October revolution, is spat upon.

It is all part of this "Left" manoeuvre to dissociate themselves from the notorious German trade union officials:—

"Before and after 20th July the German working class was ready to fight, and the Party, too, showed its defensive will, but its trade union ally thought otherwise."

In the course of the whole coalition era, the S.P.G. leaders spoke of "good" and "bad" capitalists, of "good" and "bad" coalition and toleration policy, in order to conceal their betrayal of the principles of Marxism behind tactical manoeuvres. Now they are again differentiating between "good" and "bad" leaders, between "good" social democracy and "bad" trade union bureaucracy, for the purpose of pursuing the same deceitful aim. They insist that it is not the fundamentally class-betraying policy of social democracy and its shameful parody of the theory of Marxism which have paved the way for the Hitler dictatorship, but the "bad" tactics of some "bad" leaders. Therefore: Down with Leipart and stampfer, but long live social democracy!

Stampfer's Latest "Non-Aggression Pact."

Stampfer has most clearly divulged the tactics of the S.P.G. leaders, and of the whole Second International, for the purpose of hindering ideological enlightenment in the camp of the working class. On the day after Löbe was arrested—Stampfer and the Second International were at first obliged to dissociate from Löbe on account of the occurrences at the Reichstag session—Stampfer wrote, with the sanction of the whole of the social democratic leaders, that the past must be forgotten, that for instance the declaration of approval on the part of the social democratic fraction of Hitler's Reichstag speech had only arisen from tactical differences, and that after the prohibition of the S.P.G. unity must be restored in the ranks of the leaders. The French social democratic organ, the "**Populaire**," on 24th June, 1933, commented on this declaration of the S.P.G. party committee in the following words:—

"The tactical differences between Berlin and Prague have been ended by the intervention of brutal force." (The prohibition of the S.P.G. by Hitler is meant.—Ed.)

To whom does Stampfer, this master deceiver of the workers, direct his address? The amnesty offer is first of all made in the name of the Second International and intended for it. Wels wants us to forget that the "people-liberating International" has fallen into the zone of decay, that he himself has proved by his personal withdrawal from the Bureau of the Second International that this Second International not only proved during the last imperialist war to be entirely useless as an instrument of proletarian internationalism, but is now, even before the next warlike conflicts of the imperialists, splitting up into a series of appendages representing the interests of the various bourgeoisies. Wels is anxious to hide the fact that the differences within the Second International do not arise solely from differences of opinion in tactics, but out of the fundamental policy of the parties of the Second International, **out of their solidarity with their own bourgeoisies**, factors becoming more and more incompatible with keeping up the outward appearance of internationalism, especially at the present juncture of aggravated capitalist antagonisms.

But Stampfer's address is directed even more to the **social democratic workers in Germany itself.**

The leaders of social democracy have disarmed the proletariat, have paved the way for fascist terror into the workers' quarters and into the factories, and have not only failed to defend the social and political achievements won by the proletariat in 1918, but have themselves destroyed them. "Amnesty us!" Stampfer now appeals to the indignant S.P.G. workers: "It was all only the result of tactical differences; let us stop talking of them, let us begin a new life."

No matter whether it was Noske's crusades against Spartakus, whether it was the socialisation swindle, economic democracy and rationalisation, whether it was the bloody May of 1929, the cancellation of wage agreements under Brüning, Severing's emergency laws against striking workers, whether it was the "Iron Front" for the salvation of Hindenburg, the setting up of armed social democratic organisations against the Anti-Fascist Action, the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters' League, the deception with the "social" General Schleicher, the throttling of the Berlin traffic workers' strike, the prevention of the general strike against Papen and Hitler, whether it was the discrediting of the proletarian dictatorship, the slandering of the C.P.G. as "bought branch of Moscow," the calumny of our imprisoned leader Thälmann as "Asiatic cavalry general," whether it was Leipart's May appeal to attend the fascist May demonstration, or the voluntary delivering up of the trade unions to fascist state control, or the shameful humiliation of the S.P.G. fraction when Hitler made his last Reichstag speech—everything has only been "the result of tactical mistakes." Let us simply make a stroke through it—nobody except Communist chattering could think of calling upon the social democratic workers to draw the logical fundamental conclusions from the policy of social democracy—this is the tone adopted to-day by Stampfer and Co.!

At the time when the Anti-Fascist Action was fraternally uniting hundreds of thousands of social democratic workers, when a flood of strikes swept away the Papen Cabinet for the second time, and a revolutionary crisis was rapidly developing, then Stampfer and Löbe, the "Left" and the "Right," invented the subtle deception of the "non-aggression pact between the S.P.G. and the C.P.G." This was intended to stop all criticism by the

workers with regard to the capitulation of 20th July, and with regard to the scabbing at the traffic workers' strike, and to enable Stampfer and Löbe to continue their work of paving the way for fascism even more thoroughly than before. Many social democratic workers succumbed to this manoeuvre and to Stampfer's impudent comparison of his non-aggression pact with the non-aggression pacts of the Soviet Union. The social democratic influence, preventing revolutionary unity, penetrated even into the outskirts of our own ranks, among the factory and trade union functionaries. To-day these same deceivers propose a "non-aggression pact" between themselves and the social democratic workers. The labels attached to the frauds differ, but the object is the same. The social democratic workers and trade unionists are to be prevented from drawing the conclusions from the 4th August, of 9th November, of 20th July, and of 30th January, and from adopting the theory and tactics of the Communist Party. The memories of these gentlemen must be freshened up a little. They must be reminded that they have already been "amnestied" once, after the open supporters of the old regime of the Ebert and Scheidemann type, and the centrists of the Kautsky type, played their despicable rôles at the close of the war, as sword bearers of the German general staff and annexationists.

The workers of the S.P.G. and of the Independent S.P.G., of the II. and II½ Internationals, believed the deception at that time, though it led them from the slaughter house of war to the slaughter house of fascism.

The word "revolution" is employed to-day by all the enemies of the working class, and merely reflects the maximum degree of the capitalist crisis. Hitler and Goebbels have raised the fascist-terrorist form of capitalist rule to a phrase on "national revolution." Stampfer and Co. would like to ensure that the conception of "total revolution" does not go further than the struggle for a "democratic" form of capitalist dictatorship. Both fascism and social fascism are pillars of one and the same form of bourgeois rule, and are therefore the fierce enemies of the real revolution, the socialist proletarian revolution. The "national revolution" of 30th January has as little to do with the sole rule of the workers and peasants as Thyssen's appointment as Prussian state councillor by Göring has to do with the abolition of wage slavery, as little as the "revolution" demanded by Stampfer and his "Left" satellites has to do with socialism, as little as socialisation by the proletarian dictatorship has in common with the Noske "socialisation campaign" of 1918-19.

The Way to Revolutionary Class Unity.

The Open Letter of our Central Committee to social democratic workers concludes:—

"We call upon you, comrades, we remind you of the responsibility which you social democratic workers bear towards the working class of Germany and of the whole world. We tell you that the time has now come when you must have the courage to look unpleasant facts in the face. . . . It is not fresh splits which can help us, not new groups and grouplets, but the old split must be rapidly overcome. There is now only one single item on our agenda everywhere: the unification of the German workers for the struggle."

We do not make it a condition for the social democratic workers and trade unionists to join the C.P.G. in order to take part in the common struggle of the German working class. But we add, and stress expressly:—

"The time has come when you must have the courage to look unpleasant facts in the face."

There are already increasing numbers of examples, every day, of social democratic workers and youth comrades risking their liberty and life, and joining the Communists as messengers and pioneers of the Red struggle for freedom, helping to distribute our literature, our illegal newspapers, our slogans. It is important that the inflow of social democratic class comrades should be directed into the channel of organised individual and mass work. Every Communist Cell must be a responsible unit with initiative of its own for comradesly discussion, for the winning over of social democratic workers for the C.P.G. Every R.T.U.O. and factory group, every member of a Red Union, must be a force for winning over social democratic trade unionists, for shattering the fascist strike-breaker organisations, for forming and reinforcing Red class trade unions!

Every Sunday, Hitler, Goebbels, and Göring announce afresh that they have utterly wiped out Marxism. May they be happy in their self-deception. We communists are meanwhile persistently and cleverly forming the class army of the proletariat. The Open Letter of the Central Committee of our Party gives us the directives for our action.

Expose the Bestialities of the Fascist Regime in Germany!

Organise an International Delegation to Investigate the Conditions in the Prisons and Concentration Camps!

The Hitler fascist government is trying to conceal from the whole world the monstrous acts of brutality and violence which are being committed every day against the working population of Germany. The fascist rulers are endeavouring to refute the reports published in the world press regarding the unprecedented white terror prevailing in Germany. But in spite of the fact that the whole workers' press in the country is prohibited and a strict police censorship introduced, the fascist hangmen are unable to conceal the fact that close on 100,000 workers and anti-fascists are incarcerated in concentration camps and prisons. Ever louder the groans of the tortured in the fascist prisons are heard across the frontiers summoning the working people of the whole world to join in mass protest against fascism and to support its victims.

The united solidarity front of the working masses in support of the victims of fascism is growing from day to day. From June 17 to 25, under the leadership of the International Labour Defence, there was carried out in a number of European countries the "International Relief Week" for the victims of German fascism. In France, Switzerland, England, Holland and other countries there took place mass meetings of solidarity for the victims of German fascism. In spite of the prevailing unemployment and poverty, hundreds of thousands of workers and toilers participated in the collection of money and food for the German political prisoners, political emigrants, their dependents and children. But that is only the beginning. A systematic, persistent day-to-day work on the part of all mass organisations of workers for the support of the victims of the fascist terror must be carried out. The fascist hangmen must be made to realise that not a single case of massacre and terror will remain hidden from the working masses. The attention of the broad public must be directed to the deeds of violence and acts of torture committed against political prisoners in fascist Germany.

The working people of all countries are now proceeding to organise meetings, conferences and demonstrations at which delegates are elected who will form an international delegation in order to investigate the situation in the prisons and concentration camps in Germany. Preparations for the election of such delegates are already proceeding in the United States, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Spain and Sweden. On the occasion of the departure of this delegation there will take place protest demonstrations of working people against fascism. The action of the delegation will undoubtedly be supported by hundreds of resolutions of various organisations, factories and workshops and the like, as well as by the demand for permission to enter Germany. The formation of such a delegation will meet with a big response in the press, especially now, before the provocative trial in connection with the Reichstag fire. The sending of this delegation will become an important factor in promoting the international campaign for the release of Thälmann, Dimitrov, Torgler, and all political prisoners who are pining in the fascist prisons.

Therefore, this important measure, which, like the "Relief Week in Support of the Victims of German Fascism," bears an international character and will play a big rôle in exposing the horrible deeds of fascism and in strengthening the international solidarity of the toilers, must be supported in every way. The issue of special collection sheets, organising of collections to pay the travelling expenses of the delegation, articles, notices in the press on the tasks of the delegation—all these and other forms of mobilisation of the masses must be utilised in order to secure the success of the work of the international delegation.

India

Meerut

By Soumyendranath Tagore

There is being heard at the present time before the Court at Allahabad the appeal of the 27 Meerut prisoners who were charged with conspiracy against the king-emperor and in January last were given sentences varying from three years' rigorous imprisonment to transportation for life. We publish the following article as serving to call to mind the facts and circumstances connected with the trial and showing the necessity of an energetic campaign on behalf of the Meerut prisoners.—EDITOR.

Meerut represents that definite place in the political movement of India, which saw the birth and growth of the revolutionary working-class movement. The Indian trade union movement, which started some thirteen years ago, was completely dominated by Gandhists and reformists of the Second International. In one word, by the agents of Indian capitalism (Gandhists) and by the agents of world imperialism (Second International agents).

1925 witnessed the first attempt on the part of a group of Indian Communists to wrest the working-class movement from the hands of the Gandhists and the Second International agents.

British imperialists and their allies, Indian capitalists, resented this action on the part of the militant trade union leaders to rouse the working-class masses against the inhuman exploitation they were subjected to by British imperialists and Indian capitalists.

So thirty-one of the working class of India were arrested in March, 1929, under the charge of "waging war against the King." The clause of this charge included among others, the incitement of antagonism between capital and labour, the encouragement of strikes and agitation, propaganda by speeches, literature, newspapers, etc.

The trial continued for three and a half years, and during all this period the under-trial prisoners were kept in prison and made to suffer all the numerous miseries connected with jail life in India. In January of this year the trial ended in the conviction of 27 of the working-class leaders. Three men who proved their loyalty to British imperialist rule were released. One prisoner, an old man of 60, died as a result of the inhuman prison life.

The sentences are savage. Comrade *Muzaffer Ahmed* received transportation for life. Five comrades received transportation for twelve years each, three transportation for ten years, three for seven years, four for five years, six were sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment and five to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

These savage sentences are nothing but a virtual admission on the part of the British imperialists of the fact that it sees in the militant working-class movement the only danger threatening its rule of exploitation and terror in India.

What does British imperialist rule in India stand for?

Firstly, it stands for militarism. Forty million pounds are spent in India annually for military purposes. Mr. Tottenham, the Army Secretary, in answer to a question, said in March of this year, that the army factories in India were now able to produce practically all their requirements in the way of guns, rifles and ammunition. His statement revealed that large sums of money are also spent on aeroplanes and certain kinds of machine-guns.

Six of the greatest princes of India have been ordered by British imperialists to mechanise their armies thoroughly, so that they may be prepared for a future outbreak of revolution in India, and also in the event that British imperialists should go to war against other imperialist powers.

In answer to the question put by Captain Evans in connection with air disarmament on April 11 of this year, Mr. MacDonald replied that the views of the Government of India and the Ambassador of Iraq had been fully considered. The importance attached to the use of aircraft in undeveloped territories was emphasised in the reservation in the White Paper on the 17th November, 1932, and the draft convention recently tabled at Geneva. Mr. MacDonald further added, that it would not be in the public interest to publish the dispatches referred to.

So while MacDonald and other imperialists are bluffing the

world with bogus disarmament schemes and speeches in the League of Nations meetings, British imperialism is continuing war preparations in India.

Secondly, British imperialist rule stands for the most atrocious exploitation of the masses of India. British capitalists have invested 700 million pounds in India, from which they derive, at the minimum, 35 million pounds interest annually. Then, by forcibly hampering the industrialisation of India, British imperialism keeps it as the market for its goods. The value of British imports to India, though they have fallen, due to boycott and other causes, are still round about 90 million pounds per annum. Then in the form of pensions and salaries, almost one-third of the total Indian Revenue passes on to England. The sum amounts to 32 million pounds annually. Thus British imperialists, representing the interests of British capitalists, sucks out of India, at the minimum, 157 million pounds per annum.

This exploitation, coupled with the exploitation carried on by Indian capitalists, Indian princes and landlords, has reduced the millions of Indian masses to a misery which is unknown in any other part of the world, except China, ruled by war-lords and capitalists and feudals and robbed systematically by British, Japanese, and American imperialism. Fifty million people in India eat leaves of trees for four months in the year and thus manage to "live."

One hundred millions scarcely get a full meal a day. Indian masses are in a chronic state of hunger and starvation, due to barbaric exploitation by British imperialists, Indian capitalists, and landlords. Child mortality is at the rate of 400 in a thousand in cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Scarcely any money is spent for the health of the people or for education. Nearly 200 years of British imperialist rule has to its credit 94 per cent. illiteracy in India.

Workers, men and women, are made to slave in the factories for 11 hours a day. Child labour is carried on in most vicious forms in textile industries of Bombay, owned by Indian capitalists, and the jute industries of Bengal, owned by British capitalists. Children from the age of six and seven are made to work in these factories for hours. The housing conditions of the workers are indescribably horrible. No social insurance. Nothing.

The condition of the *peasantry* is equally horrible, crushed out by taxes and rents, the Indian peasant of to-day is completely ruined, 85 per cent. of the peasants are heavily in debt.

This, in brief, is the condition of the Indian masses under British imperialist rule.

The twenty-seven comrades, now sentenced, wanted to oppose this exploitation, to put a stop to it, by organising the workers in the factory and the peasants in the village to a united front against British imperialism and Indian capitalists.

Under their leadership, the workers of the jute factories went on strike. So did the scavengers of Calcutta, the railway workers and the textile workers of Bombay.

Strike waves swept over the industrial centres of India, and the working-class movement made its first start on the path of revolutionary class-struggle under the leadership of these twenty-seven comrades.

Both British imperialism and Indian capitalists got frightened, and it did not take long for the entire terroristic methods of British imperialists and Indian capitalists to swoop down with savage wrath upon the revolutionary trade unions and their leaders. Indian capitalists had repeatedly urged the imperialist government of India to crush the revolutionary trade unions, which threatened the very foundation of capitalism in India, as soon as possible and to punish their leaders severely. Meerut was the result of this conspiracy, hatched by British imperialists and Indian capitalists against the working class of India.

Our duty is clear. It is:—

1. To expose ruthlessly British imperialist and Indian capitalist exploitation of the masses of India.
2. To expose militaristic plans of British imperialism in India.
3. To expose the Gandhists (agents of Indian capitalists) and Reformists (agents of Second International), both supporters of British imperialist rule in India, by carrying on the most ruthless campaign against these two elements.
4. To help the workers of India to organise militant trade unions and thus to carry on the fight initiated by the Meerut comrades against British imperialism and Indian capitalism.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Another Giant is Born: The Opening of the Uralmash

By N. Buchwald (Moscow)

Sverdlovsk, U.S.S.R., July 16.

The official opening of the Uralmash, the Heavy Machinery Works of the Urals, the largest plant of its kind in the Soviet Union, marks the virtual completion of the town of Uralmash. Technically, the settlement that has grown around the Machine Works is part of the town of Sverdlovsk, actually it is a new industrial community, a new, a socialist town, with a population of sixty thousand, with its own social achievements, with new homes for its workers, with schools for its children, with a theatre, a workers' club, various health facilities, etc. The development of the town of Uralmashstroy lagged somewhat behind the building of the plant proper, but during the last couple of months the disproportion has been gradually lessened. Housing conditions are approaching the normal and the town is daily growing in size and in convenience. Nearly all of the streets are paved, and the last blocks of houses are being built.

In 1932 Sverdlovsk had a population of a half million. The town can hardly be recognised by its old timers. Only on the outskirts, rows of ramshackle buildings testify to the condition of Ekaterinburg when it was still a Tsarist town. Many of the fine mansions and palaces of the nobility and industrial magnates continue to give Sverdlovsk a historic air, but these buildings have been put to better use, and though different in architecture are harmonious in content with the new town.

From a backward provincial town Sverdlovsk has been made into a large, well-ordered city. In fact, it is regarded as the Moscow of the Ural region. Uralmash is at present its largest industrial enterprise, but the old metal-working plant that was built in the days of Katherine the Great has undergone such transformations that it is for all intents and purposes a new plant, employing some six thousand workers. (Incidentally, the plant had special dungeons where unruly workers were imprisoned and tortured a hundred years ago. During the reconstruction work of recent years, human skeletons were found in these dungeons, and it was established that people had been buried alive there.) There is some historic "poetic justice" in the fact that the last of the Tsars, Nicholas Romanov, was executed in the very town of Sverdlovsk, where his "illustrious predecessor," Katherine the Great, had rebellious workers buried alive in factory dungeons. There is also a railway car building plant and several small industrial establishments in and around Sverdlovsk. A new cluster of electrical equipment plants, that will produce everything from a plug to a turbine, is now being built. Sverdlovsk is fast becoming a great industrial centre.

But the biggest industry of Sverdlovsk seems to be building men and women who are to build socialism. The educational institutions of this city are simply overwhelming in their scope and number. There are eight colleges and universities for training industrial engineers and experts, besides about twenty middle schools of the same nature, and dozens of elementary schools. A large and well-equipped medical institute is doing splendid work and is being extended by the building of a "medical town," a colony that will harbour many new buildings for scientific work and housing the medical workers. There is a Ural branch of the Academy of Sciences, which happens to be in session now. There is the Communist University, with its excellent accommodation, to mention only a few of the outstanding features.

The Uralmash is justly called a "factory that builds factories." Its output goes to equip mines, blast furnaces, rolling mills, etc. In the programme of industrial upbuilding of the Soviet Union, Uralmash thus plays no less a part than the new Cheliabinsk Caterpillar Tractor Plant is beginning to play in the mechanisation of the agriculture of those regions. In a political and social sense, just as in the industrial sense, Uralmash is a link of the chain that

includes Cheliabinsk, Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk: it all comes to the same thing—raising the productivity of the country and constantly increasing the welfare of the population; bringing forth the best that is hidden in the earth and the best creative energies that have been lying dormant in the masses of the toiling population.

* * *

Among the *udarniki* seated on the tribune specially erected for the opening of Uralmash was a peasant lad of about twenty-two, blond, square-shouldered, and outwardly stolid. Just by way of being neighbourly I asked him: "Well, how do you like it?"

The young *udarnik* slowly surveyed the scene: columns after columns of workers pouring into Piatiletka Square with banners unfurled, with brass bands blaring, with song welling from thousands of breasts; the giant statue of Lenin on the tall tower of the tribune pointing triumphantly in the direction of the factory grounds with its beautiful, silvery shops gleaming in the sun; the Administration Building with its stern, geometrical forms animated by streamers of red bunting draping the giant initials of the new plant—"U.Z.T.M.,"* the young park festive in its red trimmings and sparkling with the spray of its huge fountain; the streets radiating from Piatiletka Square and presenting a beautiful perspective of new houses in the new workers' townlet flying red flags, and, finally, the soft dull green of the pine and birch forest mutely reminding the spectators what this place looked like five years ago. The young *udarnik* surveyed it all and said with great earnestness:—

"Vesyoli dien!"—a jolly day!

In the peasant vernacular the word "vesyoli" may mean anything from great solemnity to mere jollity. What it meant to him could be guessed from his personal story:—

He was one of the veterans of Uralmash. He came here from a near-by village five years ago, an illiterate boy, bringing with him only his axe and his raw strength. He was among the first tree-fellers here. The lumber was used to put up temporary quarters for the building workers. From felling trees, he advanced gradually to carpentry and from illiteracy he plodded his way slowly and painfully toward education and class consciousness. He literally grew with the plant—lumber-jack, carpenter, leader of his building brigade, and now—a skilled machinist working in the First Mechanical Department—an establishment which for its collection of modern machinery, its up-to-date equipment and its proportions has no equal in Europe. "Here I first gained my sight," he said. "I feel like I have built it all for myself, and I am happy."

He is not the only one. The majority of the workers now employed in the Uralmash are new to industry. Among them you will find many youths and a strikingly large proportion of women. Seasoned workers are few, but the raw, rustic elements are rapidly being moulded into skilled workers and class-conscious proletarians.

The demonstration was on. The leaders of central and local government and Party organisations mounted the platform. Several massed bands played the "International," and then a hush fell over the Square as the loud speakers augmented the first word of the chairman—"Tovarishtshi!" The presiding comrade was Oshvintsov, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Soviets of the Ural Region. His was truly a keynote speech. While speaking glowingly about the achievements of the Uralmash workers and about the tremendous importance of the new plant, he spoke solemn words of warning about the danger of getting dizzy with success. Bolsheviks cannot afford

* Ural'sky Zavod Tiajolovo Machino-stroyeniya" (Ural Heavy Machine Construction Plant).

to rest on their laurels. To-day is a day of rejoicing and triumph, but to-morrow is another day, with new big tasks ahead, calling for new feats of valour on the field of socialist endeavour. The new plant is a splendid specimen of Bolshevik construction, combining the last words of modern technique with features of comfort and beauty, which in capitalist countries are considered quite irrelevant. The factory grounds are more beautiful than any fashionable street in a capitalist metropolis. The work-processes have been mechanised to such an extent that no physical exertion is needed in any of the departments, and, after his shift is done, a worker has sufficient vitality left for recreation and education. Kindergartens, nurseries, and factory dining-rooms free the women from the drudgery of housework and give them an opportunity, for the first time in history, to really become the men's equals. **BUT—**

The workers must justify all this expenditure of money and energy for the building and equipment of the factory. They must master the machines, they must reduce the cost of production, they must eliminate waste and reduce the percentage of scrap to a minimum. Uralmash belongs to the working class and it will be as good or as bad a plant as the workers will make it. Hundreds of factories, mines, blast furnaces look to the new machine-building giant for much-needed equipment. They must get the best, and it is up to the workers to give the best.

Other speakers developed the same ideas. The mass of workers (there must have been fully fifty thousand of them) listened attentively. Apparently most of them were trying to translate the general slogan of mastering the new technique in terms of their particular job. A representative of the local Soviet stressed another point: attention to the needs of the workers and their families. Housing, food supply, recreation and communal services must be put on an efficient basis, with the individual worker certain that his needs are fully taken care of.

The demonstration disbanded amidst great enthusiasm. The Ural Heavy Machinery Building Works was formally opened. Actually the plant had been in operation for some time, with some of its shops working since late 1931 and having an honour roll of top-notch **udarniks**. Paradoxically enough, the opening of the plant was celebrated by closing it for two and a half days by way of a general holiday (with full pay).

The formal opening celebration re-echoed with a dozen or so smaller celebrations and feasts held the same evening. The celebration in the iron foundry department was absorbingly interesting, despite the long address by the principal speaker. The scene itself was striking. With the melting furnaces, boilers, grinding machines, and sand-mixers and other noise and heat-making implements stilled for the holiday, the air in the huge foundry smelled sweet. About a thousand workers—mostly youths, employed in that department were scattered in picturesque groups—all dressed up in their holiday best and all munching biscuits and candy handed out at the buffet as a kind of priming for the banquet feast to follow. The club rooms of the foundry department were not yet completed, and for this reason the celebration was held right in the shop. Tables were set at one end of the huge building, while in the centre an improvised presidium platform and speakers' stand were rigged up, with benches and chairs in front. The talks that followed the principal address were brief and concrete. Here the speakers translated the general slogan of mastering the new technique into cast-iron facts. Here the defects of the department were discussed with a splendid frankness and the merits were equally brought out. The most interesting speech was the one made by the chairman of the departmental trade union committee. In the name of the **triangle** (director of the department, secretary of the Party nucleus and chairman of the trade union committee), he announced the awards of prizes to **udarniks** and sketched the personality of every **udarnik** and his specific contribution to the department. It was a running story of quiet deeds of valour, of zeal and heroism performed in modest surroundings. Several of the **udarniks** did not expect to be thus honoured, and were plainly overcome with joy and embarrassment. One woman cried as she came up to the presidium to acknowledge the award. For the most part the prizes were substantial ones—sewing machines, bicycles, watches, hunting rifles, cameras, and free trips to the country, over and above the regular free vacation (with pay).

There was a spread of soup and fish and meat and ice cream, and then there was a concert in which members of the Moscow Kamerny Theatre (here on a road tour) took part. Following

the concert there was dancing to the music of an accordion, the most popular musical instrument here and a veritable one-man orchestra when played well.

It was past midnight when I left the foundry shop, where the hilarity was still at its height. Outside, the factory grounds were alive with festive humanity. The broad asphalted avenue was aglow with lights. From the open windows of the club rooms of the various shops came sounds of the accordion, piano, and singing voices. Only the smoke stacks in the background suggested a factory, otherwise the scene could have been mistaken for a world exposition, with many spacious and beautiful pavilions.

My room mate in the hotel was an **udarnik** from Lower Tagil, a town in the Urals, several hours' ride from Sverdlovsk. There, too, new industrial giants are now being built and are nearing completion. His trade union committee chose him as one of the delegates to attend the celebration. "I am not good at speech making," he said, "but this time I am going to make a speech and tell the comrades all about it." He lighted a cigarette and for a while remained silent and pensive. Then he added: "In our construction we must come up to Uralmash; that's the important thing."

"Will you, though?"

"We will," he said, with a finality and determination that sounded awesome. From the window, through the rising dawn, one could discern the statue of Lenin with his hand pointing in the direction of Uralmash—and beyond.

The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

The Enemies of the Collective Farmers

II. THE KULAK—HIS METHODS OF AGITATION

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. BOROSS

The kolchoses of the Besentchuk group have for the most part good and old traditions in the fight against the kulak. They have defended themselves with weapons in hand against the armed kulak bands. They have, like the members of the kolchos "Gigant No. 2," waged many successful fights against the kulak terror, against the sham kolchoses set up by the kulaks, against the attempts of the kulaks to gain power in the village soviet. And, finally, these kolchoses were the first to welcome the formation of the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations, and actively collaborated with the Political Department of the Besentchuk Machine and Tractor Station, formed in March last, in purging their farms of the remnants of the kulaks.

But here, too, the remnants of the kulaks have not yet surrendered. Like bugs they creep into all the crevices of the collective farms. They come from other villages; often with false documents. They commence by helping the kolchos to the best of their ability, and thereby get accepted as members. Once they have been admitted as members of this or that kolchos, they spend their time in sniffing round and finding out where the weakest spots in the kolchos are, where there are kolchos peasants, or even members of the Soviets, who can be bribed, corrupted or rendered pliable by more cunning and indirect methods.

If a machine, especially such an important machine as a threshing machine, does not function properly, it causes considerable annoyance. And the collective farmers of the Kanuyevka village, one of the weakest spots last year in the Besentchuk group, had reason for annoyance. Last autumn their threshing machine proved a complete failure. It was repaired; then it worked for one or two hours. The brigadier of the threshing machine looked triumphant, but he soon declared the machine would not work. It was again repaired, and the same thing happened again. Mechanics were fetched from the Machine and Tractor Station. They examined the machine, took it to pieces, put it together again, tested it again. The machine must go. As soon as they left the village, however, the machine ceased to function. Annoyance of collective farm peasants offers a good ground for hostile agitation. Certain circles commenced to whisper: "You have done a fine thing with your machine and tractor station!" "That is industrialisation!" "It is for such rubbish that we have to give up our corn!" "The peasants should only trust themselves; the town workers deceive us just like the former masters." At last the idea occurred to someone to see whether the fault lay not perhaps in the machine itself but

in the way it was handled, and it transpired that the leader of the machine brigade was by no means such an "active collective farmer" as he tried to make out, but a former rich kulak who at one time exploited several land workers. He was removed from his post and immediately, as if by magic, the threshing machine worked splendidly. In the spring of last year the kulaks in this village were still a strong, organised power. They succeeded in "sowing" a full hundred hectares without seed. When the kolchos peasants saw growing, instead of wheat, nothing but weeds, they noticed for the first time what weeds they had allowed to grow up among the members of the collective farm. These lessons had a good effect, however. The collective farm was purged of the kulaks, and last spring the village of Kanuyevka fulfilled the sowing campaign in the time provided by the plan.

Among the kulaks there are also itinerant agitators. Of these we can distinguish two types. The primitive kulak agitator plays up for sympathy. He sits down in the street and begs. If anybody takes pity on him he begins to whine: "I am starving; they have driven me from my farm," and so forth. This type meets with very little success here. The collective farmers of the Besentchuk group have no sympathy for the kulaks, who have caused them so much trouble and suffering, who have placed so many difficulties in their way. They also know that in the Soviet Union to-day nobody who is willing to work honestly needs to go hungry. And they have also had considerable experience of "beggars," who on investigation have turned out to be imposters, having no end of wealth hidden away which they hoarded up as kulaks in anticipation of bad times. We give here a few examples from the cases which have come to our notice. In the village of Martinovka, in the Abdulinski district, in the South-East of the Central Volga region, a former kulak named Rostov, who had complained to everybody in the village that he was destitute and starving, was found to be in possession of three big cases. Upon examination they were found to contain, among other things, the following: 3 double centals of flour, 8 metres of foreign cloth of a very fine quality, 20 metres of linen, 16 new women's skirts, 18 big silk cloths of fine quality, and a huge quantity of absolutely new silk stockings, woollen stockings and men's and women's underwear.

But there come not only beggars; there come also itinerant booksellers, who sell to the collective farmers books, including agricultural and political literature, and also writing paper, notebooks and pencils. They are far more cunning than the alleged beggars. They do not complain of hunger; they do not agitate against the collective farms; they do not praise the old individual peasant farms. On the contrary, the collective farm, they declare, is an excellent institution, but things were much better last year, when income was distributed not according to the number of days worked, but according to the size of the peasant's family. And, moreover, what a lot of nonsense these stupid agronomists talk. Our grandfathers never sowed the seed at the time of the early spring thaw, and they nevertheless managed to live. Then the unsuspecting collective farmer is asked whether he has heard that a new tax has been imposed. Such and similar items of "news" are related, whilst the teller maintains an air of being perfectly friendly to the collective farms. The collective farms are good, he declares, but not quite so good as the "town folk," who understand nothing about agriculture, try to make out.

As far as the agitation against the new agronomic measures is concerned, it no longer falls on fruitful soil. The Besentchuk collective farmers already last year, at the first attempt, achieved excellent successes with their aid. But the criticism of the principle of the division of income according to work performed still creates confusion among the peasants. We shall examine the reason for this in our next article.

On the Upgrade

Leading Article of "Pravda" of July 22, 1933

The first results of the fulfilment of the economic plan in the first half of 1933 clearly show that the second Five-Year Plan means a new stage in the further development of the victorious offensive of Socialism.

The productive forces of our country are continuing to grow rapidly in town and country. There is to be recorded a tremendous growth in the activity of the working class and the millions of collective peasants. The industrial basis for the development of

reconstruction of the whole national economy created in the first Five-Year Plan has secured the further growth of socialist production in the whole of the national economy, the development of industrial construction, the reconstruction of transport, the setting to work of new giants of industry, the energetic technical re-equipment and socialist transformation of agriculture. Of the four rolling mills which it was planned to set going in the first year of the second Five-Year Plan, two are already working. In a few days the third will commence working. The following have commenced working: the Cheljabinsk tractor works, the Uralsmash, four new blast furnaces, three new Martins ovens, and three new smith shops, whilst the activity of the other works has been considerably improved. All these aggregates and plants are absolutely necessary for our socialist country, which is developing into a land of heavy industry.

According to provisional figures, in the first six months the output of the heavy industry increased by 7.4 per cent. compared with the corresponding period of last year. There is also to be seen a tendency to overcome the usual decline in the output of the iron-smelting industry due to the summer season. Compared with last year the output of the heavy industry has increased as follows: In April by 6.5 per cent., in May by 11.6 per cent., in June by 15 per cent. The first third of the month of July showed an increase of 30 per cent. in the output of pig-iron, of 36 per cent. in the output of steel, whilst the output of coal showed an increase of 25 per cent. In the first half of the present year the production of electric energy increased by 25 per cent. compared with last year.

It must not be forgotten, however, that these successes in the heavy industry are only the first step in the fight to overcome the seasonal decline in the summer. It must also not be forgotten that although there has been a favourable growth in output from month to month, the production plan for the first half-year has not been fulfilled.

The increase in the output of the main branches of industry is the result of the success of the fight for the Bolshevik appropriation of technique, the result of the profound change in the management of the industrial undertakings, the main features of which are laid down in the decision of the Council of People's Commissars and of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the Donetz Basin and on the railways and transport. The growth of industry is the result of the production activity of the working class of our country. The productivity of labour increased by 11.3 per cent. in the first half of 1933.

Remarkable progress has been achieved by the automobile and tractor industry, which has conducted a Bolshevik fight for the mastery of technique created by the first Five-Year Plan. The automobile and tractor industry has fulfilled the plan for the productivity of labour by 51.6 per cent. in the first half of this year. It must be remarked that the growth of the productivity of labour is proceeding at an increasing tempo. In the second quarter the productivity of labour in the automobile and tractor industry increased by 65 per cent. At the same time there was brought about a considerable reduction of overhead charges and an improvement in the quality of the production.

The workers in the automobile and tractor industry have set an example to the workers in all other branches of industry.

The growth in the industrial output is accompanied by a corresponding increase in the circulation of goods. There has been a noticeable broadening of the basis for improving the supplies to and satisfying the requirements of the working masses in town and country in the way of articles of daily use. The development of the basis of Socialism in our country has had a stimulating effect on the young collective village, which is increasing in strength.

The victory of the first spring of the second Five-Year Plan is an inseparable part of the victory of the socialist industrialisation of our country, an expression of the strengthening alliance between the socialist town and the collectivised village, an expression of the successes of the Leninist leadership under which the Party conducts the socialist transformation of the country.

At the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan and in the course of the first half-year, the collectivised village has received from socialist industry 2,650 Machine and Tractor Stations, which constitute socialist leadership. This spring about 150,000 tractors were working in the fields. During the harvest campaign 50,000

mowing machines, over 20,000 motor waggons and 10,000 motor lorries were at work. In addition, there was placed at the disposal of the village a large number of agricultural machines by which land work is being rapidly converted into an activity resembling industrial work.

In this spring the collectivised villages as never before received the powerful aid of socialist industry and of the proletarian State. In the course of six months the Party sent 12,000 leading Bolsheviks into the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations. The results of this help can be seen by everybody. The Plan for summer sowing was fulfilled 109.2 per cent. on the Soviet farms and 102 per cent. on the collective farms, while at the same time there was a considerable improvement in the quality of the cultivation of the land. Eighty-five per cent. of the total cultivated area of the Soviet farms and collective farms has been covered by the summer sowing. As a result of all this "the position of the individual farms in all the most important districts of the Soviet Union has been rendered obsolete and the complete victory of the collective farm system in the village secured.

The old problem, for the solution of which the revolutionaries of several generations fought—the problem of how to approach the small producer, how to get him to participate in the proletarian revolution—has now been finally and indisputably solved in favour of Socialism. The most important and difficult task of the proletarian revolution is thereby solved.

Only stupid people and hopeless opportunists can believe that the victories which our Party has to record have come automatically of themselves. Only bureaucrats with a Party book in their pockets can believe that we can remain content with what we have achieved and rest on our laurels.

The economic plan of the proletarian State for the year 1933 is being fully and entirely fulfilled. In the capitalist countries, which are in the grip of a terrible crisis, blast furnaces and Martin ovens are being extinguished, whilst we are building new ones and setting them in operation. In the capitalist countries the productive forces are being destroyed; we are creating new and more powerful ones. In America efforts are being made to destroy the harvest, to restrict the area under cultivation in order to maintain and increase prices. We, on the other hand, are employing gigantic machines on our fields and demonstrating to the whole world the colossal advantages of socialist large-scale economy. Our country is mobilising all its forces in order to bring in a rich socialist harvest.

These facts show beyond dispute that "the capitalist system of economy is unstable and crumbling, that it has had its day." The facts from life and from the fight of the socialist country show that, in contrast to the capitalist countries, our national economy is on the up grade. With Bolshevik work we shall succeed in rendering the year 1933 really the last year of difficulties.

In the International

The Situation in Austria and the Tasks of the C.P.

(From the Resolution of the Plenary Session of the C.C. of the C.P. of Austria.)

Following the fascist seizure of power in Germany, the Austrian bourgeoisie has gone over to the open war against the working class. The proletarian press is gagged, freedom of meetings and demonstrations exists only for the fascist government parties. The destruction of the collective agreements and the prohibition of strikes are to enable the employers to exploit the workers to the utmost. The working class, which is now robbed of its rights and bound hand and foot, is now shedding its illusions, fostered by the social democrats, regarding the peaceful growth into Socialism. As a matter of fact also in Austria, in the March days, the Dollfuss dictatorship government established a kind of fascist dictatorship.

Austrian black-green fascism may have another colour than the brown Hitler fascism in Germany, but in the methods of struggle against the working class it follows the examples of Mussolini and Hitler.

In spite of all the contradictions in the fascist camp the Austrian bourgeoisie, even after the temporary suppression of the national socialist organisations, is utilising the forces of the national socialists against the working class. The bourgeoisie is

striving to overcome all the differences in its own camp in order to co-ordinate and concentrate all the fascist forces. The economic crisis, the growing danger of a fresh imperialist war, are driving the Austrian bourgeoisie on to the path of undisguised dictatorship in the struggle for a capitalist way out of the crisis.

Black fascism in Austria is far from being a "lesser evil" compared with brown Hitler fascism, as the social democratic leaders wish to persuade the masses. The government has already announced that it intends to issue fresh emergency decrees abolishing the rights of the factory councils, transforming the trade unions into organs of the fascist state, and doing away with social insurance, etc. By cutting off their unemployment benefit, the unemployed are driven to compulsory labour service according to the pattern of Hitler-Germany. And whilst to-day hundreds of Communist functionaries and workers are thrown into prison and the Communist Party and the revolutionary workers' organisations suppressed, the government will to-morrow apply the same methods against social democratic workers and functionaries. The present form of the Dollfuss Government is a transition government to a higher stage of dictatorship; the concentration of the fascist forces on the basis of the "Austrian front" means increased terror against the revolutionary class organisations and the broad masses of the proletariat, the further destruction of the social rights of the working class, increase of misery and suppression.

The development of events in Austria shows, on the one hand, a great aggravation of the class antagonisms, but, on the other hand, a further aggravation of the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers as a result of Hitler's seizure of power in Germany. The crisis of the Versailles system enhances the importance of little Austria, which occupies a key position between the spheres of interests of France, Italy and Germany. By issuing the slogan of maintaining its "State independence," the Austrian bourgeoisie is acting in accordance with the imperialist interests of the victor Powers, before all of France and Italy, and is making use of the present isolation of Germany for its own capitalist ends. The Dollfuss government, which is attempting to retain the key position of the small, economically bankrupt Austria, which is dependent upon the imperialist big Powers, is at the same time endeavouring to extend its mass basis by setting up the "Austrian front" by reviving the old traditions of the Austrian imperial State, and to draw also the Nazi movement into this united front against the working class.

When, in March, the Dollfuss Government, by means of emergency decrees, abolished the fundamental "democratic" rights of the people, prorogued Parliament and dissolved the Republican Defence Corps, the social democratic workers expected from their leaders the call to struggle. But the Executive Committee of the social democratic party of Austria capitulated to fascism just as did the S.P. of Germany. The national conference of the social democratic party of Austria at Easter not only approved this capitulation, but even went further—from capitulation to the positions of fascism. The social democratic leaders are now endeavouring to paralyse the fighting will of the working class by concentrating the attention of the masses on the question of the Constitution and by preventing any fight against emergency decrees and fascism by launching Parliamentary sham actions (People's Petition). At the same time, social democracy is continually declaring its readiness to tolerate "Constitutional" fascism and, under the cloak of a sham fight against Hitler fascism, is, in fact joining in the "Austrian front."

Social democracy remains even now under the new conditions of the fascist dictatorship, the main social support of the bourgeoisie among the working class. The social democratic leaders replied to the dissolution of the Republican Defence Corps by calling upon the workers on May 1st to abandon their historical May demonstrations and even placed at the disposal of the State apparatus, as auxiliary police, the stewards' organisation, which they had set up after the dissolution of the Defence Corps, in order to prevent workers' demonstrations.

The bankruptcy of the Second International only reflects the fact that the social democratic parties, in the course of the aggravation of the imperialist antagonisms and the approaching fresh wars, are lining up in the war fronts.

The capitulation policy of the social democratic party executive is encountering the growing resistance of the working masses. The "Left" radicalisation of the masses is reflected in the rise of various oppositional groups and the growing recognition of the necessity of the united front with the Communists. The bour-

geoisie realises the danger of the growing influence of the Communist Party and tries to check it by suppressing the Party.

The inability of the Party to mobilise greater masses of workers in the struggle against the emergency decree dictatorship is before all due to the fact that the Party did not sufficiently make use of the Open Letter and only feebly attacked the social democratic leaders. The Party as a whole is not sufficiently adapted to systematic propaganda among the social democratic workers and the mass organisations. Here there are revealed serious symptoms of sectarianism and opportunism.

In spite of the great difficulties resulting from the persecution and suppression of the Party, the objective conditions are very favourable. Large numbers of social democratic workers are now undergoing a process of ideological transformation. It is now the most important task of the Communist Party to set up the united front with the militant social democratic and non-Party workers in the struggle for the defence and restoration of their political rights, social insurance, unemployment benefit, the rent restriction act, in the fight against any wage cuts and reduction of unemployment benefit, against the fascist compulsory labour service, against the persecutions and for the defence of the revolutionary organisations, against the gagging of the revolutionary press, etc., and to launch throughout the country a wave of mass resistance to the measures of the fascist dictatorship government.

The Party must at the same time increase the anti-fascist fight against the Nazis by organising the anti-fascist self-defence and the anti-fascist guards for the defence of the working class against the fascist terrorist offensive, both of the government fascists and of the brown bands. This work must be accompanied by systematic propaganda for winning the proletarian followers of the Nazis and of the Heimwehr and disintegrating their organisations.

In regard to the "People's Petition" campaign of the social democrats, it is the task of the Party to expose this campaign as a deceitful Parliamentary manoeuvre of the social democrats. At the same time the Party must exert all its forces in order to mobilise the masses for the following demands: convocation of Parliament, restoration of all the political rights of the workers, cancellation of the emergency decrees, withdrawal of prohibition of the Communist Party. In particular the Party must raise the question of the general strike as a militant slogan before the social democratic workers, showing them the possibilities of carrying it out and the preconditions of victorious leadership.

In the concrete historical situation the Party clearly and openly opposes the "Anschluss" with Hitler-Germany, because this Anschluss would only mean the transference to Austria of the bloody Hitler terror against the working class. But in combating the Anschluss we draw a sharp demarcation line between us and the social democracy, which with its slogan: "Against the Anschluss," only continues the policy of the Geneva Pact, the enslavement of the Austrian proletariat and their subjection to the dictates of French imperialism. On the other hand, the Party must now propagate with particular emphasis our programme of national and social emancipation and show that the national and social emancipation of the Austrian people can only be achieved in alliance with the revolutionary working class of Germany and of the other countries and by the establishment of a Soviet Austria and its union with Soviet Germany.

The present situation demands of the Party a testing of its ranks and of its leading cadres from the standpoint of revolutionary reliability and devotion to the cause of the revolution. It demands the greatest initiative of all the lower organisations and unconditional political reliability, discipline and revolutionary responsibility of all leading comrades. It demands the energetic combating of all opportunist tendencies, of retreat and capitulation to the persecution-offensive of fascism, as well as against all deviations. The situation demands a constant energetic fight against the fraction-mongering of the remnants of the Trotskyist and Tomann groups, who attempt to disintegrate the rank and file of the Party.

The suppression of the Party inaugurated a fresh historical period which demands of the Party the fulfilment of new and far greater tasks. The persecutions and repressive measures against the Party have shown that the C.P. of Austria possesses a sufficiently strong and ideologically consolidated cadre of revolutionary fighters, which secures the continuation of revolutionary work even under increased suppression on the part of fascism. In spite of all persecutions the Party is continuing its advance; it will

win the masses in the daily struggles and lead them towards the victorious proletarian revolution.

The Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P. of France

The Central Committee of the C.P. of France held a plenary session from 14th to 18th of July, in the course of which three important reports were discussed: (1) The situation in France and the application of the tactics of the united front; (2) The economic struggles and the work of the Communists in the trade union movement; and (3) Organisational questions and the measures for improving the mass work of the Party.

A considerable portion of the first report was devoted to the policy of the Second International and the socialist party of France. Comrade **Duclos** made it quite plain that there exists no other way for the realisation of the revolutionary unity of labour but the systematic application of the united front for definite actions, which accord with the interests of the toilers under the given circumstance, combined with an energetic struggle against social democracy. The Central Committee severely criticised the fact that in several cases our comrades, in applying the tactics of the united front, yielded to the demand of the socialist leaders for the "abandonment of criticism," i.e., capitulated to socialist policy. All the speakers emphasised the necessity of drawing the socialist toilers into the struggle for their **concrete demands**, which is the best means of combating the tendency to bring about unity at any price.

Gitton, the reporter on the second item of the agenda, emphasised the growth of strike actions and the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, but also the shortcomings of the Party, which failed to prepare these movements and did not sufficiently trouble about its development. He emphasised the importance of preparing for the Congress of the revolutionary Trade Union Federation (C.G.T.U.) in September next, which would offer to the Communists the opportunity of proving that they are capable of conducting **economic struggles**, which hitherto had not yet been the case.

Although Comrade **Vassart** was able to record an improvement in the mass work of the Party, he also pointed to the necessity of overcoming serious shortcomings: decline of the Party organisations in the factories in which the Party has very few good working cells; fluctuation of Party membership, inadequate checking of the activity of each Communist. It is to be regretted that this last report was followed by only a superficial discussion, which showed that not all delegates fully realised that it is impossible to fulfil the tremendous tasks set the C.P. of France without a systematic realisation of the organisational tasks.

The discussion dealt very thoroughly with the position of the **Young Communist League**. It was established that the decline of the League was due to inadequate defence of the interests of the young toilers. The Central Committee decided to take the matter seriously in hand. A first step in this direction was the strong delegation of the Central Committee which attended the meeting of the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. on July 23.

Finally, Comrade **Ferrat** delivered a report on the situation in Germany and conclusively proved that the policy of the C.I. and of the C.P. of Germany was perfectly correct in all the stages of development of events in Germany.

In his concluding speech, Comrade **Thorez** criticised the weakness of the discussion, which he attributed to the fact that many comrades still doubt that capitalist stabilisation has come to an end in France, and that illusions are still cherished regarding the unavoidable break-up of the regime and of its best buttress, the Socialist Party of France. This renders necessary an uninterrupted fight for the correct political line of the Party, as well as against all opportunist and sectarian deviations.

Nevertheless, this meeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of France was the direct opposite of the Party Congress of the Socialist Party of France, which was held at the same time. Whilst the latter came forward in defence of imperialist "democracy" and discussed the best methods in order to prevent the rallying of the masses round a revolutionary platform, the leaders of the C.P. of France seriously examined the methods for mobilising the toilers of all tendencies in order to lead them in the daily fight against capitalism right up to the final struggle. These methods are: strengthening of the basis of the Party, organisation of economic struggles, and before all the tactic of the united front.

Against the Communist Renegades in the Service of the Japanese Imperialists

The bourgeois intellectual *Manabu Sano* and the half-intellectual *Sadashik Nabeyama*, hangers-on of the revolution who chanced to get into the ranks of the C.P. of Japan, have become police provocateurs. With their help the Japanese gendarmes and police are arranging a puppet show. The scoundrels who sold the cause of the workers pretend to be in despair and shed tears over their "mistakes." They lick the boots of that super-fascist Araki and call this "courageous proletarian convictions." They dig into the midden of Japanese feudalism to glorify the monarchy. They curse the Soviet Union and demand that the great fatherland of all the toilers should be denied international proletarian protection on the ground that the Japanese monarchical-plutocratic system is "not so bad" as Tsarism, which was buried by the Russian proletarians 16 years ago. They declare that the desire for the defeat of the bandits of Japanese imperialism in China, which is being torn to pieces, is "treachery to the nation," and promise to build up socialist society in Japan by strangling the 400,000,000 population of China, by intervention against the great country of socialism under the command of the camarilla of the palace, the cut-throat militarists, the feudal landlords and the financial capitalist sharks who wring out the sweat and blood of the workers in industry. They fulminate against the international party of Communism and state that the mediæval superstitious monks are wiser than Lenin and Marx.

Behind the backs of the provocateurs is the experienced hand of the police. The tears and weeping of these two boot-lickers, their pose of honesty and sincerity is a necessary requisite for the fascist, jingoist, military bandit theatrical play.

A year ago, at the instructions of real Communists who were arrested together with him, Sano made a fighting Communist speech in the court. And after this came the repentance. What is the secret? It is obvious to everyone. What would have been the value of the repentant howls of Sano and Nabeyama if they had publicly begun to set forth their loyal, police-monarchical sentiments with the aid of the public prosecutor and detectives and gendarmes **immediately after their arrest?** Everyone would have realised that they were old provocateurs hiding behind their Party card. On the other hand, from the point of view of the police, it is different if a person "repents" after saying nothing in court or if he "repents" after making a bold speech composed for him by real Communists in the court. In the first case the effect will be weaker, but in the second case the simple-minded may believe that he has experienced a profound internal struggle and he is prepared "from conviction" to break with his late comrades and the cause of the workers.

Are there not such examples in the history of the struggle of the working class in other countries?

In Russia, the scoundrel Malinovsky, the provocateur who crept into the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks and as a deputy into the Duma, made speeches written by Lenin and Stalin from the tribune of the Duma. He previously gave these speeches for examination to the Tsarist police who agreed to their being delivered, and they sometimes cut out some specially sharp sentences.

Sano, as the Japanese Malinovsky, made a Communist speech in court. But this was not his speech, not the speech of a black traitor. With this speech, he and the police wanted in the future to increase the destructive influence of his treachery.

The Communist movement is too great and invincible a historic force for its deep roots in the working class to be so simply wiped out by a hireling clattering tongue. In one sentence each of this pair of provocateurs declares that the C.P.J. is an insignificant sect, withering away, and in the next sentence he is *compelled* to admit that the basis of the Party has "considerably widened." In one place this police snake accuses the Party of "not being able to direct the indignation of the masses against the present crisis and the predatory capitalist system which becomes plain in connection with the crisis," and in another place attacks the Party because "anyone who does not understand that the mighty unity of the Japanese nation is one of the most prominent expressions of socialism (?) in Japan is not a revolutionary."

"The Communist Party of China," they say, "is strong only because it relies on the movement in the Soviet districts and not because it is a section of the Comintern."

Provocateurs are bound to break the elementary rules of logic. The Soviets in China would have been impossible unless the Chinese Communists had transferred to colonial soil the experience of the Comintern, the Bolshevik experience of struggle, the experience of October. Without this there is no doubt that they could not have organised the Red Army, the very army against which Araki and his military-feudal and fascist-imperialist gang are waving their swords before the whole world.

However, the words of these double-tongued people can nevertheless be understood in the sense of sympathy towards the Soviet movement in China. But do not hasten to draw conclusions. The provocateurs talk with tongue number 2:

"The Communist principle of the right to self-determination appeared because otherwise, in Tsarist Russia, which was called the prison of peoples, the revolt of over 20 nations would have made revolution impossible."

As if the Japanese ruling classes have not converted Japan into a prison for the Koreans, Formosans, Chinese, etc.! But the best is yet to come. They write:

"This principle (the right of nations to self-determination) does not take account of the possibility of socialism being constructed by the ruling nation in one country . . . not every nation is capable of this."

Thus the provocateurs "sympathise" with the Chinese Soviet movement in the sense that China must be swallowed up by the Mikado, Araki, Mitsui and Mitsuyoshi with the most piquant sauce—"Socialism in the ruling nation."

Now the provocateurs make a supreme effort: "We oppose war on the Soviet Union and on Soviet China as reactionary wars. Although (!) we are strongly against war for the sake of war, we think that the only path for the working class is to recognise the danger of war, and in connection with inner-political changes (under the leadership of the Mikado, Araki and the banking sharks!) convert it into a progressive war. It is not right to contrast the interests of the nation to the interests of the working class. . . . Defeatism, which is arbitrarily forced on the Japanese Communist Party by the Comintern for the benefit of the transient interests of the Soviet Union, is harmful for the Japanese working class. . . . The desire for the defeat of Japan means the desire for the defeat of the Japanese nation."

It is quite clear. The provocateurs are trying to help Araki and the fascist-jingo cut-throats to provoke an attack on the country of victorious socialism. They are for a "progressive war" against the U.S.S.R. and China! Above all, they are against the defeat of Araki and Co! They have to take into account the feelings of the working class, and therefore begin by swearing that they are enemies of intervention. But double-tongued people immediately give themselves away.

These intellectual politicians, Sano and Nabeyama, strive to depict their dirty provocation as . . . the result of disillusionment with the German Communist Party, as the result of dissatisfaction with the weakness of the . . . Spanish Party.

The German Communist Party has not disappeared from the field of struggle. On the contrary, it has flooded the Hitlerite dungeon into which Germany has now been converted, with its newspapers and leaflets, its fighting appeals. Fascism has been unable to break it. From underground, the C.P.G. is developing the most energetic Bolshevik activity. The coming of Hitler to power has not buried the revolution in Germany, but instead it has only increased the inevitability of the destruction of the dictatorship of capital by the iron hammer of the proletarian dictatorship.

The provocateurs of the Japanese government know this. They lie and slander, uneasy both for the rear of Araki and the rear of his colleague Hitler. The provocative statements contain indignant protests "against petty-bourgeois ideas, anti-monarchism, revolutionary defeatism, Bolshevism."

How clearly this characterises the class features of the treachery and provocation of Sano and Nabeyama!

Sano and Nabeyama howl about the "petty-bourgeois" tendency because they are not only servants of big capital, its ministers and generals, but they are also servants of the semi-mediæval monarchy, the semi-mediæval landlord exploitation of the Japanese villages, and back up the political and economic oppression of millions of Japanese proletarians.

They have become "convinced" of the need to compel these rebellious proletarians, factory workers, urban poor and toiling peasants, who are a breeding ground for the terrible microbes of Bolshevism. How can we convince them that the 11-hour day and the bullying of the foremen and the police is more suitable for Japanese workers than the 7-hour day in the socialist enterprises of the Soviet Union? How can we impress them that the compulsory sale of daughters by the peasants to the dungeons of textile capital or even to prostitute houses is better than the Soviet liberation of toiling women in town and village? How can we darken their minds to such an extent that they will prefer the feudal-slavish monarchy which converts the Japanese workers and peasants into colonial beasts of burden to the great proletarian democracy of the Soviets, to the revolutionary dictatorship which is directed against the rich, the parasites, the thugs of capital?

How can we convince them beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Japanese imperialists who have already built up mountains of corpses and poured out rivers of blood are "angels of peace," while the country of victorious socialist labour is a hell of war?

Sano and Nabeyama are bankrupt morally, politically and ideologically. Turn out their pockets and you will find nothing but the Judas pieces of silver which they received from the police.

Living people from the great revolutionary class, from its worthy vanguard the C.P.J., have nothing to do in this police death house. The Japanese revolution will settle accounts with the provocateurs with the same pitilessness as the Bolsheviks settled their accounts with the Manilovskys after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The cowardly and treacherous hangers on are leaving. The proletarian core of the Communist Party is growing. Thousands of honest supporters of Communism are joining it. The cause of the revolution is conquering and will conquer.

Declaration by Comrades Katayama, Okano and Yamamoto

Workers, Peasants, Revolutionary Intellectuals!

When we learned that *Sano* and *Nabeyama*, former members of the leadership of the Communist Party of Japan, not only deserted the camp representing the cause of the proletariat, but also went over into the camp of the counter-revolution, into the ranks of the enemy of the toiling masses, into the hands of the monarchist police as its agents, we were filled with unbounded indignation and hatred against these cowardly deserters, shameless traitors and provocateurs.

From prison, where no revolutionaries are allowed to read or write political matter, *Sano* and *Nabeyama* wrote a series of declarations, appeals and letters which were printed by the authorities, distributed to all Communist prisoners and widely advertised in all bourgeois papers and journals. In spite of innumerable pretexts, their arguments, in the final analysis, amount to the following main points: against the Communist Party of Japan, against the Comintern, for the monarchy, for imperialist war and war against the Soviet Union, for colonial exploitation, and, finally, for the "building of Socialism in one country" under the banner of the monarchy. To all class-conscious workers it is as clear as daylight that their arguments have absolutely nothing in common with the ideas of the revolutionary proletariat, but, on the contrary, are arguments that originate from Japanese fascism and, in the final analysis, from General Araki. The main purpose of their actions is to create confusion in the camp of the revolutionary workers, to shake the growing influence and prestige of the C.P.J. and its leader, the Communist International, with falsehood and insult and, in this way, to throw tens of millions of people into the whirlpool of chauvinism and reaction and to pave the way for a new massacre on a large scale. No one will fail to discern that their "declaration" is nothing else but the joint work of *Sano*, *Nabeyama* and the public prosecutor, that the latter supplied the former with the conclusions and that the task of these "Communists" was to colour them with "revolutionary" phraseology, sophism, demagoguery, and abuse borrowed from all sorts of renegades in the past, e.g., *Yamakawa*, *Akamatsu*, the group of "liquidators," *Trotsky*, etc.

In spite of the most unprecedented repression, the C.P.J. has not been weakened, but, on the contrary, has been gaining such

great influence not only among the masses in the factories and villages, but also among the city poor, who can play an important rôle in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Japan, that even the masters of *Sano* and *Nabeyama*, the Home Minister and the Minister of Justice, were forced to admit the growing influence and danger of the C.P. (at the last governors' conference). Even General *Araki* openly declared that the main question of the home policy is the question of "dangerous thoughts," which means the activities of the C.P. Their masters hate and fear the Comintern because it shows the Communists of all countries, and thus also the Communist Party of Japan, the right path which leads to the overthrow of the present system of exploitation. Despite the growth of difficulties, however, the ruling classes have found that their old agents, the social-fascist and fascist leaders, are rapidly becoming obsolete and powerless before the rapid revolutionisation of the wide masses under the leadership of the C.P. It has, therefore, become urgently necessary for them to create a new type of anti-Communist fighters and to recruit them from those "prominent Communist leaders" who are prepared to mislead and deceive the revolutionary masses with "revolutionary" phraseology, sophism, falsehood and slander. *Sano* and *Nabeyama* are nothing but two puppets who were selected by the Mikado's hangmen for service in the "holy crusade" against Communism. They dance to the tune of *Hirata* and *Tozawa*, the public prosecutors, and Judge *Miyagi*.

The bankruptcy of various individuals frequently becomes apparent precisely in the most difficult and critical moments of the revolutionary movement. This is confirmed by the history of the Japanese Communist movement during the past ten years. For instance, the arrest of the Communist leaders in June, 1923, and the reactionary wave following the great earthquake produced a number of deserters and traitors (e.g., *Yamakawa*, *Sakai*, *Akamatsu*, etc.). The mass arrest of 2,000 in March, 1928, brought a group of renegade-provocateurs, the so-called "liquidators' group," into being. Threatened with a sentence of life imprisonment, terrified by the unprecedented intensification of the white terror (e.g., the arrest of 7,000 Communists in 1932, the murder of numerous leaders, etc.), frightened by the temporary rise of a wave of chauvinism and fascism and refusing to see the rising tide of the revolutionary struggle of the broad strata of the people, *Sano* and *Nabeyama*, who did not sufficiently master proletarian class-consciousness and who, in the past, had already shown a number of opportunist vacillations, at the important moment, lost all hope and faith in the fact that the future belongs to the proletariat, sank into petty-bourgeois confusion, vacillation, despair and pessimism, and finally sought a way out not in the revolution but in the counter-revolution and the predatory war, not in Communism but in decaying capitalism, not in the proletariat but in the blood-thirsty bourgeois and landlord monarchy, not in the Communist Party but in the office of the public prosecutor in Tokyo.

Notwithstanding the fact that the entire press, including the social-fascist press, was mobilised for the anti-Communist campaign, notwithstanding the propaganda of the social-fascist leaders (e.g., *Yamakawa*, *Kono*, etc.), for the two renegades and against the C.P. and the C.I., and contrary to the wishes and expectations of the authorities, this new attempt at counter-revolutionary provocation gave rise to nothing but rage and stormy protest among the wide masses. For the working class of Japan is not so young and inexperienced that it can be deceived and cheated by such a clumsy reproduction of the notorious "liquidators' group" which was smashed two years ago. The working class knows that the C.P.J. is the only party which conducted and is continuing to conduct the heroic struggle against the predatory war of the bourgeoisie, the landowners and the monarchy, for the defence of the interests of all the toilers and for the overthrow of the present system of exploitation. The working class knows that the Comintern correctly leads the Japanese as well as the international working-class movement. The revolutionary trade unions have already commenced the struggle against the new intrigues of the ruling classes. Numerous factories and villages are pouring out their angry protests against these traitors. Even bourgeois liberals express their disgust against such cowards and betrayers as *Sano* and *Nabeyama*. The revolutionary prisoners, with the exception of a handful of alien, weak elements, have declared themselves against these two deserters. The C.C. of the C.P. has expelled them from the Party as traitors and provocateurs and this action has been endorsed by the Comintern. In this way, the masses them-

selves are expressing their determination to crush this latest criminal conspiracy of the monarchy.

Workers, Peasants, and Revolutionary Intellectuals!

We appeal to you to throw Sano and Nabeyama and their followers, who have sullied and dishonoured the history of the Japanese proletariat, out of your ranks. In the past, the Japanese labour movement has experienced many cases of individual bankruptcy, political corruption and treachery. But, still, it has never experienced such shameless treachery, such filthy political prostitution, such servile flattery and surrender to the enemy, such gross betrayal of the high respect and confidence of the masses, as Sano and Nabeyama have committed. What we regret is that it was Sano, instead of the comrades who are conducting the heroic struggle in prison, who made a revolutionary speech in the name of the C.P.J. (in July of last year) before the court. Whilst he delivered the speech it was the joint work of the Communist prisoners, under the leadership of the Party, and was the expression of the heroic revolutionary spirit of the militant masses at the moment.

In order to deprive these traitors of all influence in our ranks, it is not sufficient merely to adopt resolutions. A vigorous, ruthless, determined struggle must be waged not merely against the two traitors, but also against the influence they may have in our ranks. For their demagogy and their sophism is a very dangerous poison which aims at drawing a section of the working class into the general stream of chauvinism by "revolutionary" phraseology. Their demagogy and slander must be relentlessly and widely exposed by us in a way that will be understood by everybody. No mercy, no compromise, no half-way attitude can be permitted to these criminal traitors and agents-provocateurs.

We declare that their malicious intrigues cannot harm the working-class movement of Japan; on the contrary, our ranks will be tempered and strengthened by clearing away all these alien, opportunist, malignant elements which hide themselves in our ranks. Instead of weakening our ranks, the vile plot of Sano and Nabeyama has given us an opportunity to steel and prepare ourselves for the decisive moment which is rapidly approaching. As history shows, traitors and provocateurs cannot hold back the mighty growth of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

Long live the determined struggle of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals against the new attempt at provocation!

Long live the heroic, persistent struggle of the Communist prisoners!

Long live the C.P.J., the real fighter against war, hunger and oppression!

Long live the Comintern, the great leader of the struggle for the liberation of all the exploited peoples!

The Foundation Congress of the C.P. of Ireland

The foundation Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland, which took place on the 3rd and 4th of June in Dublin, a report of which appeared in our issue No. 26 of June 16, is an exceedingly important event in the history of the Irish working-class movement. We are therefore publishing in serial form a detailed report of the proceedings and the speeches delivered at the Congress.—EDITOR.

Chairman's Speech: Jim Larkin, Junior

In declaring open the Inaugural Congress of the C.P. of Ireland I welcome the delegates on behalf of the Secretariat and National Committee of the Revolutionary Workers' Groups.

We meet to bring into being the General Staff of the whole of the struggle of the Irish working class and working farmers. The Congress is of significance not only to the Irish working class, but is also of great importance to the workers and peasants throughout the British Empire struggling against British imperialism. We have in Ireland great traditions of revolutionary struggle, but until now the Irish working class have not had the necessary revolutionary leadership which only the Communist Party and the Communist International can give. We meet today to give that leadership to the Irish workers' struggles. Our Party has the historic duty of leading the working class of Ireland in the development of the struggle for the emancipation of the Irish working people and the socialist revolution.

Comrade Larkin then outlined the class struggles of the workers and their participation in the revolutionary national struggles. Continuing, he said, in all this the working class were unable to

separate from the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie in the national movement. The historic background for the Inaugural Congress is the age-long struggles of the Irish people, which is pregnant with lessons for the Communists of Ireland and the working class.

The utmost need in the struggles to-day is the need for a resolute rank and file leadership of the struggles and the creation of a mass Communist Party. The absence of a C.P. in the economic struggles of the railwaymen, in the struggles of the Belfast unemployed in October had the effect in the inability of the revolutionary movement to organise these struggles and to connect up the many isolated struggles that are taking place everywhere in connection with the crisis.

We must see that these lessons are learned and that the inauguration of the Party will meet the long-felt need for the development of a real leadership of the struggles of the working class. The situation was never more favourable. We do not always feel that we are part of the world movement. The period is one not of quiet and calm, but one of wars and revolutions. Capitalism is in the melting pot. The capitalist crisis still deepens and extends and the impoverishment of the masses abounds. The growth of fascism and the ever-growing menace of new imperialist wars are present. In the Soviet Union the workers are marching forward to new successes of socialism. New Soviets are born and strengthening in Soviet China. The upsurge of the Irish masses, which brought De Valera to power, is part of the world upsurge of the masses against world imperialism. Communism and Marxism are the weapons of the working class. Marxism has been justified up to the hilt. In the same degree the policy of social democracy has been condemned in the eyes of the million masses, and to-day they (the S.D.s) are lying at the feet of Hitler. The Irish struggle is part of the international fight. We have the task before us of creating a leadership based on Marxism and Leninism, the only theory which will guarantee the success of the struggle.

Resolutions of greetings were then read to Germany, America, Britain, and the national and class war prisoners and the prisoners in the colonies.

Comrade Murray, dealing with the importance of the Congress, said that the present Congress was a break with the old traditions of the class fight in Ireland and a step from the position of the scattered groups without very much leadership. The translation into life of the resolutions and decisions will mean a solidifying of the R.W.G. from Belfast to Cork.

He welcomed the delegates to the Congress who had come from the shipyards and the linen mills of the north, from the mines and mills of Kilkenny, as well as from Dublin and Donegal, and the working farmers of Leitrim. With all the handicaps this proves that there is growing a very strong consciousness of the need for a class party of the workers, despite the reaction. It is a proof of the growth of the revolutionary movement. The C.P. is the united Irishmen of the 20th century.

What are all the resolutions and material before the Congress? We are living in a nation that is torn asunder and ruled by imperialism, betrayed again and again by the Irish capitalists. It is clear that we must devise ways and means of breaking the imperialist rule and uniting the revolutionary forces as a first step on the road to social emancipation. How are we to achieve this? The documents before the Congress help to clear this question. It is necessary that we see what are the conditions under which the struggle is going forward. If we cannot see the differentiation among the enemy and see the difficulties among the imperialists, then we will be the blindest of the blind. This is the first thing mentioned in the manifesto. "Revolutionary Ireland obtains a mighty international ally such as it never had before in all its history." The British imperialists are in difficulties they never before experienced. The plundering power of the British Empire is lessening. In India a tremendous revolutionary struggle is going forward. British imperialism is losing its power as an imperialist world nation. It has to grant economic concessions in order to safeguard its military and political power. It has been forced to make concessions at Ottawa to the Dominions in order to make ready for the coming war. In addition, there are the great struggles of the colonial peoples. On the other hand, the supreme conflict is between the forces of imperialist capitalism and the forces of the national liberation and socialist movements, which will force capitalism out of existence.

The national struggle is the prime question. The resolution

deals with the different forms of the revolution, and in Ireland it is necessary that we understand the stage we have reached. If the Irish capitalists had done what they should the national question would be solved. They also shout loudest about nationality who fight against the independence struggle. The Communists are internationalists because they are the greatest exponents of the national independence struggles. The struggles of the past in Ireland prove that the Irish capitalists have deserted the struggle. They now no longer even worship the past leaders of the national movement. Tone is a "cut-throat." Emmet is denounced. The capitalists are against national independence. They are the people who have betrayed the struggle for national independence. The capitalists are afraid that the solving of the national question will clear the way for their own destruction and the building of socialism. They see clearly that the Republic will weaken the capitalists and lead to the social revolution. The formation of the C.P. will drive forward the national revolution. This is proven in the Congress, where the Belfast workers come together with the best national fighters of the South. The national struggle under the leadership of the Communists takes on a class form and makes clear to the Northern workers that the national struggle is the way to the smashing of the class power of the capitalists.

The manifesto points out that the national struggle is a class question, and victory or defeat will depend on which class is at the head of the fight. In the past our weakness was that we did not see clearly that it was necessary to change the class leadership of the national struggle. What class have we to lead the struggle? The whole history of Ireland shows that from the time of the Grattan volunteers the capitalists have betrayed and deserted. In 1782 Grattan Flood prevented the movement from developing into a struggle for national independence. The merchants took care that the movement stopped when the parliament was gained for the merchants. In '98 the working class was not nearly so powerful as it is now. The United Irishmen leadership were forced to see that the merchants were the first to betray the struggle. McCracken said: "My experience of the movement teaches me that the rich will always betray the poor." The manifesto points out that the merchants were prepared to sell the independence fight for certain privileges for the middle class. In 1848, as the manifesto says, both O'Connell and the Young Irelanders interpreted the national movement in their own class way. The capitalists were prepared to betray their own country in order to prevent the workers from getting control of the movement. In all the movements the leadership was in the hands of the representatives of the capitalists. This is driven home in the manifesto, and the delegates will do well to remember this. We come to the conclusion that the class interests of the Irish capitalists are in contradiction to the national struggle and the national demands of the Irish people. The Irish capitalists need the aid of a foreign imperialism in order to hold down the working people. Can the peasants lead the struggle? We must conclude that they cannot. The farmers have always been under the leadership of the middle class. The farmers are not concentrated and are difficult to organise. Also the farmers themselves are divided into classes, and at the present time the big farmers have come out openly on the side of the imperialists. However, the working class in the national revolution must find allies in the masses of the peasantry, and no movement for social and national liberation will be successful that does not take into account the reserves of the revolution. The working class as the leader is not clearly understood yet. At the Saore Eire Congress a delegate said that the farmers were the chief class in Ireland. Our first word in the manifesto is to the workers. It is necessary to burn into the minds of the workers that they alone are the class to lead the national struggle. We must tell the farmers that there is no hope of escape from poverty without an allied fight under the leadership of the workers. Finally, we come to the working class, and have taken our stand to proclaim to all Ireland that the working class is the only class that can lead the national struggle through to an end. The working class, like the capitalists, is concentrated in towns and factories, even though the factories in Ireland are small. The working class is superior to other classes in that it is concentrated, can be easily organised, and has not got small property ideas. British imperialism has divided the country into two, and divided the working class by religious methods, and in this way has found a way to split the people on non-essentials. That phase is passing because revolu-

tionary forces have come to consciousness and see from the class point of view the way to unite the workers. We say: only the working class can unite Ireland. This is proven by the growth of the movement in Belfast, surmounting religious and racial differences. It is untrue to say that the Communists are doing anything against the interests of Irish independence. We are breaking down the barriers and bringing together workers from Waterford and Shankhill in Belfast. This is the best proof the Communists are travelling the correct road to national unity and independence. The nationalist movement has got to break away from a religious sectarian basis in the North if it is to come to the real fight against British imperialism. It is significant that De Valera declared that on the question of partition he could not see any solution to the problem. Anybody who stood on the grounds that the fight is divorced from the class issues must admit the same. Sinn Fein must admit this and their bankruptcy. By their sectarian anti-working-class attitude they drive away the only class who can unify the country. De Valera spoke the mind of the whole class in admitting bankruptcy on partition. Only the working class can solve the question of partition.

We have in the document covered the ground from 1782 to 1932. An important question raised in the manifesto is the **international allies of the Irish people**. And if we go into the past we will find that this was not the only time we had international allies. The capitalists do not like internationalism, but they are already at Rome, and for a definite political purpose. It is not for the internationalism of Jesuitism or Rome that we stand, but for the international fight against imperialism, and with the millions of our Irish emigrants abroad in exile. It is an internationalism that brings us into direct contact with the first country to break with imperialism—the U.S.S.R. International working-class unity is in line with the best traditions of the Irish struggle. Some people will say: "Why not cut out all the talk about Russia?" But this would not solve anything. It is not only that the Communists speak of the achievements of the Soviet Union. If it were only talk, the capitalists would not mind, but it is the living fact of the Soviet Union which raises the question so sharply, which makes the capitalists write so much about Russia. The capitalists would like to prove that this one country which has destroyed the rule of the imperialists could not succeed under the rule of the workers. They cannot do this, so they bring in the question of religion. Rather should we say to those who declare to us: Why not stop talking about Russia? Why don't you demand that the capitalists stop waging slanderous attacks on Russia and preparing intervention? We must note the success of the U.S.S.R. as a powerful weapon in our hands. Then we hear that it would be better not to use the name "Communist." The rulers used the same tactics against Tone and the Republican movement, so what can we expect them to say about the workers' party? The C.P. is the only way forward, and the capitalists have made Communism the boggy because it menaces them. The Saore Eire was a body of workers and farmers, but it, too, soon came under the barrage of the boggy-makers. It is not the name but the content of the Party they fear, and they would denounce the St. Vincent De Paul Society if that body attempted to try and solve the social problems of the people. We are going forward, and the campaign against us cannot stop the class fight in Ireland and the growth of the Party. We ought to learn from the old parties. Sinn Fein could see that the course of events would bring them to the head of the mass fight.

(To be continued.)

CORRECTION

In the article by *J. R. Campbell* entitled "New Opportunist Arguments Against the Communist International," published in our last week's number, there occurs an error in the concluding paragraph, which reads as follows:

"Not only Communist propaganda but Communist activity is carrying forward the united front and obtaining the revolutionary co-operation between the rank and file of both parties, and is preparing the way for a united front party," whereas instead of "united front party" it should have read "united Communist Party."

Proletarian Women's Movement

The Annual Labour Party Women's Conference

With all the prerequisites for a militant fighting demonstration and for organisation for real struggle, the **Labour Party Women's Conference** held in May, 1933, once more exposed the betrayer role of the social-fascists of Great Britain. Meeting at **West Hartlepool**, one of the poorest and most miserable of miserable English working class communities, in a period of sharpened attacks against the working class, with the Bedaux system heavy on the shoulders of tens of thousands of women, with starvation and misery growing with each day of the crisis, the social-fascist leaders juggled resolutions and protests and the Conference broke up, the delegates went home, without one concrete suggestion, one concrete decision as to how to fight against the "injustices" against which the resolutions so warmly protested on paper.

The **Means Test** was the foremost question at the Conference, particularly as far as the resolutions sent in by various women's sections and organisations of the Labour Party and the reformist trade unions were concerned. The resolution moved by **Margaret Bondfield**, was sent back to the committee by the rank and file delegates, for alterations and stronger wording. The committee was forced to accede to the amendments by the delegates, many of whom had felt in their homes the burden of the Means Test and who were not satisfied with the original resolution and demanded a more militant one.

However, heated platform orations and discussions about the injustice and hardships placed on the unemployed by the Means Test, about the lowered standard of living and menace to the health and life of the workers and their children, a resolution "demanding" the abolition of the Means Test was the extent to which the Conference went. Not one word about how to organise a struggle to enforce the abolition, not one word about militant struggle against unemployment. "When Labour comes to power," said **Susan Lawrence**, one of the leaders, "the first sweep of the Socialist broom would get rid of the accumulated structure of misery and persecution of the workers. . . . It would not take long to get rid of the Means Test." The sheer demagogy and bland treachery of the Labour Party is shown in these words, particularly in face of the fact that while the same "Labour" was in power the Anomalies Act was passed which paved the way for the Means Test adopted by the National Government and the same misleader that introduced the Anomalies Act (**Margaret Bondfield** was at that time Minister of Labour) now moved a resolution against the Means Test. And how do the social-fascists propose to carry into life their "desire" to abolish the Means Test? Not through struggle but they will wait for the time when "Labour will come to power" and the "Socialist broom" will get rid of the Means Test.

Another resolution was on the "**Principles for the Maintenance of the Unemployed**." Of course, this plan places the burden of unemployed insurance again on the backs of the workers through a "convenient method of income from those in employment to their capacity to pay." Here again it is interesting to note that these "Labour" leaders chose as the point of contention not who should bear the burden of unemployment insurance—the workers or the employers—but whether or not all the 18,000,000 workers in the country should pay into the scheme or only those "subject to unemployment." While this question is important in itself, since large numbers of workers are not at present insured, the conference leaders vulgarised this issue into a question of the business advisability or "fairness to those not subject to unemployment." No question was raised of demanding insurance for all unemployed workers regardless of their trade. It is quite appropriate that during the discussion this plan of insurance was compared with life insurance—placing it in the category of a business proposition.

During the discussion on the Means Test and Unemployment Insurance, the L.P. leaders again demonstrated their anti-labour policy when they refused admittance into the hall to a **delegation of unemployed women** who had marched to West Hartlepool for the conference. An appeal from the delegation that one of their

number be permitted to address the conference was turned down and rank and file delegates from the floor who defended the right of the delegation to address the conference were ruled out of order by the presiding officers.

The **resolution on war**, while sounding the great and immediate danger of war, was, of course, of an out and out pacifist character, greeting the plans of the imperialists for disarmament and—remember this was at a Labour Party conference—greeting Hitler's acceptance of the British disarmament plan! While condemning the manufacture of munitions and armaments, not one word was said about active struggle against manufacture and transport of munitions—not one word about the war moves against the Soviet Union.

On the question of fascism there was much beating around the bush and confusion.

It is not pleasant for the blood brothers of the German social-democratic leaders to face this question. It is evident that this question was forced to the front by the pressure of the rank and file delegates. In the original printed list of resolutions before the opening of the conference, there is no mention whatever of fascism and, of course, no mention of united front. The question was raised only in the course of the conference.

"The workers in Great Britain will suffer no Nazi tyranny," **Mrs. Gould**, chairman, said in her speech, "we believe that we can secure socialism, the people's salvation, by constitutional and peaceful means." And what about the social democrats of Germany—who, while mouthing the same phrase, opened the door to fascism? What about the "constitutional and peaceful" coming to power of the Labour Party a few years ago and its ignoble betrayal of the workers, through the Anomalies Act and other openly anti-labour manifestations?

The Labour Women's Conference protested against war, against fascism, "demanded" the abolition of the Means Test, raised questions that vitally affect the women of the working class (health, insurance, education, feeding of school children, etc.), demanded withdrawal of the embargo against Soviet goods—applauded a report on women in the Soviet Union, but the words of **Susan Lawrence**: "Wait for a Labour Government"; the words of **Mrs. Gould**, chairman, that: "The workers will suffer no Nazi tyranny . . . we can secure Socialism . . . by constitutional and peaceful means," pave the way for further exploitation and oppression of the workers of England, open the door to fascism which is materialising even in England.

The delegates have returned to their communities to participate in the **Special month for Women**, inaugurated by the Labour Party to strengthen its hold and influence among the masses of women still within their ranks. Among the returning delegates are those who militantly took the floor at the conference in opposition to their leaders and those who were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the conference. In the local communities there are other women who are also dissatisfied. How can we reach these women, how can we bring them under our influence and into our organisations, and show them how to struggle for their demands, how to struggle for real Socialism? This is the question now before the revolutionary trade unions and the National Unemployed Workers' Movement.

We must strengthen our work in the building of active women's sections, we must strengthen our work within the **Women's Co-op. Guilds** and every reformist and social-fascist organisation in which working women and wives of workers are members. If we carry on intensive concrete work among these working-class women, devote the attention to this work which it needs, then at the next Annual Labour Party Women's Conference the dissatisfaction with the Labour Party among the rank and file delegates will be given expression, will be given a lead to the organisation for militant struggle and they eventually will leave the ranks of the Labour Party.

Whether or not the Labour Party will succeed in misleading the masses of working-class women who to-day practically form the backbone of the Labour Party, who are still the chief campaigners of the Labour Party in the constituencies depends mainly upon us, upon our revolutionary organisations and our ability to win these women for militant day-to-day struggle.

Single copies (Britain only), 2d. Subscription rates: Great Britain, six shillings half a year; U.S.A., Canada, five dollars a year. Other places abroad, £1 a year.