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The Hitler Government Offers Germany For the War Against the Soviet Union

By L. M.

In the name of the Soviet government Comrade *Litvinov* has made a formal proposal to the German government to guarantee the inviolability of the territory of the *Baltic States* by agreement. The Hitler government has brusquely rejected this proposal. The reason advanced for the refusal is transparent, so much so indeed that it is hardly worth while to go into it. In its answer the German government points out that the Soviet government does not threaten the independence of the Baltic States and that neither the German government nor any other government harbours any such intention, and that therefore under the circumstances the conclusion of an agreement such as suggested by the Soviet government would be superfluous. It is generally agreed that the Soviet government does not threaten the independence of any of the Baltic States, but on the other hand, it is equally well known that German fascism, in its urge towards the East, regards the Baltic States as the portals to the Soviet Union. Both Hitler and Rosenberg stressed this fact often enough prior to the seizure of power by German fascism. It is also no secret that Rosenberg and Goebbels support the fascist movement in Esthonia and Latvia politically, organisationally and financially with the assistance of the German barons and bank capital which in the two countries mentioned are closely allied to Germany and who are striving to secure a similar fascist regimentation in these countries.

In an important speech on foreign political affairs held at the Soviet Congress Litvinov declared expressly that the Soviet Union

would not only defend its western frontiers, but also the approaches to its frontiers. This new proposal of the Soviet government apparently serves the purpose of defending the approaches to the Soviet frontiers along diplomatic lines. The fact that the Hitler government rejects this proposal speaks volumes. The programme of the "colonisation" of Eastern Europe, the project of a war against the Soviet Union, thus remain fascist Germany's aims. Naturally, that is no secret for us. We knew perfectly well that fascist Germany is speculating on the outbreak of a war between Japan and the Soviet Union and that, given a favourable opportunity, it would exploit such a situation for an attack on the Soviet Union on its own account, that it seeks a rapprochement with *Poland* only with a view to such a war, that it enjoys the support of *Great Britain* for its re-armament only with a view to such a war.

Litvinov's proposal has compelled the German government to show its true colours. The German refusal to consider the Soviet proposal means in effect that the Hitler government offers Germany to the British and Japanese imperialists as a mercenary in the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

The negotiations conducted by *Barthou* in *Prague* have brought no surprises. They have merely confirmed the fact that Czechoslovakia is a devoted vassal of French imperialism and that in the question of German re-armament, the question of Austro-German unity, the question of the Balkan pact, etc., the Czecho-

slovakian government unreservedly supports the policy of French imperialism. The negotiations conducted by Barthou in Poland have not had the results hoped for by French imperialism. The French press stresses naturally that the alliance between France and Poland continues to remain in force, but within this framework the Polish government was very anxious to demonstrate the "independence" of its foreign policy.

With regard to the question of Austro-German unity, Poland very definitely made no promises. In the question of German re-armament there was also no absolutely united Franco-Polish front apparently. Barthou did not succeed in settling the conflict between Poland and Czechoslovakia in the Teschen question. In this question the Polish government demonstratively rejected French mediation. Poland is attempting to exploit the imperialist contradictions between France and Germany to further its own interests and at the same time it is speculating on the intensification of the antagonism between German fascism and the Soviet Union. In this respect it is reckoning on the support of British imperialism which is anxious for a rapprochement between Poland and Germany against the Soviet Union. Poland is juggling at the moment with three irons in the fire and openly demonstrates its dissatisfaction with France which has shown no desire to guarantee the Polish frontiers either in the Locarno Treaty or in the Four-Power Pact. The financial support granted by imperialist France to Poland practically stopped last year, but apparently it is intended to start it again in order to back up the "traditional" friendship between France and Poland. Polish imperialism is playing a dangerous game. German fascism has not abandoned its claims to the Polish corridor, to Danzig, to Posen and to Upper Silesia. And above all it has not abandoned its predatory imperialist plans for "Eastern colonisation." In the Polish camp the supporters of Pilsudski are apparently still dreaming of a great Baltic Federation under Polish leadership to include Lithuania and the Soviet Ukraine and to extend from the Baltic Ocean to the Black Sea. This dream has already cost Poland a bloody war and a bloody defeat in the neighbourhood of Kiev and that was ten years ago. To-day the repetition of such an adventure would risk the very existence of the Poland of the rich landowners and capitalists.

However, Polish imperialist policy also represents a danger in Eastern Europe. Poland is anxious to exploit German fascism, but it may very well be exploited by German fascism instead. Poland is speculating on the antagonism between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union, but here also it can very easily miscalculate.

The negotiations between the Italian Secretary of State, *Switch*, and the British government in the disarmament question have produced no results. It is still unclear whether or not the British government has agreed to support the understanding between Italy, Austria and Hungary and whether it is prepared to support Dollfuss fascism in Austria with an Anglo-Italian loan. It is also not yet clear whether Great Britain and Italy have come to any agreement against Japan's drive which disturbs fascist Italy owing to the laying out of cotton plantations in Abyssinia. Fascist Italy would like to swallow up Abyssinia, whilst Great Britain fears that the Japanese cotton plantations in Abyssinia might very easily be used as air bases for an attack on the Suez Canal. In this way there is a basis for Anglo-Italian agreement. On the other hand, it is already quite clear that Great Britain is not prepared to accept Mussolini's plan in the armament question. Mussolini proposes that the present armament level of the highly-armed States should be maintained and at the same time that Germany should be granted a generous measure of re-armament. Great Britain is prepared to grant Germany a certain measure of re-armament (its chief objection is to German re-armament on the sea and in the air), but at the same time it is not prepared to agree to any limitation of British armaments whilst desiring a limitation of French air armaments.

If the "Times" correctly presents the attitude of the British government in the matter then the latter would like to accept Hitler's most recent proposal as a basis for discussion and at the same time is prepared to offer France certain guarantees. However, this proposal is not acceptable to France.

Thus after six months of negotiations the May session of the "disarmament" conference is exactly where the October session was when it ended. On the other hand the level of armaments themselves has not remained stable in the same period.

Politics

Litvinov's Note on the Pact for Safeguarding the Independence of the Baltic States

Moscow, April 28.

On March 28 Litvinov, on behalf of the Soviet government, proposed to the German government, through the German Ambassador in Moscow, that in order to consolidate the general peace of the world, and particularly the peace in Eastern Europe, and also in order to improve Soviet-German relations, that both governments sign a protocol according to which the Soviet and German governments undertake invariably to consider in their external policy compulsory maintenance of the independence and inviolability of the Baltic States, and to abstain from any steps whatsoever which directly or indirectly could injure this independence.

The protocol was to remain for the signatures of other countries interested in these problems.

On April 14 Nadjolny, the German Ambassador in Moscow, made the statement informing Litvinov that the German government declined the Soviet proposal.

On the 21st of this month Litvinov again, on behalf of the Soviet Government, made a statement to Nadjolny wherein, among other items, he pointed out that the refusal of the proposal was in itself important, especially as explanations given by the German government had done nothing to diminish the significance of their refusal.

Violation of peace in this part of Europe may become and probably will become a prelude to a new world war. The Soviet government, anxious to maintain peace generally, should devote particular attention to maintaining peace in this very part of Europe, considering their general aim as well as the safety of the borders of the Soviet Union itself.

For this reason it was necessary to discover the Polish government's attitude regarding this problem (Litvinov means the proposal of the Soviet Union to Poland "that they declare, together with the Soviet government, their resoluteness to guard and defend the peace of Eastern Europe and recognise that both States regard as a necessary condition of this peace inviolability and full economic independence of new political States originating from the former Russian Empire").

With the same aim the Soviet government made a corresponding proposal about signing a protocol to the German government. Of course, every measure for the consolidation of peace is directed against those States which intend to violate this peace, but no State should see the same directed against itself if it has no such intentions. The menace to the independence of the Baltic States on the part of the Soviet Union is out of the question.

The Soviet Government has given us sufficient proof of this fact in the recent ten years' extension of non-aggression pacts with these countries. Still more convincing is the Soviet proposal regarding the signing of a Soviet-German protocol about the inviolability and independence of the Baltic countries.

The Soviet government is by no means afraid that signing such a protocol could awake suspicion that a menace exists on its part to violate the independence of the Baltic countries, but on the contrary it considers that protocol as the best way of eliminating and preventing such suspicions in connection with those countries which agree to sign the protocol or to join it later on.

The assumption of the German government that the protocol could be regarded as directed against third States is unwarranted and not supported by the draft protocol. According to the draft protocol, each party is responsible only for its own actions. No joint actions against third States are contemplated in the protocol. On the contrary, it offers the possibility of any State joining in it. Therefore the protocol does not imply a protectorate, as is imagined. For example, the guaranteeing of the Eastern frontier of France and the Western frontiers of Germany by third States, as provided in the Locarno Agreement, would never be regarded by either France or Germany as a protectorate over them. In the given case it is not even a question of such guarantees but something much less, namely the obligation, voluntarily taken on by the two States, to respect the independence and inviolability of other States. In addition, every idea of a protectorate is excluded by reason of the fact that the Soviet government, by proposing to leave it open for any third State to join the protocol, proves that

it is not endeavouring to secure a privileged position but rather offers the opportunity to all those who so desire to take on the same obligations with regard to the Baltic States. There exists no doubt that the realisation of the Soviet proposal could not be interpreted as anything else but a serious consolidation of peace in Eastern Europe. It is impossible to deny that such a realisation would itself strengthen the feeling of security of the interested Baltic States, which of course would be informed in good time of the conclusion of such a protocol and which would undoubtedly be accepted by them. At the same time the protocol would not in the least affect the interests of the parties joining in it, insofar as they did not adopt any aggressive measures against the Baltic States.

No doubt the realisation of the Soviet proposal could be interpreted only as serious consolidation of peace in Eastern Europe.

On this ground the Soviet Government finds in the statement of the German government no single motive or argument against signing the protocol concerning the non-violation of the independence and inviolability of the Baltic countries.

Feverish Preparations for Open Fascist Dictatorship in Czechoslovakia

By Julius Schmidt (Prague)

The newspaper "**Demokraticky stred**" ("Democratic Centre"), the organ of the political group bearing the same name, and closely associated with the group around President Masaryk, has published a proposal for the fascist reform of the present Czechoslovakian constitution. This proposal obviously originates from Masaryk and Benes, and is to serve "at present" as a subject for discussion among the "Left" parties, and further as counterblast to that call for constitutional changes and new elections which is proceeding with increasing urgency from the camp of the "national opposition" (Stribrny, Kramar).

The aggravation of the international and inner political situation brings with it disputes and conflicts among the various groups of financial capitalists with regard to the methods to be pursued by the government. There is only one point on which they are all unanimous, that it is impossible to continue to rule with the present methods, and that it is necessary to strengthen fascism as a means of repressing the growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and to establish the open fascist dictatorship. The dispute is solely with regard to the question: **in what manner is this dictatorship to be established, and who are to form its bearer?**

That group of financial capitalists represented by the chauvinist parties of the "national opposition," that is to say, by the Stribrny and Kramar party, openly advocates the **Hitler method**. They demand the suppression of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary movement at one blow; they demand at the same time parliamentary elections from which they hope to emerge victoriously; and they demand the open fascist dictatorship in the form of a government of "national unity" (i.e., **without the social fascists and without the German parties**), which would then carry out the fascist constitution.

The Masaryk wing of financial capital opposes to this programme its own plan, as published in the "**Demokraticky stred**." Here again the main cry is for a change in the constitution. The chief alteration proposed is that the number of Deputies in the House of Deputies should be diminished, the election system of voting for lists of candidates abolished, the Senate done away with and replaced by a corporative dictatorial institution of "economic experts," in other words a "fascist directory" to which the parliament would naturally be subordinate, and which would form part of the government.

The manner in which the government press (including the social fascist) reacts to this proposal bears witness to the fact that **the government parties, including the social fascists, are already unanimous with regard to an alteration in the constitution in the direction of fascism**. As if by mutual agreement, a "discussion" has set in in the whole government press on the subject of changes in the constitution, a discussion which has been a chorus of agreement with the proposals advanced. The sole object of this discussion has been to attempt to gain the ear of the masses for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, and to popularise this most brutal form of capitalist dictatorship.

But let us now cast a glance at the manner in which Masaryk's and Benes' press endeavours to substantiate the demand for a

change in the constitution. In the "**Lidové Noviny**" we find Benes' spokesman, the deputy, Jaroslav Stransky, pleading for the demanded change as follows:—

"The international tension, which may lead to war . . . demands from democracy a discipline stricter than that guaranteed by a constitution drawn up at a time when no one could imagine such a state of confusion in which we and the rest of the world now find ourselves plunged."

Here we are furnished not only with a reason, but with a slogan. The reason is the "international tension," and the slogan that of "disciplined democracy." Similar representations are made by the deputy **Beran**, the president of the agrarian party, in favour of the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship. He writes in the "**Venkov**":—

"Democracy must not stand by wringing its hands; above all it must show no irresoluteness. It must not thrust its head into the sand to evade disagreeable decisions. . . . Democracy must not limp on foot after the hurtling express train. It must make a rapid decision so that it may become a **factor of equal weight, whatever the form of state.**"

Democracy, therefore, is to become a factor of equal weight with the fascist dictatorship. Beran means nothing else.

Then comes the question of who are to form the **executive** of the dictatorship. The Masaryk wing declares through all its spokesmen that inner political reasons (especially the preponderance of the subjugated nations) render it necessary for the alterations in the constitution and the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship to be carried out with the aid of all the "democratic" parties, and without any parliamentary elections. Therefore Stransky recently invited the National Democrats, the Crafts Party, and the autonomous Slovak Hlinka Party, to join the coalition. The deputy, Beran, also points out that in consequence of the special Czechoslovakian conditions the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship "requires the co-operation of all sections of the people," and that "there is no reason to exclude anyone from collaboration in the administration of the State."

The sting in this demand is directed against the "national opposition," which calls for a "strong national government," that is, for the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship without the social fascists, and without the German parties.

The **social fascists**, it need not be said, are in favour of a fascist alteration of the constitution; they are ready to collaborate in the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship. They are already fully agreed with the other governmental parties, and now their most urgent problem is how best to persuade their members, and the masses of the people, to accept this latest betrayal of the class interests of the proletariat. Their efforts to popularise their crime are incredibly insolent, far exceeding even the example set them by their fellow social fascists in Germany and Austria, from whom they have learnt only one lesson, that of serving the bourgeoisie to a much greater extent, and by much more shameful means, than the social democratic parties of Germany and Austria.

The central organ of Czechoslovakian social democracy, the "**Právo lidu**," contains an article by the president of the party, Deputy **Hampel**, on those proposals advanced in the "**Demokraticky stred**" with regard to the programme of the Czechoslovakian fascist dictatorship, stating:—

"If you read the number containing the programme (the "Democratic Centre" is referred to.—Ed.) you receive the impression that you are reading a **socialist review.**"

And this is indeed his main point. Hampel does his utmost to prove that the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship is a "socialist" achievement. He proves this "scientifically" on the basis of the old-new theory that Liberalism is played out, and that therefore a "new order of the system and of forms" is necessary. And he further proves it with the aid of neo-fascist arguments, speaking openly for counter-revolution and against the proletarian revolution:—

"In the present chaos of economic and political conditions, the impending new order of the world is beginning to assume certain outlines, for attempts are being made to prevent the gravest excesses, and to ensure that the **present order is not threatened to an extent enabling revolution and anarchy to spring up on its ruins.**"

But Hampel can be even more candid. He writes:—

"Hitler's admirers should not forget that Germany, which has adopted a fresh course through the Hitler revolution, is

preparing the ground for a fresh revolution. . . . Hence Czechoslovakian social democracy regards it as its duty to declare openly that it will exert its utmost efforts to prevent these two revolutions coming about in Czechoslovakia."

And in order to prevent this second revolution, the proletarian revolution, "social democracy is aware that it is its duty to examine the extent to which conditions have changed, and to ascertain to what degree alterations are necessary in organisational forms and tactics."

In other words: To this end social democracy is prepared not only to collaborate in the application of the methods of fascist dictatorship, but even to aid in the establishment of the open fascist dictatorship.

In his efforts to popularise the fascist dictatorship, Hampl has hitherto been surpassed only by the deputy, **Josef Stivin**. As chief editor of the central organ of the social democratic party, "**Právo lidu**," he states in this paper, inter alia, that liberalism is dying out, and is being replaced by "ordered economy." Therefore the basis of economics is changing, and in consequence the political superstructure, too, must change. Stivin adds that this is the real historical materialism, and the industrial organ, "**Narodohospodarsky obzor**" (National Economic Review), is right when it writes, taking this thesis as its principle, that:—

"every further retreat of economic Liberalism is at the same time a liquidation of that political Liberalism upon which political democracy has hitherto been built up, and that an 'ordered economy' presupposes the stability of the political system. For it is clear that the continuous economic tasks cannot be accomplished by temporary (parliamentary, 'democratic') political governments, one advocating this programme, the next an entirely different one."

But this—says Stivin—is not fascism. This can all be carried out within the confines of democracy; it is historical materialism. And Stivin refers to Otto Bauer's article in the January number of the "**Kampf**," in which Bauer states that the corporative order represents an advance, one corresponding with the present stage of development of capitalism, so that it is the duty of social democracy, as Marxist party, to support it.

To sum up: The government group of the financial capitalists have agreed among themselves to alter the constitution on fascist lines, and to establish the open fascist dictatorship in a form adapted to the peculiarities of the situation in Czechoslovakia. The organ of the second Czechoslovakian social fascist party, the Czech Socialists, rejoice:—

"Almost overnight the democrats have passed from the defensive to the offensive (i.e., against the national opposition.—J.S.). We leave the foreign waters (that is, the imitation of Hitler methods proposed by the 'national opposition.'—J.S.), and are returning to the nation and to tradition."

This characterises excellently the present situation in Czechoslovakia. In the struggle raging round the further methods to be adopted by the government, the Masaryk wing of financial-capital has gone over to the offensive. The social fascists in particular are endeavouring to prove that they are ready to aid the "consolidation of democracy" by steering the sharpest fascist course in the matter of the alteration of the constitution. Whether social democracy will support this policy in the government or in the "opposition" is a question of secondary importance. At the present moment it is declaring, by means of the most despicable of arguments, that it is prepared to prevent the proletarian revolution by all available means.

This, then, is the manner in which the ruling class and its social fascist agents are reacting to the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement.

Both fronts, the front of fascism, on whose side the social fascist party stands, and the front of the proletarian revolution, led by the Czech C.P., are rallying their forces. The moment of the decisive conflict is not far distant.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Readers will please note the new address of the International Press Correspondence, to which from now on all subscriptions and communications should be sent: **William Massey, 249, King Street, Hammersmith, London, W.6.**

Declaration of the Communist Parties of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey on the Balkan Pact

The recent events, the growth of an acute war danger in South-Western Europe as the result of the increased aggressiveness of fascist Germany, the crushing of the heroic armed resistance of the Austrian proletariat, the formation of the Italian-Hungarian-Austrian bloc, require the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries to expose to the broad masses of workers, peasants, and oppressed peoples all the imperialist machinations in the Balkans, particularly the true character of the so-called "Balkan Pact."

The "Balkan Pact," signed between the governments of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey, and demagogically advertised by these governments and the parties which support them as a "guarantee of peace," is in reality one of the episodes in the feverish regrouping of imperialist forces throughout the capitalist world, regroupings which mark the increased preparations for military clashes.

The growth of fascism in all capitalist countries, and especially the coming of Hitler to power, have driven to extremes the chauvinist and imperialist incitement and have created an eve of war atmosphere. On a world scale the instigators of war are: Japan, which has carried on war for two years already against China, seizing Manchuria and North China, preparing to attack the borders of the U.S.S.R. Diehard Great Britain, the most pre-dacious of the colonial Powers; and fascist Germany, which is trying to combine revenge for its defeat in the first imperialist war with the leading of an armed crusade against the Soviet Union. In Europe each of the participants in the still-born Four Power Pact—Germany, France, Italy, England—are trying to draw some of the other States into their own group. Some of these States have decided to "orientate" themselves in the direction of one big Power or another, many are wavering, speculating on who will "give more," who has the best chances of success in the maturing military clashes, trying to insure and reinsure themselves. In a number of countries an internal struggle is taking place between various groups of the bourgeoisie on the question of which imperialist group to connect the fate of their country with. Poland, which on the whole is a vassal of France, tries to cover itself in respect to Hitlerite Germany. A number of countries maintain a special type of neutrality, speculating on the supply of munitions of war to all the rival Powers and groups. All the imperialist Powers which are preparing for war combine war preparations with a struggle against the revolutions which are maturing in them.

Against this chaos of imperialist States, torn by internal and external contradictions and impetuously moving towards war, stands the U.S.S.R., the only country which is irreconcilably hostile to imperialist annexations and wars, the country which is building classless socialist society by the intense enthusiasm of the labour of millions of workers and collective farmers. While prepared at any moment to repel any attack of imperialist adventurism which dared to assail its borders, the country of the Soviets carries on an unswervingly firm line for peace, more and more becoming the centre of attraction for all those who offer resistance to the most aggressive and most desperate provocateurs of war.

The so-called Balkan Pact, like all other groups of capitalist governments which have arisen and are arising in the recent period, is not a guarantee of peace, but an instrument in case of war. As a transient success of French policy in the Balkans against Italy, against Germany, against Britain, against the imperialist claims of Bulgaria, which are utilised by each of these three Powers, the Balkan Pact, born of these contradictions of imperialist interests, leads not to their weakening, but, on the contrary, to their extreme strengthening. Not to mention the great sharpening of relations with Bulgaria, all attempts to draw which into the pact have ended in failure, the very conclusion of the pact called forth in all the Balkan countries an outbreak of internal discords between the various groups of the bourgeoisie, who are connected with various imperialist Powers. In Bulgaria it strengthened the position of the open fascist elements grouped around Zankov and orientated on Hitlerite Germany, in counter-balance to the groups of the bourgeoisie who strive towards a compromise with Yugoslavia. In Greece the Venizelists have be-

come the advocates of an Italian-English orientation, compelling the Tsaldarists, who are in power, to give an interpretation to the pact which to a great extent nullifies the idea of the pact from the point of view of the interests of Yugoslavia. In Rumania the conclusion of the pact has led to the frantic activity of the agents of Germany who carry out their policy not only through the fascist parties and organisations of the Hitlerite school, but also through the king and his camarilla. Even in Yugoslavia the conclusion of the Balkan Pact not only caused an advance by the Italian agents but especially by those of Germany who put forward, as in Bulgaria and Rumania, the economic advantages of rapprochement with Germany. Kemalist Turkey, reckoning on French capital for the financial help which she was unable to obtain from Italy, took on herself the role of active intermediary in concluding the Balkan Pact, which secures her European frontiers. But she was compelled to state in a special declaration that the pact does not oblige her to support the other Balkan countries in a war against the U.S.S.R., thus emphasising the anti-Soviet tendencies of the other countries which are included in the pact. Simultaneously the **Italian-Austrian-Hungarian bloc**, which was formed in connection with the events in Austria and as an off-set to the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact, and the military revisionist programme of this bloc which is directed against Yugoslavia and Rumania, created a new hot-bed of the keenest contradictions.

The Balkan Pact, in trying to make permanent the Versailles frontiers in the Balkans, though they had torn into pieces the living bodies of a number of nations, violently forcing them into the artificial boundaries of the imperialist Balkan States, submitting them to a regime of fierce national oppression and increased exploitation, is a challenge to all these nationalities which are struggling for freedom. Dobruja, Bukovina and Transylvania, Horwattia and Slovenia, Macedonia and Thrace, which remained in the hands of their oppressors, have to become the victims of the false peace, the preservation of which is solemnly promised by the Balkan Pact.

The Balkan Pact, the instrument for preparing new military adventures, is at the same time a **weapon of struggle** in the hands of the bourgeois-landlord Balkan governments against the peoples' revolution of the workers and peasants which is ripening in all the Balkan countries. The powerful upsurge of the revolutionary struggle in Bulgaria and Greece, in Rumania and Yugoslavia, was one of the decisive motives driving the Balkan governments to form this pact of mutual guarantee.

Hitler, the ally of predacious Japan, which is openly preparing for war against the Soviet Union, Hitler, who is renewing in the Balkans the brigand policy of Hohenzollern imperialism, is shouting about peace. Under cover of peace talk, a "consultation" pact is made in Rome, making Hungary and Austria into supports for the Italian plans for the military reshaping of the countries of the Danube and the Balkans. The governments who are solemnly bound by the Balkan Pact swear their loyalty to peace.

In face of this deceitful game of the imperialists, diplomats, and militarists, a game which is directed towards preparing for war and crushing the revolution, the Communist Parties of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey declare to the workers, peasants, and broad masses of the oppressed nations:—

There is not and cannot be firm peace among the peoples as long as in the various countries the power is in the hands of capitalists and landlords who exploit the masses, capitalists and landlords hostile to each other in order to subordinate under their own power more and more land and peoples, selling themselves to big robbers in return for support of their power. There is not and cannot be peace until the exploited and oppressed masses rise to the fight, overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and landlords, establish their Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Power, liberate the oppressed nations, establish a fraternal alliance with other peoples who are liberated from the yoke of the exploiters and oppressors. There is not and cannot be stable peace in the Balkans until the workers and peasants of the Balkan countries follow the example of the workers and peasants in Russia, who in 1917 overthrew the yoke of the Tsar, the bourgeoisie, and the landlords, beat back the attack of other imperialists and are enthusiastically building the great edifice of socialism on their own liberated land, which does not know oppressors and oppressed.

Apart from this there are only lies and deceit, oppression and exploitation, endless and bloody wars.

The Balkans have already once been the centre from which a predatory world war began. The Balkan countryside, stained with blood in the two Balkan wars, was flooded in a sea of blood in the four years of the world war.

It depends on you, workers, peasants, and oppressed nations, whether this will be repeated. Only your victorious revolution can bar the path to the approach of a new war. . . .

Down with all imperialist pacts! Down with fascism!

Down with war! For the revolution! For the complete liberation of oppressed nations from the imperialist yoke, for their right to national self-determination to the point of separation!

For the victory of the workers and peasants, for Soviets!

For fraternal peace, for close alliance between the peoples liberated from capitalism and imperialism!

For the U.S.S.R., which showed us how to carry out a victorious revolution of the toilers, how to liberate peoples, how to fight for real peace!

Central Committees,

C.P. Rumania, C.P. Yugoslavia, C.P. Bulgaria,

C.P. Greece, C.P. Turkey.

The Revolutionary Ferment in Siam

By M s

Siam, the country of the yellow robes, also called the Muang Thai (the land of free peoples), is an "independent" monarchy, which is entirely surrounded by colonial territories. Undoubtedly it is one of the most characteristic kingdoms in the Orient, remaining up to the present completely in a feudalistic condition, the king still remaining the absolute ruler of the whole country. During the world war Western influences began to penetrate, and relations with imperialistic Powers, most of all with Great Britain, developed rapidly. During the war Siam was on the side of the allies and was compelled to declare war against Germany. It has now a seat in Geneva and is at the same time a member of the Permanent Council of the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

The land of the "free peoples" has a strong agrarian character, even stronger than any other colonial country. Its chief products are rice, teak wood and precious stones. There are also tin mines. Generally speaking, the economic life of the country is wholly dominated by foreigners. Commerce, banking, land and water transport and other important capitalistic enterprises are completely in the hands of foreign capitalists. Most of the petty traders are Chinese. The native population is chiefly engaged in agriculture. English capital is predominant, followed by Scandinavian (in forestry and shipping).

Owing to the fact that the economic life of Siam is completely dependent upon the world economic situation, it is also very much affected by the present economic crisis. Business is rapidly declining. Bangkok, the capital of the country, with a population of about 800 thousand, is one of the most important ports in the Far East, from which rice is shipped to many parts of the world. But owing to the big falling off in the demand for this product, Bangkok harbour is now full of idle shipping and a lot of rice mills, mostly owned by Chinese, have been closed down in recent times. The export of teak wood and precious stones is about 35 per cent. of the normal. The peasants who used to grow rice and deliver their products to the Chinese mills are now suffering very much. The peasants, insofar as they are not in a state of bondage to the feudal princes, are also ruthlessly exploited and cheated by the Chinese mill-owners and other money-lenders, who also utilise the rights of the feudal princes.

The workers are mostly immigrants, chiefly Chinese. There are also Javanese, Malaysians and Indians, who work in the harbours, the mines, on the tramways, railways, on roadmaking and other capitalistic enterprises. Owing to the abundant supply of the immigrant labour-power, wages are as low as in the colonial countries. Exploitation is completely unrestricted. The growth of the crisis is duly accompanied by a worsening of general conditions and a steady falling off of State revenue. The economy measures introduced by the king to balance the budget are similar to those adopted in all capitalist countries. Whilst even high officials in the State and military apparatus have been dismissed or had their salaries reduced, the king's relatives have been allowed to retain their well-paid positions. It is not surprising therefore that general unrest prevails among the officials and officers.

At the end of 1931 King Prajadhipok made a tour of British Malaya, Java, and Indo-China. The main purpose of his journey was firstly to strengthen the political and economic relations of Siam with those countries, and secondly to conclude a special agreement regarding a more energetic fight against the common danger—Communism. Whilst in Indo-China, however, the king openly flirted with French imperialism, which caused annoyance to the British imperialists. On his return to Siam the French orientation became even more obvious. The British imperialists made use of the discontent prevailing among the officials in order to restore British influence, which was endangered by France.

The so-called coup d'état converted Siam from an absolute into a constitutional monarchy. The real meaning, however, of the movement is that British influence has been strengthened, and more privileges have been granted to the British than to any other imperialists.

The change in the form of government, however, has not meant any improvement in the general chaotic conditions. Unrest has begun to develop among the workers and peasants. A Siamese prince, who had studied in London and imbibed socialist ideas, became known as the "Stalin" of Siam. He succeeded in gathering round him several hundred military men and headed a revolt against the new constitutional government; a large number of peasants also joined this movement. Owing, however, to the lack of a revolutionary party and of a clear programme, the revolt did not embrace the masses of the peasants and workers and was bloodily suppressed. The crushing of this revolt, however, has in no way allayed the general discontent of the masses, who have no confidence in the new constitutional regime. Republican tendencies are also beginning to develop, but it is not certain who is behind this movement. In the meantime, the king has made a trip to Europe, ostensibly for the purpose of restoring his health.

During his absence a new plot of a very serious character directed against the government was formed. This time military officers and officials were at the head of the affair. The authorities were again successful in crushing the movement, but it is generally believed that fresh insurrectionary movements on a bigger scale and of a more serious character will arise with which the Siamese forces alone will be insufficient to cope. It is thought that an intervention of one of the big Powers (Great Britain in all probability) will be necessary in order to enable King Prajadhipok to return safely to his country in order to continue his "wise" rule.

Siam is in fact becoming a plaything of the imperialist Powers. Here there is reflected the antagonism between England and France, each of whom is seeking to make use of the conflicting elements in order to strengthen its hegemony in the Far East. Japan also has commenced lately to play an important role in Siam, and is flooding the country with cheap commodities. Further, as a reply to the fortification of the Singapore naval base by Britain, Japan intends to cut a canal through Siam in order to deprive Singapore of its military-strategic value. It is also exceedingly likely that the hand of Japan is behind the "unrest" in Siam.

The Communist movement in Siam is still weak. At the time of Chiang-Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary coup d'état in 1927, many Chinese Communists fled to Siam, where they became pioneers in propagating Communist ideas. As in British Malaya, in Siam, too, the Chinese inhabitants are the bearers of the Communist movement. There is no doubt that the idea of Soviets is beginning to take root in Siam, largely as a result of the victories of the Soviet movement in China.

Yorkshire Miners Betrayed by Leaders

London, May 1.

The 2,000 miners at the Cadeby Pit, Yorkshire, have been betrayed by the officials of the County Union. The men struck work a week ago against the attempt of the owners to enforce speed-up terms.

Intense dissatisfaction exists among the men with the decision of the officials to accept the owners' terms. This was shown by the fact that a meeting held yesterday lasted for four hours before the officials were able to get their policy across.

A resolution at this meeting demanding the resignation of the leaders of the union was not allowed to be put.

Whilst the Cadeby miners were meeting, an explosion, entailing the loss of five lives, occurred at Leigh, in the Lancashire coalfield.

Germany

The New Stage of the Cultural Struggle

By A.

When we reported here, some weeks ago, on the protest demonstration made by 20,000 Protestants in the Westphalian Hall at Dortmund against the dictatorship of the Primate Mueller, we emphasised that this first case of a great public meeting against the Hitler regime in Germany would greatly accelerate the struggle of the churches, both in the Protestant and Roman Catholic camps, and would besides this stimulate the anti-fascist movement. Events have confirmed this prophecy. The progress of the church struggle in these few weeks has initiated a fresh stage of the whole cultural struggle.

The external facts are known. A short time after the schism of the Westphalian Church, which constituted itself as a body of the West-German synods, supported by the considerable authority possessed amongst the orthodox German Nationals by the Pastor **Bodelschwingh**, who was originally elected as primate, but afterwards deposed, the Bavarian Protestant Bishop **D. Meiser** addressed a mass meeting in Munich under the control of the State Secret Police. He stated literally:—

"If Primate Mueller and his synods continue in office, this means the end of the reformation in Germany. Martin Luther fought against the dictatorship of Rome. The Protestant Church must fight against any dictatorship within the church."

That Meiser, who as late as January signed a declaration of allegiance to Mueller, can make this statement on the end of the reformation is the more significant that it was made precisely in Munich, the city of the Advent sermons of Cardinal Faulhaber, who is credibly stated to have recently established close relations with Protestant oppositional clergy with the object of joint action in defence of liberty of belief.

The sharp conflict in Hagen, in Westphalia, where a demonstration held by the Protestant Church under the slogan of "Church and Gospel" had to be protected by Police Troops against an armed attack on the part of the German Christians, a measure which led to the dismissal of the head of police, shows to what point matters have advanced.

Anyone supposing that the capitulation of the oppositional Protestant bishops and of the Pastors' Emergency League at the joint meeting held with the Primate and Hitler would end there, has been disappointed. It will be remembered that Goering burst into this meeting with the text of a telephone conversation, which the State Secret Police had just tapped, between Parson Niemoeller and one of his adherents, in which Niemoeller, obviously unaware of the way to carry on illegal work, rejoiced beforehand that the matter had been "cleverly wangled" by the sending of a memorandum to Hindenburg, so that Hitler would receive "extreme unction" from the President shortly before the decisive consultation. Hitler immediately threatened to cut off all State grants to the Protestant Church, and this sufficed to cause the bishops to capitulate. Certainly it is not their fault if the struggle in the Protestant Church has intensified since then: but the mass movement against the German Christians was already stronger than the alarm felt by the higher clergy for their salaries.

Three times in succession the Primate ordered Niemoeller's dismissal. But Niemoeller has always immediately reappeared in the Church at Dahlem, Berlin, to preach to his old congregation, which for its part has given the pastor appointed by the commissar a plain hint that he will not be permitted to mount the pulpit. It is not uninteresting to note that among the devout congregation listening to Pastor Niemoeller, in spite of his deposition, no less a personage is to be found that the one-time State Minister of Finance, Count **Schwering-Krosigk**.

The withdrawal from the Protestant Church of Baron Wilhelm von Pechmann, who held office as President of the German Protestant Church Congress from 1924 till 1930, and his substantiation of this step, published in the Protestant Church periodical and even in the "Frankfurter Zeitung," signalled that Mueller's position was considerably shaken. In this letter the German Christians are openly reproached with having "forced upon the united church the aims and objects alien to the church." It speaks of the "sorrow and distress" carried into "innumerable non-Aryan hearts and houses, Christian and Jewish, by running

from one extreme to another." All that is now left, in Pechmann's opinion, is:—

"to protest by leaving a church which ceases to be a church if it does not cease . . . to make unity between national socialism and church to an integral constituent of its essential character, and the directive of its administration."

A few days later there followed the extremely sensational, but mostly completely wrongly estimated, or rather overestimated, "attempt at reconciliation" by Mueller. Mueller's absolute personal dictatorship was cancelled, the clerical ministry replaced. A part of the juridically untenable ecclesiastical emergency orders of 4th January were annulled, and finally an amnesty pronounced for the approximately 200 victimised Protestant clergy.

In actual fact these measures are anything but conciliatory, and rather represent an extremely clumsy endeavour at **misleading** on the part of the Primate. For, in the first place, the clerical ministry again contains the ministerial director Jaeger, already once commanded to this place, a fact which is bound to act as a provocation to oppositional circles. It was Jaeger who succeeded in having the **Aryan paragraphs** introduced for the clergy, and precisely this paragraph remains in force. With regard to the so-called "amnesty," all cases "connected with State politics" (and which are not?) are exempt from the amnesty to begin with. Only proceedings which have not yet been concluded will be quashed. To what extent victimisations already actually carried out will be cancelled lies entirely in the hands of the Primate.

It was not by accident that a new and severe conflict broke out with the Protestant Church of the province of **Wurtemberg** on the very same day when the synodal committee, under the influence of the German Christians, abruptly refused to confirm the budget of the oppositional Bishop Wurm, in order to force him to resign. Wurm declared, however, that he would stick to his post, and even the Primate, called by telegraph by the State Governor Murr, was obliged to leave again without accomplishing this aim.

Mueller's so-called conciliatory action has only served to aggravate the conflict and to accelerate the process of decay in the Protestant Church. It is not unimportant to note that the reactionary German National influence is more and more spreading among the leaders of the oppositional clergy, and that this fact is causing disappointment in places where the Protestant opposition has become a mass movement, and is strengthening the tendencies towards leaving the church altogether.

Although the development of the church struggle between National Socialism and the Catholic Church has been less rich in sensational events during the last few weeks, its importance none the less goes far beyond the confines of the church struggle itself. The open challenge contained in the sermon preached by the Catholic Bishop of Berlin **Bares** in the Hedwig church, and relayed to all the Catholic churches of Berlin, in which the unbridgeable antagonism between "Christ" and "anti-Christ" is stressed, as also similar utterances by the Archbishop of Freiburg **D. Groeber** and others, constitute an entirely new factor in the Catholic Church struggle—the **open abandonment of the diplomatic reserve hitherto maintained by the highest Catholic clergy**. The sharp controversy between the Vatican and Alfred Rosenberg, whose book "The Myth of the Twentieth Century" has been placed on the Index, and who was thereupon demonstratively appointed to the position of supreme dictator for the education of all youth, including the religious youth associations, in the spirit of National Socialism, brought further proof of this new stage of the struggle. Meanwhile, however, much more important declarations have been made by the supreme authority of the Catholic Church, the **Pope** himself.

In a pastoral letter to the Catholic youth organisations of the Rhine country, the Pope openly expressed his solidarity with the struggle of these organisations in their defence of their religious rights and liberties. And even clearer than this was his address to the large delegation sent by the German Catholic youth associations to Rome; in this he encouraged the delegates to persevere in their struggle, and made the much-quoted utterance that certain symptoms indicate that a change would take place in Germany in the near future. What was meant by this can scarcely be doubted, in view of the obstinately reappearing rumours on **negotiations between high Protestant clergy with the Papal court**, with the aim of bringing over whole congregations to the Catholic Church, or of placing them under the mighty protection of the Pope in their struggle for the liberty of the Chris-

tian faith and against the new paganism. These rumours have been very energetically denied by German authorities, but the commentary furnished from the circles around the Vatican at least admits these attempts at rapprochement. Unanimous reports from several districts, especially South Germany, show that not only in hundreds of cases, but in thousands, Protestants are going over to the Catholic Church. The above-quoted observation by the Munich Protestant Bishop Meiser on the "end of the reformation" gains particular significance in this connection. Rome appears to have good reason to reawaken its boldest hopes, buried for 500 years, for the restoration of its supremacy over German Christendom.

The National Socialist leaders do not by any means fail to recognise how dangerous this opposition is for them. But for the National Socialist State it would signify abandoning both itself and its whole theory of total supremacy in the State, were it to make any decisive concessions on such a point to an enemy, especially an internationally organised enemy. The Vatican has taken extremely seriously the open threat uttered by **Alfred Rosenberg** in the "Voelkischer Beobachter" against the

"leaders of the Centre who hide themselves behind the pulpit and make the sermon a tool of political influence, although in reality they should be glad that hitherto they have been allowed to live unmolested in Germany,"

the scarcely concealed threat to arrest **Bruening**, and the insinuation that **Bares** in Berlin and **Groeber** in Freiburg

"pursued the aim of creating martyrs, considering this their last resource as a proof of religious persecution."

The "**Osservatore Romano**," in energetically contesting the assertion advanced by the National Socialists that the Vatican had ever been agreed with the disbanding of the Centre Party in Germany, emphasises the **political** aggravation of the conflict.

Although it may sound like a paradox, the struggle between Catholicism, whose essential character resembles that of fascism in the unconditional leadership principle of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the Third Reich, is much more significant for further developments than the conflict with the Protestants, for the Catholic conflict deals with questions of power and the influencing of the hundreds and thousands of members of the Catholic youth organisations and the millions of workers formerly organised in the Christian trade unions. The conflict with Catholicism involves many more social tensions, and is therefore much more political, than the conflict with Protestantism, where the struggle is more or less waged around the inner structure of the church, and is only indirectly concerned with an opposition on the part of certain German national groups against the Nazi regime.

The new stage in the cultural struggle in Germany, one which, however, can be "settled" as far as the higher clergy of both churches is concerned, by buying off these clergy with material advantages, in the manner in which Mussolini's dispute with the Vatican was settled, is characterised on the other hand by the **increasingly mass character** of the disputes, which may spread beyond the confines of church affairs and become an anti-fascist mass struggle. The church, especially the Catholic church, fears in its own interest a too far-reaching co-ordination with the Hitler regime, since then the fall of this regime would carry the church along with it. And many of those who are drawn into these church struggles at the present time, finding in them one of the few opportunities offered at the present time for giving mass expression to their protest against the existing regime, will no longer be satisfied with the diplomatic considerations of the high clergy of both churches as soon as they are able to carry on their opposition in the world of politics, and to aim directly at their goal.

It would be a serious mistake to ignore the oppositional movement in the churches to-day solely on account of the reactionary special interests of its leaders. The danger of a misuse of broad anti-fascist mass trends for these special interests has not become less since the relinquishment of the reticence hitherto observed by the higher clergy, but **greater**. The heads of the churches are anxious to side-track the oppositional masses into the sphere of the purely religious struggle, politically harmless for capitalism. Therefore we are confronted the more seriously with the task of making these masses realise that they can gain their object in the struggle against fascist religious dictatorship, as in every other sphere, solely by means of the revolutionary overthrow of fascism, solely by socialism, which carries out the separation of church and State.

The International Release Campaign for Thaelmann

Zürich, April 26.

The members of the Swiss delegation are encountering the sabotage of the fascist authorities at every step, and every possible obstacle is placed in their way, from direct refusals to every kind of trick and subterfuge. This attitude on the part of the fascist authorities shows, however, very plainly that they are already feeling very strongly the mass pressure of the international protest campaign. The delegates were informed that they could not see Thaelmann unless the Swiss Embassy in Berlin backed up their request. The Embassy refused to do this, and referred them to the Swiss Federal Council. Repeated telegrams from the delegates to Federal Councillor Metta, in Berne, finally elicited the reply that the Federal Council has nothing whatever to do with this delegation.

Franco-Belgian Workers' Delegation in Berlin

Paris, April 26.

At the same time as a Swiss workers' delegation was in Berlin to investigate the fate of Thaelmann and the other imprisoned anti-fascists, a Franco-Belgian delegation arrived in Berlin with the same object. A delegation of Alsace-Lorraine workers followed a few days afterwards.

Two of the workers' delegates have now returned to Paris, and have reported on their journey: the decoration designer, Felix Cadras, from Pas-du-Calais (North France), and the cabinet-maker, Philipp Heiligensteia, from Strassburg. These had been delegated to Berlin by the Red Aid, with the commission to visit Ernst Thaelmann.

The yarrived in Berlin on 19th April, and went at once to the Ministry of the Interior. They asked for the minister, Frick, but of course did not see him. The ministerial councillor, Erb, sent them to the State Ministry of Justice, where they were told that they must present a legitimation from their Embassy. The delegation now proceeded to the headquarters of the State Secret Police in Prinz Albrecht Strasse, and demanded to speak personally with Goering and Goebbels. It was stated that they had been rung up by telephone, but were unable to come. The delegates refused to be diverted from their purpose, and returned again and again to police headquarters. On the fourth day, 23rd April, a State Secret Police official finally informed them that the government agreed to their seeing Thaelmann, but they must have the consent of the judge of the court of inquiry, the notorious Herr Braune. The bureau chief of the State Secret Police accompanied them to Herr Braune, who received them very rudely: "I have just refused a Swiss delegation permission to visit Thaelmann. If you had come together I would have shown you Thaelmann." With cynical impertinence Herr Braune refused to let the delegates see Thaelmann. Obviously he had his instructions from the government, whose alleged "consent" was merely a trick of the police to get rid of the delegates. Like the officials in the State Ministry of Justice, Braune hastened to tell the delegates that "Thaelmann is still (!) alive and in good health." The delegates told Braune their opinion very plainly, throwing Braune into a rage; he broke off the interview.

As a result of their investigations, and of the replies received at the various headquarters, the delegates are firmly convinced that **Thaelmann has been tortured and wounded**, and that this is the sole reason why the authorities are afraid to let him be visited. The delegates stated this opinion flatly to the officials of the State Secret Police. These showed great embarrassment, which they endeavoured to conceal by giving the delegates the opportunity of visiting the concentration camp in Oranienburg.

This camp is a sort of "model" shown to foreign visitors. There are 400 prisoners in the camp, mostly Communists. The delegates were given no opportunity of speaking to the prisoners alone.

On the return journey the delegates were obliged to alight from the train at Aix-la-Chapelle, and had to submit to a complete search of their effects and pockets; only after three hours' wait for this purpose were they permitted to continue their journey.

Paris, April 26.

Six hundred dockers employed in the French seaport of Rouen have sent a solidarity telegram to Comrade Thaelmann.

Austria

The Facts About the Alleged Trade Revival

By K. K. (Vienna)

For the past twelve months the government has been continually declaring that the economic situation is rapidly improving. Strange to say, those supposed to be immediately experiencing the improvement know nothing of it. The small peasants complain of threatening ruin, the standard of living of the workers is far below the existence minimum, and even the leaders of industry complain about the bad situation. The "Börse," the leading financial paper, writes:—

"It is significant that the complaints emanate from the circles of employers whose patriotism cannot be questioned."

Only the Institute for the Investigation of Trade Variations and the incorporated press talk about a trade revival. And it is really comical to see how strenuously they try to persuade the industrialists that they are enjoying prosperity.

What is the actual economic situation in Austria? We will give an analysis of industry and commerce as the most important factors. In agriculture there is a steady increase of production without any corresponding increase of sales; protection by means of customs duties and import prohibitions benefit only the big landowners and big peasants, whilst the situation of the toiling peasants is disastrous. The banks in Austria are completely ruined and manage to keep going thanks only to government subventions. The approaching fusion of the big banks will cost the State further hundreds of millions, which cannot be raised at present. For this reason the reorganisation of the banks has been repeatedly postponed.

On the other hand, the government proudly points to the increased exports and the reduction in unemployment figures as an indication of economic revival. Exports increased nearly 30 per cent. in the first quarter of 1934 compared with last year; the number of unemployed in receipt of benefit has fallen by 53,000, which is nearly 15 per cent. But the secret of these figures is quite plain. Let us begin with the unemployment figures. These include only those unemployed who are in receipt of benefit. By ruthlessly depriving the unemployed of benefit the government has been able to show a reduction of the unemployment figures. But this reduction is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of persons employed. This is clearly shown by a glance at the last available official figures for Vienna. According to these figures, at the beginning of January the number of unemployed in receipt of benefit fell to 128,000 compared with 131,000 in the previous year. At the same time, the number of persons insured under the National Health Insurance declined to 426,000 compared with 444,000 in the previous year. Whilst, therefore, the number of unemployed was supposed to have been decreased by 3,000, in reality the number of persons in employment declined by 18,000!

According to the statement of the "Neue Freie Presse," the number of employed increased in March, but this increase is not even up to the level of the usual seasonal revival, for the greater part of the newly engaged workers are employed on road construction, voluntary labour service, and not in industry.

The swindle of the alleged reduction of unemployment is further exposed by the official figures as to the total sum paid in wages in Vienna. In 1929 it amounted on an average to 158 million shillings a month, in the year 1933 to only 95 million shillings, and this year to 79 million shillings a month. This huge drop is due, however, not only to increased unemployment but also to the continual wage cuts.

This robbery of the workers further exposes the secret of the increased exports. These exports represent nothing else but *dumping*, based on the depreciation of the shilling, sweated labour and State subsidies for exports. Part of the exports represent goods sold abroad at below cost price and covered by increased prices at home. Owing to the increase in the price of raw materials on the world market, Austrian industry paid on an average 333 shillings for a ton of raw material as compared with 257 shillings last year. On the other hand, Austria sells its raw materials, of which timber is the chief, at the reduced price of 127 shillings a ton as compared with 134 shillings last year. The price per ton for exported finished goods has remained at 500 shillings. In the last few weeks the price of exported goods has decreased, on an average, by 10 to 15 per cent.

Thus the increase in foreign trade is not the result of a real overcoming of the crisis, but is due to an artificial forcing of exports, which remains without influence on the crisis.

The position of the home market remains disastrous. The index figure regarding the turnover of goods fell from 83 in 1933 to 80 in January, 1934. In particular the turnover of industrial articles of consumption has sunk because the price of food has been increased beyond all measure. Hence, the food industries are complaining of declining sales. In those various branches of the garment, boot and shoe, and leather-goods industries where the turnover increased somewhat the actual returns are less than last year as, owing to the decline in the purchasing power of the population, only the cheapest and inferior goods are bought.

Thus we see there is no revival of industry. This is shown by the decline in the consumption of electric current to 114.8 million kilowatts on an average per month as compared with 122.3 million kilowatts in 1933. Since the commencement of the present year 1,000 workers have been dismissed in the coal mining industry owing to lack of sales. The building industry is almost at a standstill; there are practically no building orders from private sources; the few orders placed by the State are only a drop in a bucket. Thus, for instance, the cement works are supplying 750 waggons of cement for the construction of the Reichs Bridge, whilst in 1932 the total output of cement was 35,000 waggons and in 1929 even 58,000. The position of the iron industry is revealed by the fact that the prohibition of the export of old iron has had to be abolished because the home iron smelting works have been unable to make use of it. The exports of the machine-building industry increased by 150 per cent., but these exports consisted of old machines which were removed from works and factories which had to be closed down.

Finally, the government assertion that there has been an increase in capital investment is absolutely refuted by the facts. It is true, in Austria capital investments increased in 1933 by roughly 215 millions compared with 17 million in the previous year. But of these 250 million 210 million are accounted for by government subventions to insolvent banks. There were founded only two joint stock companies and 88 limited liability companies with a total capital of about 4,860,000 shillings as against 19,400,000 in 1932.

Summing up therefore we can say that the economic crisis in Austria, far from being overcome, is becoming more acute. The reduction of the unemployment figures has been achieved by depriving unemployed workers of benefit, and the increase of exports by dumping measures which cannot bring any revival of economy; sales at home are diminishing owing to increasing impoverishment of the working population and industry and the banks continue to decline.

The I.L.D. at the Head of the International Solidarity Movement for the Victims of Dollfuss Fascism

By H. Gruenwald

The broad proletarian solidarity movement of the victims of the bloody terror in Austria is making further progress and shows that the I.L.D. sections, not only in the Soviet Union but also in all other countries, are marching at the head of this movement.

In **Belgium** the I.L.D. held protest meetings in twelve towns (Antwerp, Brussels, Charleroi, etc.), and initiated a broad action for collecting money. On the initiative of the I.L.D. in Brussels, a "women's action" committee was set up to organise the taking over of patronage for the widows and orphans of the Austrian fighters.

In **France** a women's delegation went to Austria in order to distribute among the relatives of the killed and imprisoned proletarian heroes the funds which had been collected. Already on March 15 the French I.L.D. opened an international children's home in Maison Lafitte, a suburb of Paris, in which for the greater part Austrian children are to be accommodated. In addition, the I.L.D. committee of the Alpes Maritimes placed at the disposal of the Central Committee of the I.L.D. a house in Cannes (French Riviera) in which Austrian children are to spend a three months' seaside holiday.

Although the illegal Spanish I.L.D., owing to the big class struggles which are taking place in Spain, has to cope with great tasks of class solidarity in its own country, already on February

15 it issued an appeal to the whole of the toiling people calling for immediate aid for their Austrian brothers and initiated a collection campaign. Solidarity meetings were held throughout the country, in the course of which the prison in Labina was stormed and the political prisoners released. In spite of the sabotage of the social-democratic leaders, who rejected the proposal for a 24-hour general strike against the savage terror of the Dollfuss government, larger protest strikes were carried out in numerous localities.

The **Dutch** I.L.D. section conducted a particularly successful campaign by organising protest meetings in all the large cities, issuing leaflets, collecting cards, etc.

In **Czechoslovakia**, where the I.L.D. is prohibited, a relief committee for the Austrian victims was immediately set up, consisting of prominent persons. Two hundred Austrian children will be placed with working-class families in Czechoslovakia. In Prague, where more than 300 emigrants are living, more than 100 patronages have been established in the factories and organisations. The I.L.D. of the Schlan district is collecting food among the workers and small peasants of this district and has sent 180 kilogrammes of food to the Prague kitchen for emigrants. Also in the Bruenn district, where preparations are being made for a special delegation to be sent to Austria, a broad campaign for collecting money has been launched and food collected for the emigrants' kitchen.

The events in Austria have also called forth a great response in the Scandinavian countries. The I.L.D. local branch in Kiruna (Sweden) has sent 4,000 crowns to the Central Committee for the relief of the Austrian fighters.

Even in the **Balkans**, where the I.L.D. sections are suppressed, they have nevertheless mobilised the masses for solidarity with the heroes and prisoners of the Dollfuss government. In **Greece** the protest movement even spread to parts of the army. Thus the soldiers in the tank detachment in Athens issued a declaration of protest against the bloody Dollfuss regime. The soldiers of the 34th regiment of Athens likewise protested against the Austrian fascist terror and collected 51 drachmas, which they sent to Austria.

The appeal for solidarity with the Austrian heroes issued by the I.L.D. of **Rumania** met with a lively response among the masses. A group of 85 prominent bourgeois intellectuals in Yassy sent a declaration of protest to the Austrian Federal President Miklas and demanded the cessation of the terror.

Even in reactionary **Pilsudski-Poland**, where long terms of imprisonment are meted out to those working for the I.L.D., our I.L.D. section has developed a broad collecting campaign for the heroic victims of the Austrian February rising. The reports of the Austrian events even spread to the Polish prisons. One hundred and sixty political prisoners of the X prison, who received 600 francs from the workers who had taken over their patronage, decided to send half of this sum to the victims of Austrian fascism and the other half to the victims of the February struggles in Paris.

In **England** the I.L.D. is conducting a lively activity on behalf of the Austrian fighters. A defence committee for the Austrian fighters has been set up and a special Austrian Solidarity Fund opened. The I.L.D. also carried out a broad campaign of meetings. Protest demonstrations were held in front of the Austrian Consulate. On March 18 a mass meeting of the I.L.D. was held in London which resolved to send a delegation to Austria.

In **America** the I.L.D. section has likewise launched a broad solidarity campaign for the Austrian workers. It set itself the aim to collect 3,000 dollars and send them to Austria. Demonstrations and protests in front of the Austrian Consulate were carried out.

In response to the appeal of the Caribbean Secretariat of the I.L.D., thousands of workers carried out a mass demonstration in Montevideo (**Uruguay**). The crowd smashed the windows of the Austrian Consulate. A 24-hour protest strike was also carried out against the white terror in Austria.

In spite of the cruel terror of the Dollfuss government, the I.L.D. of **Austria** is at its post and is organising a broad solidarity movement also in Austria. Many hundreds of families were supported by the I.L.D. already in the first days after the defeat of the uprising. In 18 big enterprises in Vienna the workers decided to contribute a percentage of their weekly wages to the Weissel Fund set up by the I.L.D. Up to the middle of March the Aus-

trian I.L.D. had collected 15,000 shillings among the working population.

Throughout the whole world we have splendid examples of proletarian solidarity with the victims of the fascist terror in Austria.

More than a thousand murdered workers, women and children, those who have been executed, the workers sentenced to lifelong imprisonment, the 4,000 wounded, the 10,000 proletarian political prisoners in Austria, more than 40,000 women and children deprived of their breadwinners—they demand of the working class of the whole world practical proofs of their solidarity. The working class of the whole world will show that it feels itself to be closely connected with the victims of the cruel fascist Dollfuss government and that it realises its proletarian duty towards them.

The Labour Movement

The Struggle of the Danish Seamen

By A. M. Peterson (Copenhagen)

The Danish seamen conducted an "unlawful" strike for ten days against the shipowners and their agents: the social democratic government and the reformist trade union leaders, who made use of every means in order to crush the strike. The fighting front of the seamen was unbroken when the reformist leaders of the sailors' union stabbed them in the back.

The strike of the Danish seamen was an example showing that the workers can offer battle to the united front of the capitalists provided they only fight unitedly. The strike let loose powerful forces in the Danish working class. In several ports the dock workers struck in sympathy with the seamen in defiance of the law and in spite of the sabotage of the reformists. In **Esbjerg** the whole of the workers carried out a twenty-four hour general strike. In Copenhagen, Aalborg, Esbjerg and other harbour towns the workers courageously defended themselves against the brutal police terror.

The strike tore the "democratic" mask from the face of the social democratic government; it showed that in Denmark, too, the social democratic leaders resort to terrorist measures against the working class when it is a question of defending the interests of the capitalists (in this case the special interests of the shipowners).

The government made use of a special law, according to which the strike of the seamen, which was decided on by an overwhelming majority on a ballot vote, was declared illegal. Police were employed everywhere to protect the strike-breakers from the anger of the workers. All sympathetic action, including public meetings, was prohibited by the police. The bourgeois and social democratic press conducted a savage campaign in order to prevent sympathetic actions by the workers and to disorganise the united front. Parliament also passed a special law, which was voted for by all parties, with the exception of the Communists, against the strike of the slaughterers, which broke out a few days after the seamen's strike. By virtue of this law, a special arbitration court was set up, which ordered the butchers back to work and then dictated the working conditions.

The workers fought resolutely against the coercive measures of the social democratic government. The seamen conducted a heroic fight for ten days. The slaughterers at several abattoirs refused to resume work when ordered to do so by the special court, and remained on strike.

The main weakness of the fight was that there was no real revolutionary leadership of the whole fight of the seamen and slaughterers. The reformist leaders of the slaughtermen's union succeeded in completely isolating the fight of the slaughterers from that of the seamen. They went so far with their sabotage of the fight that they even refused to call upon the dock workers to carry out solidarity actions. It is true, a joint strike committee was set up, the majority of which consisted of revolutionary sailors and stokers, but the reformist Executive Committee of the seamen's union succeeded in maintaining, alongside of this strike committee and the joint membership meeting of the sailors and stokers, the special general meeting of the sailors as the statutory highest authority of the sailors. In addition, the Copenhagen workers, who are under social democratic influence, decided not to carry out any sympathetic strike, and this in turn determined the attitude of the workers in the provinces.

The seamen's strike reached its highest point on April 18. On this day all the workers in Esbjerg went on strike. In Copenhagen about 25,000 workers assembled in the Filled Park and defended themselves courageously against the brutal attacks of the mounted and foot police. At the general meeting of the sailors on April 21, the reformist leaders made a base attack on the Communists, thanks to which they succeeded in rallying behind them the majority of the meeting. A commission of four was appointed to conclude the strike. The membership of this commission consisted of four reformists, who on the same evening accepted the terms of the shipowners and declared the strike at an end. As a result, the general meeting of the stokers, which was held on the following day, had to abandon the strike as the stokers could not continue the fight alone because this would have meant the destruction of the revolutionary stokers' union.

Both the membership meeting of the stokers and the joint membership meeting of the sailors and stokers on the same day adopted two resolutions. In the first resolution strong protest is made against the brutal repressive measures of the social democratic government and against the monstrous treachery of the reformist leaders. It declares that in spite of all the repressive measures of the capitalist State against the strikers, the fighting front was still unbroken when the reformists succeeded in treacherously stabbing the fighting workers in the back. It is further declared that the fight is to be continued on the individual ships. The resolution expresses complete agreement with the line of the International of seamen and dock workers and of the Red Trade Union Opposition who supported the strike.

In the second resolution the two membership meetings protest against the police terror and against the attacks on the Red Trade Union Opposition and the organ of the Communist Party, "**Arbejderbladet**," which alone supported them in their fight. The resolution demands the release of all arrested in connection with the strike.

The strike of the Danish seamen has ended in a temporary defeat. In spite, however, of the mistakes committed, it constitutes an example of a revolutionary fight which defied all bourgeois laws and oppressive measures, exposed the social democracy, the reformist trade union bureaucracy and the social democratic government, and will play an important part in the development of the revolutionary class forces in Denmark.

Chicago Workers Under Lashes of New Deal

By W. Gebert (Chicago)

The workers of Chicago, the industrial heart of the country, are suffering under the lashes of the Roosevelt N.R.A. New Deal in the fifth year of the prolonged crisis. The wages of the workers in all basic industries have been reduced to a starvation level. Under the N.R.A., in the factories, mines and workshops workers are driven by inhuman speed-up and forced to work long hours. Real wages have been slashed while prices of food are rising. The Hoover stagger system, under the New Deal, is being spread further, with its misery and starvation.

One million seven hundred thousand are employed in the States of Illinois and Indiana. Hunger, misery and starvation spreads to the working-class neighbourhoods. The Negro masses suffer the most. Over 35,000 single and young workers are herded into despicable flophouses in Chicago, many of them dying from poisoned food and insanitary conditions. Young workers, boys and girls, are roaming the streets.

The budget for schools has been cut. Teachers and school employees are unpaid. Children in the schools are lacking milk, food and clothing. Working-class families in the city of Chicago are forced to live in hovels and shacks while there are thousands of empty apartments and buildings in the city.

The N.R.A. New Deal policy is carried in the State of Illinois by the democratic machine of Mayor Kelly and Governor Horner, the lackeys of finance capital. Governor Horner was elected under the slogan of "a great humanitarian" and the "great humanitarian" is also Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, which, according to its own organ "**The Illinois Guardsman**" (March, 1934), declares that: "*Bloodshed is necessary to quell disturbances.*"

While Governor Horner claims that he has no money for the hungry unemployed, for the starving children, he appropriated in 1933 a quarter of a million (250,000 dollars) additional funds for the National Guard for policing the mining area, and in 1934 a

million and a half dollars for improvement of the National Guard and its quarters.

The socialist party likewise gives open support to the New Deal. A prominent member of the socialist party, Karl Borders, is now in the Federal government relief administration. Sam Levine, a bureaucrat in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, a member of the socialist party, is on the strike-breaking Regional Labour Board. The "left" variety of the socialist party and the Musteites, under cover of mild opposition to the N.R.A., are giving objective support by means of vicious attacks upon the Communist Party, the only fighting revolutionary force of the working class, and which mobilises and leads the struggle against the Roosevelt New Deal administration.

The characterisation of the situation in the State of Illinois holds true for the State of Indiana, where democratic Governor McNutt, former National Commander of the American Legion, carries the New Deal policy through by dictatorial methods, such as arbitrary abolition of the municipal elections for one year, adjournment of the State Legislature, by sending militia against the striking miners and against the unemployed in South Bend.

The introduction of the N.R.A. codes in the industries of Illinois and Indiana brought about a decline in the weekly earnings of the workers in steel, packing, metal and manufacturing industries, notwithstanding the insignificant increase in some factories in hourly rates, gained through the pressure of the workers.

Inflation, with its rising cost of living, has cut the wages of the entire working class and further lowers the standard of living of the toiling masses. The laundry workers employed by the Saratoga Laundry Service Company, 214, W. Huron Street, are at present striking against the 12½ cents an hour scale. They are primarily Negro women and their weekly earnings average 7 dollars 25 cents for 55 to 60 hours per week—that is, an average of 12½ cents an hour, working under the most brutal speed-up and unsanitary conditions. And because they dared to go on strike demanding an eight-hour day and minimum wage of 50 cents an hour, Mayor Kelly sent his police to club and arrest the women who are thrown into jails because they revolted against the sweat-shop conditions of the N.R.A.

In the Stewart-Warner, Stock Yards and other factories the bosses are displacing men by women workers for lower rates of pay.

All the promises of Roosevelt—"re-employment," "creating new jobs," "nobody will starve," etc.—find in the States of Illinois and Indiana 1,700,000 men, women and youth out of work; by the closing of the C.W.A. jobs, nearly 300,000 workers were thrown out of jobs. The few that will remain on so-called "relief jobs," which means forced labour, are forced to work at 30 cents an hour. And they will not be allowed to spend their money as they wish, but according to the relief plan laid down by the Relief Commission. Young men are driven into the military controlled C.C.C. camps. Taxation has been shifted upon the toiling masses through the sales tax and upon the small property owners by increasing taxes and releasing large corporations. The city employees, together with the teachers, are not receiving wages regularly. The overwhelming majority of the workers do not earn a livelihood.

The Roosevelt New Deal promises for "the right to organise" expressed itself in practice in our district in the form of forcing workers in such important plants as International Harvester, Illinois Steel, Wisconsin Steel, Stock Yards, railroads and in the metal industry, into company unions. This is carried out by terror in the shops, threats of discharging and blacklisting workers, by means of spying upon workers. Injunctions are being introduced as a means of breaking strikes. The unemployed workers, previously to the New Deal, won through mass militant struggles the right to their committees at the relief stations. Now, under the New Deal, this right has been taken from them by means of the most vicious attack upon those workers who dared to take their rights into their own hands.

It is under these conditions that the Chicago workers and workers throughout the State of Illinois are developing their struggle against the lashes and offensive of the Roosevelt New Deal as carried in Illinois through the Kelly-Horner democratic machine. In the last period more than 50,000 workers have been involved in numerous strike struggles. Tens of thousands of unemployed demonstrated in numerous cities, including school teachers, students, post office employees, and farmers who struggled for increased prices for their products. Demonstrations against evictions and foreclosures have taken place.

In these struggles the most outstanding was the general strike

in Centralia, Illinois, which began with a strike in one department in a shoe factory for the demand of firing a slave-driving foreman who abused women and a forelady who worked with him, spread throughout the shop and in a period of three days spread to all trades, C.W.A. (Civil Works Administration) projects and finally among the miners, despite the bitter opposition of the officialdom of the U.M.W.A. (United Mine Workers of America). It was a complete general strike in this town of 12,000 population. This strike carried in it political elements and showed that in this period a strike which may begin around some small grievance can be developed to a higher stage, and further shows that workers realise that their strength lies in unity.

In this period also we had the first partial strikes since 1919-21 in the steel and packing industries of Chicago. Many workers who participated in strikes in this period have entered the class struggle for the first time, such as the Negro women in Sopkin Dress, young workers in leather, food, needle trades, etc.

The resistance to the company unions is growing in the steel mills, particularly in the Illinois Steel in Gary, and South Chicago, where the majority of the workers in the recent elections in the company union ballots expressed their hatred against the company unions by voting "No" on the proposed plan of "reforms of the company unions." A similar resentment against company unionism is noticeable among the railroad and metal workers. There is also a noticeable upsurge among the Illinois miners, particularly those organised in the P.M.A. (Progressive Miners of America).

The growing demand for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill now before U.S. Congress, the growing desire for organisation in trade unions among the Negro proletariat in the South Side of Chicago, are indications that the Chicago proletariat is entering on the path of struggle and is beginning to realise the real meaning of the Roosevelt N.R.A. New Deal, not only as far as their worsened conditions, wages, standard of living, etc., are concerned, but there is a growing realisation that the Roosevelt New Deal leads towards fascisation and towards imperialist war.

The main task confronting the Chicago working class is to defeat the ideological, political and organisational influence of the A.F. of L. (American Federation of Labour), with its bureaucratic, racketeering machine, under the leadership of John Fitzpatrick, which took full advantage of its position as part and parcel of the N.R.A., which is openly supported by the government and stifles the militant moods, dissatisfaction and radicalisation of the Chicago working class.

The Socialist Party collaborates with the Fitzpatrick machine in all the important events in the struggles of the workers, as has been shown so clearly in the case of the united front Job March on March 31, where the leadership of the Socialist Party and Chicago Federation of Labour, together with Duffy, a Democratic politician in control of the Chicago Workers' Committee on Unemployment, united in an attempt to defeat united front action on the part of the workers. Their efforts were not quite successful. A larger number of locals of the A.F. of L. and Socialist-controlled organisations participated in the united front.

The Communist Party in the last year strengthened itself in the shops. It increased its membership. Its influence is felt in the ranks of the A.F. of L. It consolidated itself considerably among the Negro masses. But all this is very inadequate. The task confronting the Communist Party is to gain the leadership of the workers in the decisive and basic industries of the city, stock yards, steel, metal, railroad, to win for its programme the Negro masses, young workers, to win the support of the middle-class elements, teachers, intellectuals, professionals, etc.

Wages in Austrian Textile Industry Sink to Level of Unemployment Benefit

Vienna, April 30.

The Voeslau Yarn Spinning Mill, the largest textile factory in Austria, has reduced the working hours of its 2,600 workers from 48 hours weekly to 42. This means, as the factory council has been obliged to admit in a bourgeois paper, "that the workers' wages are reduced to the level of unemployment benefit, and the workers therewith to a state of poverty." This retrenchment is the more remarkable because the textile industry has been one of the few branches of trade comparatively busy during the past year, as it participates in the armaments boom. But for the last three months there has been a great falling-off in the textile trade.

Against Fascism

The Struggle of the Working Masses Refutes the Demagogy of Italian Fascism

With the so-called plebiscite Italian fascism wished to show that the whole of the Italian people enthusiastically supports its rule. But the manner in which the plebiscite was prepared and carried out shows that it was a monstrous fraud, a coercion of the working masses, in which all means of terror which the fascist dictatorship has at its disposal were employed.

Fascism has not solved any of the problems which have brought about the post-war crisis in Italy. On the contrary, the economic position has become worse, whilst the international situation is characterised by the immediately threatening war danger. The discontent and indignation of ever-larger masses of the workers is finding expression. It frequently happens that workers come forward in fascist trade union meetings in defence of their wages, whilst in all parts of the country protest movements are taking place.

Long before the plebiscite two unemployed demonstrations took place in Turin. Eight hundred unemployed demonstrated in the Piazza Castello against a film-producing firm who had engaged them to take part in a film production and then offered them a starvation wage of 10 lira per day. The agents of the film producers were frightened by the demonstration and consented to pay the unemployed a daily wage of 20 lira. Another unemployed demonstration in Turin was attended by 1,300 unemployed who had likewise been engaged by the film-producing company. They, too, succeeded in forcing the company to pay them a daily wage of 20 lira.

Hundreds of arrests were carried out before the plebiscite. All former political prisoners, former exiled and those who were known to be active in the anti-fascist movement were arrested; house searches were carried out in order to seize illegal Communist leaflets in which the workers were called upon to vote "No." But these leaflets were circulated and enthusiastically welcomed by the workers. In the town and province of Milan numerous slogans such as "Vote 'NO,' write 'Gramsci' on the ballot papers! Long live the Communist Party!" were chalked on the walls.

Numerous arrests were also carried out in Milan, in Emilia, Genoa, Florence, Veneto, Venezia Giulia, Trieste and in Southern Italy.

The demonstrations which took place shortly before and after the plebiscite are an indication of the real feeling of the Italian workers towards fascism. In Udine a demonstration was held in the market square. The demonstrators shouted: "Down with fascism! We are hungry! Give us bread and work!" The police arrested several persons and, as usual, the authorities made promises. But the indignation has not died down.

In Padua there were disturbances by the students because the authorities had prohibited their holding of a university festival. The students marched in a body through the main roads of the town, carrying a coffin with the name "Achille" on it, as a protest against the secretary of the fascist party, Achille Starace. The police interfered and collisions occurred, as a result of which several persons were wounded. Anti-fascist demonstrations were held in Padua three days running. The university was closed, but the students opened it again with the help of factory workers. The protest movement of the students was obviously supported by the toiling population of Padua.

In a village in the province of Gorizia a peasant was unable to pay his taxes. The bailiff arrived in order to seize his cattle. The whole population of the village, however, defended the peasant, and finally compelled the bailiff to retreat.

In a town in Venezia Giulia the film "Luce," a propaganda film boosting the alleged achievements of the regime and for war, was repeatedly booed and the performance disturbed by interjections such as "down with fascism!"

In a small provincial town of Veneto the mayor demanded that about 100 peasants should work for four days during the week without pay in order to repair the streets of the town. Those who did not wish to work four days should pay 5 lira for each day they did not work. The peasants protested against this demand and refused either to work for nothing or pay 5 liras a day.

In Benistari (Calabria) stormy anti-fascist demonstrations were carried out. The peasants burnt a portrait of Mussolini and a fascist flag in front of the Town Hall as a protest against the

fascist regime which had brought misery to them. After this they set fire to the Town Hall. Many peasants were arrested.

In Catanzaro, also in Calabria, demonstrations took place on the occasion of a religious procession. Several hundred workers shouted anti-fascist slogans. The Bishop called the police and had the demonstrators dispersed. The workers, however, offered resistance and the procession had to be abandoned. Three demonstrators were arrested.

In Palermo hundreds of unemployed demonstrated against the authorities under the slogans: work and bread. The militia was called in against them. In Barcellona (Sicily) the fascist militia which is holding military manoeuvres there, was greeted by the population with the shouts: "Down with the Duce!" In Littoria serious collisions took place between the peasants and the police. Five peasants were arrested.

In Pratola Peligna, in the province of Aquila, serious collisions took place on April 18 between numerous demonstrators and agents of the police. Even the fascist press had to admit that one of the demonstrators was killed and four were wounded. In actual fact the number of the victims was much larger. Fierce anti-fascist struggles, in which several persons were killed and wounded, took place in the Island of Rhodes against the high customs duties. It is obvious that here, just as in the movement in Venezia Giulia, the suppressed national minority is rising against Italian fascism.

In accordance with the directives issued by the Communist fractions of the General Trade Union Federation, the meetings of the fascist trade unions are assuming a more and more militant character. The anti-fascist workers, against the will of the fascist leaders, enforce discussions on the urgent demands of the workers; they criticise the leaders and protest against the uninterrupted wage cuts and the worsening of working conditions. Threats to strike are being made.

In this connection the meetings of the metal workers of Terni (Central Italy) and the building workers' meetings in Bologna are of particular importance, because at these meetings the revolutionary elements put forward very important demands. The fresh big wage-cuts imposed upon the workers and officials employed by the State and the municipalities, and which are a prelude to a fresh general offensive upon the wages of the workers, have aroused great indignation among the masses of the toilers. The Communist Party and the Confederazione Generale di Lavoro issued calls for a struggle against the fresh wage-cuts of 6 to 12 per cent.

The leaders of the fascist trade unions are endeavouring to do away with the meetings of the fascist trade unions by holding delegate conferences and meetings of factory correspondents in their place. The revolutionary trade unions call upon the workers to protest against this measure and to demand full trade union meetings, at which the demands of the workers can be discussed.

The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions will by this means solve the task set them by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.: to win the majority of the working class for the revolutionary struggle and for the establishment of the Soviet Power.

May Day in Britain

The greatest May Day in the history of Birmingham took place to-day, when the majority of the 7,000 workers at the Lucas factory struck work to participate in the May Day demonstration.

They struck work against the operation of the point system, a similar system to that of the Bedaux.

Fifteen thousand workers marched in the demonstration. The police made desperate efforts to prevent the demonstrators marching into the park, but they were defeated. However, the police refused to allow Tom Roberts, organiser of the Birmingham district of the Communist Party, to speak, and arrested him with five other comrades.

Two thousand workers marched from the Embankment, London, this afternoon, in brilliant sunny weather, to Hyde Park. There were plenty of banners displayed, with slogans such as: "Fight against Fascism and War," "Release Thaelmann and Torgler!"

There were several thousands of workers awaiting the demonstrators in Hyde Park itself. There were goodly crowds of workers gathered around the six platforms.

Despite the proclamation of the Labour magistrates and the efforts of the police, five thousand Glasgow workers marched in the May Day demonstration to-day.

Fully ten thousand workers closed around the three platforms on the Green.

The White Terror

Hungarian Fascism's Crime Against Rakoshi

About a week ago Comrade **Matthias Rakoshi** concluded the eight and a half years' sentence imposed on him by the Hungarian authorities for his organisational and political work on behalf of the Hungarian Communist Party. A few days prior to the expiry of this barbarous sentence he was informed by the prison authorities that he was about to be removed from Szegedin, a provincial town in Hungary in whose prison he was serving his sentence, to Budapest. The arrangement was apparently the usual one for the release of prisoners who have served their sentences. Comrade Rakoshi was in fact removed to Budapest, but not to the prison from which long-term men are released. He was sent to the remand prison in Marko-Ukka, where he was informed that new proceedings were being prepared against him on the ground that fifteen years ago he was a member of the revolutionary government of Soviet Hungary as the People's Commissar for the Socialisation of Industry. After eight and a half years of torture in prison Rakoshi is now once again to be dragged through the Hungarian courts to answer a charge which brings with it the death sentence or a sentence of life-long hard labour. Official Hungarian governmental circles are very reserved about the matter. Up to the present not a single Hungarian newspaper has been permitted to publish a single line about the new crime which is being prepared against Rakoshi. From this it must be assumed that the Hungarian government is preparing to carry out its plan by a trial in camera.

Comrade Rakoshi was arrested in Budapest on the 23rd September, 1925, as the victim of an agent-provocateur named Samuel, who succeeded by activity in the ranks of the illegal Communist Party in winning the confidence of Rakoshi. After Rakoshi's arrest a tremendous campaign of incitement against him was organised in the Hungarian press, which howled for the gallows and the hangman. There is in fact no doubt whatever that the Hungarian bourgeoisie would have sent Rakoshi to the gallows but for the powerful mobilisation of international public opinion and the energetic solidarity action of the international proletariat. Immediately after Rakoshi's arrest an international campaign to save him was organised. This campaign was so intense and persistent that it met with an echo deep in the ranks of bourgeois public opinion. The bourgeois press and even bourgeois parliaments were compelled to discuss the affair. The Hungarian government was snowed under with protest telegrams from all countries and it was compelled to explain itself to international public opinion. The Hungarian government beat a retreat from its original intention and postponed the trial. On the 22nd November Comrades Rakoshi, Weinberger, Oery and Goegoes were suddenly hauled before a court-martial, whose only alternative in law was the death sentence or acquittal. The proceedings began in the presence of the hangmen whose duty it would have been to execute the death sentences within three hours of their promulgation. The accused, led by Comrade Rakoshi, defied death heroically and defended themselves with energy and capacity. The court was turned into a propaganda tribune for the Communist Party, and outside the walls of international protest surged up against the walls of the courthouse. In the end the court-martial declared itself to be not competent to try the accused, and transferred the proceedings to the ordinary courts. Eight months later the ordinary courts passed heavy sentences of hard labour on the accused. Comrade Rakoshi was sentenced to eight and a half years' hard labour.

Eight and a half years' hard labour exclusively for Communist propaganda and Communist organisational work! At the time such activity was illegal in a very few countries only. In most countries, even including fascist Italy, there were legal Communist Parties at work. During the trial of Rakoshi, Communist deputies from the neighbouring States, Slovakia, German Bohemia and Germany, sat in the body of the court and followed the proceedings. The Hungarian government did not even dare to expel these Communist representatives, but Rakoshi and his comrades were sentenced for Communist activity and transferred as common criminals to the notorious hard labour prison of Vaitzen (Vac) to serve their sentences together with murderers, robbers and other desperate criminals. Rakoshi and his comrades were subjected to the same prison regime as these

common criminals, or rather they were treated even worse, for the normal privileges enjoyed by the common criminals (permission to write letters, to receive visits, to improve their food at their own expense, etc.) were arbitrarily cut down by a corrupt prison administration and the Communist prisoners were even swindled out of the food to which they were entitled. When Rakoshi protested against this barbarism he was punished with brutal disciplinary measures (he was flung into chains, deprived of his mattress, put into an unheated cell, put on bread and water, etc.) and the Communist prisoners answered this with a heroic **hunger strike** as a result of which one of the Communist prisoners, the young worker Alexander Loevy, died in prison. At the instructions of the Communist Party the hunger strike was broken off. After this Comrade Rakoshi was transferred from Vaitzen to Szegedin. Szegedin was a different prison, but the hard labour regime was the same, with the same brutalities, the same chicanery, the same disciplinary punishments, etc. In fact it was worse than ever for Rakoshi because he was compelled to work ten hours a day in the textile department of the prison workshops doing physical labour damaging to his health. As a result of this work Comrade Rakoshi contracted lung trouble from which he is still suffering.

When the end of his sentence drew nearer and Rakoshi was unexpectedly still alive, the Hungarian government prepared a new and vile blow against him. In November last a notice appeared in a prominent place in the official "Pester Lloyd" in Budapest to the effect that Rakoshi would be released in a few days, that the authorities had decided to remit the last part of his sentence owing to the fact that he had conducted himself in an exemplary fashion. This announcement was published at a time when in fact Rakoshi was serving a six weeks' disciplinary sentence imposed upon him by the prison authorities, at a time when despite his illness Rakoshi was being given reduced rations, periodically a hard plank to sleep on instead of a mattress and periodical fast days. The Hungarian government was trying to lull Rakoshi's friends into a sense of security in order that no action should be organised on his behalf, and at the same time it hoped to discredit the old revolutionary whose spirit it could not break. But Rakoshi survived this roguery also and now the Hungarian government flings down its final trump. After having served a full eight and a half years' hard labour for Communist activity Rakoshi is now to be held in prison for the rest of his life for a political action which was in fact at the time committed by a number of social-democratic leaders also who, however, have since been amnestied and brought back to office and honour, for an action which was committed fifteen years ago and for which the authorities have never dreamed of arraigning him during the eight and a half years he has been in their power.

It is the intention of the Hungarian government to finish off Rakoshi who at the end of eight and a half years is still unbroken in spirit though worn out in body. This new piece of barbarism must not succeed. Those who have already come forward on Rakoshi's behalf once must come forward again. They must raise their voices in energetic protest and millions of others must join them. Rakoshi is not a bad name to serve as the centre of an international campaign. His name must produce a mighty echo from all parts of the world and that quickly in order that the Hungarian government cannot place the world before an accomplished fact.

It is no more than a modest demand of humanity—**Rakoshi must be released after having served eight and a half years' hard labour!**

Confiscation of Revolutionary Literature in Argentina

Buenos Aires, March 31.

On March 26 the Special Department for the struggle against Communism organised by the Argentine police made a domiciliary visit to the printing office in Buenos Aires where the organs of the C.P. of Argentina, "La Internacional" and "Soviet," as also the periodical "Informaciones," are printed. This was the first signal for a general raid on revolutionary literature, which is now being continued in the form of the confiscation of editions of Marxist books and pamphlets in the bookshops of Buenos Aires. The "Brown Book" is one of the special objects of this confiscation; the first translation into Spanish recently appeared in Montevideo.

In the International

The Fight Against Opportunism in the C.P. of France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

In the course of the last few months, and particularly since the February events, which revealed the fascist danger, the movement of the workers and peasants of France has developed considerably and has reached a higher level.

Such a situation is exceedingly favourable for strengthening the influence of the Party and its role as leader of the class struggles. The Communist Party of France has gained more than four thousand new members and formed dozens of new cells consisting of enthusiastic elements. At all the recent bye-elections the C.P. has increased its vote while the socialist party has lost votes. As a result of Communist work, committees against fascism and against war are being formed in the most remote localities, to which dozens of local branches of the socialist party and trade unions affiliated to the reformist C.G.T. belong.

There is no doubt, however, that these circumstances can, in turn, favour the development of Right opportunism. At the moment when the fights against the bourgeoisie are extending and rising to a higher political level, it is to be feared that those elements which are inclined to panic may over-estimate the forces of the enemy and underestimate their own forces and lack confidence in the capacity of the Communist Party to lead the movement of the masses to victory. Many who do not properly appraise the role of the social democracy as the main social support of the bourgeoisie are inclined to regard the united front as a "loyal" alliance between the socialist party and the Communist Party.

At the meeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of France which was held in January last, Comrade Doriot attempted to raise to a theory the shortcomings which had been overcome and to set up a *politically opportunist platform*. This platform was based on a fundamental pessimism in regard to the revolutionary upsurge of the masses and the possibilities of a break-up of the socialist party. Comrade Doriot, declaring that there was "one single point" of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. with which he was not in agreement, proposed to "supplement" the tactics of the united front from below, which in his opinion was impotent, by proposals to the leaders. Failing to take into account the movement of the masses of socialist workers evoked by the carrying out of the correct policy of the C.P., he based his hypotheses on "fundamental" differences of opinion which, in his view, existed between parts of the socialist party of France in regard to the united front and not between the workers and the whole of their leaders.

The C.C. unanimously rejected such a theory, such a lack of perspectives, such a misunderstanding of the role of the Party. It pointed out that not to place the bitter fight against the social democracy in the forefront means to *revise the whole policy of the C.P.F.* and of the Communist International, and called upon Doriot to abandon his platform and defend the standpoint of the C.C.

Comrade Doriot did nothing of the kind. On February 12, in St. Denis, where the great majority of the working class support the Communist Party, he invited the completely discredited local leaders of the socialist party to march along with Communists at the head of the demonstrations. He did not attack the policy of the socialists; he did not attribute the seizure of power by Hitler fascism to the treachery of the German social democracy, but to the failure to carry out united actions. He also gave it to be understood that the C.P.F. has no proper attitude with regard to the united front. This attitude of Doriot was confirmed by some articles in the Party paper of the St. Denis district, in which he expressly said that the C.P. is the essential leader of the proletariat, and not the only leader.

At the March meeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of France, whilst all other members of the C.C. agreed that the February days were a victory of the policy indefatigably conducted by the C.P.F., Doriot continued his opportunist line. He denied that the successful repulse of fascism was the result of the activity of the C.P. of France, and maintained on the contrary that it was thanks to the socialist party and the C.G.T. Doriot believes that the social democracy, under the pressure of its members, can become a real

party of struggle against fascism. He thus places it on a level with the Communist Party.

It is only another step to the idea of the formation of a bloc between the Communist Party and the socialist party. Doriot, for his part, has already taken this step, for he wrote on February 13 in his local paper:—

"To defeat fascism means to open the way to power. On this point we likewise agree with representatives of other organisations. Therefore we believe that the pact already concluded must not be a cartel just for a moment. It can exist for a long time. *It rests with us to maintain it until the victory of the working class.*"

Here we have the complete revision of the Leninist conception of the role of the social democracy and an open endorsement of the Brandlerist and Trotskyist theses.

Doriot has gathered round him the leaders of the Denis district and the remnants of the sectarian Barbé group who caused so much harm to the C.P. in 1929 and 1930. But his theories were condemned by the great majority of the Conference of his district (Paris-Nord) which on April 2 adopted a resolution opposing any attempt to conceal the face of the Party and to draw the Party on to the path of social democracy . . . to disintegrate the Party by demanding a discussion of ideas hostile to the Party and the International. Other districts of the C.P. of France unanimously rejected any attempt to smuggle social-democratic goods into the C.P.F.

But Doriot, who violated the discipline of the C.C., refused to submit to the Party. In his paper, at open meetings, on placards, he attacked "Humanité," the C.C. of the C.P. of France and Comrade Thorez, who, on behalf of the C.C., played an active role in the fight against opportunism. Under the pretext of addressing a letter to the C.I. setting forth his differences of opinions with the C.C., he issued an anti-party pamphlet and attempted to reply by fractional methods. He did not hesitate to state openly that the leadership of the C.P.F. had a sectarian attitude to the united front, and thus placed poisonous weapons in the hands of the socialist leaders. By resigning from his position as mayor and bringing about an unexpected election in St. Denis, he wishes to prevent the workers being enlightened, and also desires to be re-elected by a "popular vote" against the policy of the C.P.F.

Thanks to the efforts of the C.P., numerous workers in St. Denis who have been deceived by Doriot are beginning to have their eyes opened. Several cells which at the district conference declared themselves in agreement with the opportunist group, have now abandoned their error. The whole of the C.P.F. has remained unaffected by the fractional propaganda of elements which have remained behind events and which have no confidence in the C.P. of France and the Comintern.

One of the greatest achievements of the C.P.F. in recent times was its ideological consolidation. Its cadres have improved. The cells are displaying greater political activity. Thanks to the excellent work of the Party schools the Communist Party has been able better to make the fundamental teachings of Lenin its own; thanks to its correct policy the leadership has acquired an indisputable authority and the whole Party has rallied round it. This is a guarantee that the fight of the C.P. of France will not be disorientated by the sliding down of some of its members to the social democracy.

The theories and practice of the Doriot-Barbé group could have resulted in preventing the upsurge of the C.P. and the revolutionary movement in France. It could have prevented the carrying out of the united front from below and the coming over to the Party of the socialist toilers, who are becoming more and more convinced that the policy of the C.P.F. is the only correct policy. These theories, if they had found acceptance, *would have resulted in the liquidation of the C.P.F.*

The C.P. of France fully realised this. On the eve of big class struggles it is directing its whole fire against opportunism in every form, against both fronts—of which Right opportunism is the most dangerous. It will defeat those who resist the carrying out of the line of the C.C. On the basis of the rapid upsurge of the movement of the masses, the C.P. of France is becoming stronger and winning great sympathy among all sections of the toilers. It will not permit the victory of the proletariat over capitalism to be delayed by oppositional intrigues which help the class enemy.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The October Revolution and the Question of the Middle Strata

By J. Stalin

A book has just been published by the Co-operative Printers and Publishers for foreign-born workers in the Soviet Union which contains a series of articles written by Comrade Stalin. The following article, which deals with the October Revolution and the middle strata, is of particular importance to-day and we therefore print it in full.—Ed.

Undoubtedly the question of the middle strata is one of the chief questions of the workers' revolution. The middle strata—that is the peasantry and the non-proletarian toiling elements in the towns. The oppressed nationalities must also be reckoned under this heading, for nine-tenths of them consists of these middle strata. As you see, it is just a question of those strata which in accordance with their economic situation stand between the proletariat and the class of the capitalists. The specific gravity of these strata is determined by two circumstances: first of all these strata represent the majority, or at least a very large minority, of the population of the existing States; and secondly, they form a very serious reserve from which the class of the capitalists is able to recruit its army against the proletariat. The proletariat cannot maintain power without winning the sympathy, without winning the support of these middle strata, and above all of the peasantry, and this is particularly true of a country like our Union of Republics. The proletariat cannot even dream seriously of seizing power without at least neutralising these strata, unless these strata have been torn away from the class of the capitalists and if they still form in their majority an army in the service of capitalism. From this results the struggle for the winning of the middle strata, the struggle for the winning of the peasantry, which runs like a red thread through the course of our whole revolution from 1905 to 1917, a struggle which has by no means ended and which will have to be conducted in the future also.

The revolution of 1848 in France suffered a defeat, amongst other reasons, because it failed to enlist the sympathy of the French peasantry. The Paris Commune of 1871 collapsed, amongst other reasons, because it met with the resistance of the middle strata, and above all, the peasantry. The same is true of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Taking this experience of the European revolutions, a number of vulgar-Marxists, led by Kautsky, came to the conclusion that the middle strata and, above all, the peasantry, were practically the deadly enemies of the proletarian revolution, and that therefore the perspective of development was a long and tedious one in which the proletariat would gradually become the majority inside the various nations and thus create the necessary conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution. On the basis of this conclusion these vulgar-Marxists warned the proletariat against a "precipitate" revolution. On the basis of this conclusion they left the middle strata to be the complete prey of the capitalist class. On the basis of this conclusion they prophesied the collapse of the Russian October Revolution, pointing out that the proletariat in Russia was in the minority, that Russia was a peasant country and that therefore a victorious proletarian revolution in Russia was a sheer impossibility.

It is characteristic that Marx himself held a very different estimation of these middle strata and, above all, of the peasantry. Whilst the vulgar-Marxists dispose of the peasantry with a wave of the hand and leave the middle strata to the untrammelled political influence of the capitalist, whilst loudly claiming credit for their "logical principles," Marx himself, the greatest Marxist amongst all Marxists, urgently advised the Party of the Communists not to lose sight of the peasantry, to work to win them for the proletariat and to secure their support for the coming proletarian revolution. In the 'fifties, following on the defeat of the February revolutions in France and Germany, Marx wrote to Engels, and through him to the whole Communist Party of Germany:—

"The whole situation in Germany will depend on the possi-

bility of supporting the proletarian revolution by what one might call a second edition of the peasant war."*

That passage was written of Germany in the 'fifties of last century, of a peasant country in which the proletariat was only a small and insignificant minority, where the proletariat was less organised than it was in 1917 in Russia, where the peasantry was in a situation which made it even less inclined to support the proletarian revolution than was the case in Russia in 1917.

Undoubtedly the October Revolution represents that fortunate association of the "peasant war" with the "proletarian revolution," of which Marx wrote in defiance of all babblers about "principles." The October Revolution in Russia has proved conclusively that such an association is quite possible and that it can be achieved. The October Revolution has proved that the proletariat can seize power and hold it if it at the same time succeeds in wresting the middle strata, and above all the peasantry, from the class of the capitalists, if it succeeds in transforming these strata from the reserves of capitalism into the reserves of the proletariat.

In brief: the October Revolution, as the first revolution in the world, has put forward the question of the middle strata, and above all the peasantry, and it has solved this question successfully, despite all the "theories" and all the lamentations of the heroes of the Second International.

That was the first service rendered by the October Revolution, if one can speak of services in a case like this.

However, the matter does not remain limited to this. The October Revolution proceeded still farther in that it attempted to rally the oppressed nationalities around the proletariat also. It has already been said above that these oppressed nationalities are composed to ninety per cent. of peasants and the non-proletarian toilers in the towns. However, this does not exhaust the meaning of the term "oppressed nationality." The oppressed nationalities are usually oppressed and exploited not merely as peasants and urban toilers, but also as nationalities, that is to say as the toilers of a certain State organisation, with a certain language, culture, mode of life, customs and habits. The double pressure of this oppression must necessarily make the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities revolutionary, it must drive them into the struggle against the chief factor of the oppression, into the struggle against capitalism. This fact forms the basis on which the proletariat has succeeded in associating the "proletarian revolution" not only with the "peasant war," but also with the "national war." This must necessarily extend the field of operations of the proletarian revolution far beyond the frontiers of Russia and endanger the biggest reserves of capitalism. If the struggle to win the middle strata of a given dominant nationality is a struggle to win the immediate reserves of capitalism, then the struggle to free the oppressed nationalities must necessarily develop into a struggle to win individual and great reserves of capitalism, into a struggle for the emancipation of the colonial and oppressed peoples from the yoke of capitalism. This latter struggle is by no means ended yet; in fact not even the first decisive successes have been achieved in the struggle yet. However, thanks to the October Revolution, this struggle to win over the reserves of capitalism has begun and will undoubtedly continue to develop step by step in accordance with the development of imperialism, in accordance with the growing power of our own Union of Republics, in accordance with the development of the proletarian revolution in the West.

In brief: The October Revolution has in fact laid the basis for

* "The whole thing in Germany wird abhängen von der Möglichkeit to back the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the peasants' war." (Marx: Letter to Engels. London, 16th April, 1856. Marx-Engels Complete Edition. III/II, p. 131.)

the struggle of the proletariat to win the reserves of capitalism amongst the masses of the oppressed nationalities. It was the first to raise the banner of the struggle to win these reserves, and that is its second service.

The winning of the peasantry took place in our country under the banner of socialism. The peasantry which received the land from the hands of the proletariat, which defeated the rich landowners with the assistance of the proletariat, which came to power under the leadership of the proletariat, felt and understood that the process of its emancipation would continue to develop under the banner of the proletariat, under the red banner of socialism. This circumstance transformed the red banner of socialism, which was formerly a sign of horror for the peasantry, into a banner which demanded its attention and facilitated its struggle against intimidation, misery, and oppression. The same is true to a still greater degree of the oppressed nationalities. The call for the struggle to free the oppressed nationalities, a call which was confirmed in action by the emancipation of **Finland**, the withdrawal of the troops from **Persia** and **China**, the formation of the **Union of Republics**, the open moral support accorded to the peoples of **Turkey**, **China**, **Indonesia**, and **Egypt**, this call sounded for the first time from the lips of those men and women who had been victorious in the October Revolution. It is not accidental that Russia, which was formerly the banner of oppression for the national minorities, has now become, as a socialist country, the banner of emancipation for the oppressed nationalities. It is not accidental that the name of the leader of the October Revolution, Comrade **Lenin**, is to-day one of the most loved and respected names in the mouths of the oppressed and intimidated peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Just as in former times Christianity was the banner of the oppressed and intimidated slaves in the great Roman Empire, to-day the path of development can make (and is already making) socialism the banner of emancipation for the millions and millions of people in the colonial empires of imperialism. It can hardly be doubted that this circumstance considerably facilitates the struggle to overcome the prejudices against socialism and opens up the path for the penetration of socialist ideas into the remotest corners of the oppressed countries. Formerly it was difficult for a socialist to go with an open visor into the ranks of the non-proletarian middle strata of the oppressed or the oppressing countries, but now he can go openly amongst these strata propagating the ideas of socialism in the hope that they will listen to him and perhaps follow his words, for he has on his side such a strong argument as the October Revolution. That is also one of the services of the October Revolution.

In short: the October Revolution has opened up the path into the non-proletarian peasant middle strata of all nationalities and races for the ideas of socialism. It has popularised the banner of socialism amongst these masses. That is the third service of the October Revolution.

"Pravda," No. 253, of November 7, 1923.

The Social Insurance of the Ruling Working Class

By Our Special Correspondent, L. F. BOROSS (Moscow)

The social insurance budget for 1934, which has just been published in the Soviet press, is a document of great international importance. It furnishes a plain answer to the question: What is proletarian social policy?

There are still capitalist countries which possess a social insurance. If, however, one asks a worker what he gets out of it, the reply in most cases will be: only the cost and annoyance. The meagre social insurance which was wrung from the bourgeoisie in the years following the war has either been ruthlessly cut down or abolished.

It is therefore not surprising that the first question which a foreign worker who is interested in social insurance in the Soviet Union asks is: How much is deducted from wages in the Soviet Union for social insurance? The answer is very simple: **Nothing whatever**. The whole cost of social insurance is borne by the undertaking in which the insured person is employed. Thus insurance in the Soviet Union has not the character of a wage deduction, but rather of a supplement to the workers' wages, and a very big supplement at that, when one remembers that the insurance contributions paid and to be paid by the undertakings

amount in the current year to 5,050 million roubles. And this enormous sum, apart from the very small cost of administration, not amounting to 1 per cent., goes entirely to the workers and employees in the form of social services. The whole social insurance, including the right to dispose of the insurance monies, lies exclusively in the hands of the **trade unions**. The pay offices of the social insurance are in the factories themselves and are under the control of the factory councils.

What benefits are the workers in the Soviet Union drawing from the social insurance? The figures given in the annual budget speak for themselves:—

Section I. fixes the expenditure on **benefits and pensions** at 1,514,200,000 roubles. Of this sum 823 million is allotted to sick benefit and maternity grants, 675.5 million roubles is set aside for pensions for incapacitated persons and the provision of suitable light occupation for incapacitated persons, and 15 million is granted as subventions to factory relief funds of the workers.

Section II. consists of one, but very big, item: medical aid, 1,040 million roubles.

What is most striking in these items is the big sums involved. The third section contains items which are quite unknown to workers in the capitalist countries:

For the benefit of the children of insured persons, 327 million roubles, made up as follows:—

- (a) Nutrition allowance for babies at the breast, 71 million roubles.
- (b) Milk centres for children, 5 million roubles.
- (c) Creches, 120 million roubles.
- (d) Kindergarten, 63,400,000 roubles.
- (e) Children's homes, 20 million roubles.
- (f) School feeding, 37,600,000 roubles.
- (g) Pioneer camps and children's sanatoria, 9,700,000 roubles.

This section contains only the expenditure for the children's institutions already existing. Section VII. contains the expenditure on the construction of new children's homes. The fact that the working class of the Soviet Union, in addition to such generous provision for their children, are also able to raise means to defend their power against foreign intervention only shows what possibilities the working class have once they have got rid of the capitalists who suck their blood.

Sections IV. and V. also contain items which can only appear in the budget of a proletarian State:—

IV. Workers' rest homes, workers' sanatoria, workers' spas, etc. (current expenditure only), 215,300,000 roubles.

V. Restaurants where special diet is provided for workers and employees in need of same, 57,500,000 roubles.

Section VI., expenditure on **cultural purposes**, 750 million roubles. The greater part of this sum—i.e., 705 million—goes in stipends for the maintenance of worker students.

Section VII. includes the expenditure on the new construction in the present year. The chief item in this section is 697.5 million roubles for the construction of workers' dwellings. This represents only a part of the sum which is spent on workers' dwellings in the Soviet Union, for the total amount expended by the State, the municipalities, and the big enterprises on the erection of houses amounts to several milliards. The next item is 134 million for the erection of new hospitals and creches. In addition to the existing workers' rest homes, sanatoria, spas, etc., in which last year 1½ million workers were able to recuperate, this year new workers' rest homes costing 43.5 million roubles will be erected. Four million roubles will be expended on homes for incapacitated persons, and six millions on recreation and sport grounds.

Section VIII. shows that the **workers' inspection** come within the scope of social insurance, which means that it is in the hands of the trade unions; 41 million roubles are earmarked for this purpose. The expenditure on administration is put at the modest figure of 50 million (Section IX.), while the total insurance budget amounts to 50 milliard roubles. There thus remains a reserve of 170 million.

In the government order confirming this social insurance budget of the trade unions the trade unions are called upon to get the mass of the workers in the enterprises to take part in the immediate checking up of the carrying out of all social insurance measures. This is actually being done by the so-called insurance dele-

gates, already numbering over 100,000, who, on behalf of the staff, are actively taking part in the work of the social insurance organs, although these organs are themselves immediate organs of the workers (trade unions and factory councils).

If one takes only a cursory glance at the above figures one plainly sees that what is expressed in them cannot be designated by the word social insurance as it is understood in the capitalist countries. Under the Soviet power socialist insurance not only helps to cure the sick or prevent illness, but it brings into the lives of the masses new elements of which the workers in the capitalist countries do not even venture to dream. And this is only natural, for **Soviet power** means that the working class rules, that the working class does everything possible in order constantly to improve its life.

The "Pravda" on the Fifth Anniversary of Socialist Competition

Moscow, April 29.

The whole of the press deals with the fifth anniversary of Socialist Competition, which is celebrated to-day.

In a leading article, entitled "A Famous Anniversary," the "Pravda" writes that the five years of socialist competition are an epoch in the history of the proletarian revolution in Russia. Five years ago, when the Party and its leadership were preparing to overcome the most difficult and complicated stage of the revolution—the first Five-Year Plan, general collectivisation of agriculture, and liquidation of the kulaks as a class—when the Right opposition and the Trotskyists wanted to turn back the wheel of history—in this unforgettable time there arose from the depths of the working class a wave of socialist competition. By taking up the idea of socialist competition the working class and the toiling peasants declared their allegiance to the Party and its Leninist leadership, their loyalty to the banner of Lenin and Stalin and to Communism. The Leninist idea of socialist competition, which arose in the days following the seizure of power by the working class, and was maturing for years in the depth of the mass of the working people, developed at a stage which was most difficult for the socialist revolution. After the appeal issued by the Sixteenth Party Conference on April 29, 1929, on the organisation of competition, there commenced the vast movement of the masses of the people which is unexampled in the history of the world. Five years! What a short space of time, and what results! Think of the heroic achievements and glance back at this period of five years! The results achieved are the industrial giants and the prosperous collective farms and Soviet farms. There arose a type of extraordinary men and women—the shock brigaders. It was they who, under the leadership of the C.C. and of the leader of the Party, Stalin, tamed the Dniepr, built the Kusnetz and Magnitogorsk blast furnaces, and filled the air with steel and aluminium birds of the powerful airfleet. It is they who, on the conveyors in the tractor and automobile works are mastering technique. It is they who are building up socialist agriculture and, in the fight against the kulaks, are defending the sacred common property. They have converted the land into an impregnable fortress. They have fulfilled the first Five-Year Plan in four years and are mastering the science and technique of the second Five-Year Plan.

Under capitalism work was and remains hopeless, soul-killing drudgery for the working people. Under socialism work is joy. The recognition that they are working for their own class and that the yoke of the exploiter has been got rid of for ever—this recognition fills the workers and peasants with courage and confidence, increases their gifts and talents. This recognition creates wonders. See, how strong and talented are the workers and peasants of our country; how quickly and splendidly they are developing! Humanity, in the shape of the shock brigaders, is freeing itself from the thousand-year long burden of exploitation. A new type of men has been created!

The ideologists of capitalism, who defend the material interests of their class, maintain that socialism kills initiative and destroys all incentive to work. Socialism, so they maintain, means equality for the incapable and stifles talents. These bourgeois savants and thinkers are unable to imagine that there can exist any other motive for human activity than the capitalist competition of savage and bloody struggle of all against all, than

the "spirit of enterprise" of the capitalist beasts of prey. Socialist competition completely shatters this bourgeois ideology. It shows that the proletarian revolution has created new relations between man and man. Only in socialist competition with the help and support of the collective does every toiler have the possibility of developing his real powers and talents. Competition says: Devil take the hindmost, the weaker, in order that oneself shall maintain the upper hand. Socialist competition says: Help those who are lagging behind to catch up to you and take part in the general advance (Stalin). Five years of socialist competition fully confirm these words of Stalin. These five years are a further triumph of our revolutionary world-view, of Marxism-Leninism, Precisely in our country, which has destroyed the methods of competition which, according to the opinion of the capitalist ignoramuses, can alone produce the spirit of enterprise—in our country the highest title which can be conferred on anybody is "hero of the Soviet Union."

Genuine heroism and genuine heroes are possible only in our country, where the people mutually help one another and where every honest working man and woman is assured of the aid of the State. Under the banner of Leninist competition the shock brigaders triumphed under the most difficult conditions; under the banner of Leninist competition, under the leadership of Stalin, the country is achieving in the second Five-Year Plan an unprecedented development and an unprecedented increase in the well-being and culture of the working population.

Organisational Questions

After the Congress of Action in Great Britain

By G. B.

The growing militancy of the workers, still further enhanced by the Hunger March and the Congress of Action, is expressed in the active campaign being developed after the Congress. Already in a number of towns—in Barnoldswick, Derby, Manchester, Sheffield and elsewhere—conferences have been held. Some of the conferences adopted concrete decisions on how to further develop the struggle against the new Unemployment Insurance Bill. These conferences confirm the fact that the masses have no intention whatsoever of stopping their struggle against the new Unemployment Bill, that they are prepared to resort to active forms of struggle for the defence of their class interests. Still, it is necessary to admit that there is not sufficient attention paid to the decisive questions discussed at the Congress of Action at all the united front conferences.

The first of these questions was the struggle against the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy. It was not accidental that a discussion developed at the Congress on this subject. The working masses, from the experiences of the recent revolutionary struggles in France, Austria, from the experiences of the whole policy of the Labourites and trade union bureaucrats in this country, are beginning to realise that it is impossible to organise the struggle against the bourgeoisie without carrying on a most decisive struggle against the social-reformists who are acting as agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class.

The workers more than ever before are faced with the burning question of *how to carry on the struggle*. The bourgeoisie is steadily developing its offensive against the working class. Clause after clause of the Unemployment Bill is passed by Parliament.

The General Council, as well as the Labour Party, are not lifting a finger in order to organise an effective struggle against the new Bill, although it is only energetic mass action that can force the bourgeoisie to withdraw the Bill. Moreover, the reformists are doing their best to split and weaken the ranks of the working masses, who are rising up for the struggle against the Bill in a united front against the capitalist offensive.

The ban of the reformists on the united front, their repressive measures against the militant workers—does not this policy mean the direct support of the bourgeoisie in its attacks upon the work-

ing masses? The trade union bureaucrats are also trying to sidetrack the struggle of the masses. Characteristic of this policy are the directives of the General Council for the calling of district conferences, "for protesting against the Bill." Such conferences are being called in those districts where the united front movement is already developing, as, for example, in Bristol, South Wales, Leeds, etc. These conferences limited themselves to "protest" resolutions and rejected all proposals for united front action.

All the manoeuvres of the trade union bureaucrats are unable to conceal the fact that the reformists support the policy of the bourgeoisie. It is enough to recollect the position of the General Council and Labour Party in connection with the Statutory Unemployment Committee. The reformists time and again declared in their speeches that they are against such a committee, endowed with dictatorial powers and subordinated not to Parliament, but only to the Minister of Labour. But the T.U.C. representatives themselves proposed to the Royal Commission on Unemployment just such a board—"A full-time Statutory Body, composed of three nominees of the General Council of the T.U.C. and an equal number of nominees of employers' organisations with a representative of the Ministry of Labour and the representative of the Treasury, together with an independent Chairman. *This body was to be invested with power to make regulations governing the payment of Unemployment Benefit and to determine the conditions of the scheme within the ambit of the general principle laid down by legislation.*" (Excerpt from "Fair Play for the Unemployed." Published by the General Council, T.U.C.)

It was only after a bitter dispute within the Labour Party Executive and the General Council of the T.U.C., as the result of the growing mass opposition to the Unemployment Bill, that the Labour Party decided to withdraw its amendment—for the time being—to the Unemployment Bill, which called for representation on this Statutory Committee. The Labour Party—and quite reasonably—understood that the workers would interpret such an amendment as meaning support of this committee, as a desire to take part in its work.

This policy of the reformists must be concretely exposed at district and local conferences, called for the struggle against the Bill. Protest resolutions against the position of the General Council and leaderships of the different unions must be adopted.

The united front committees cannot remain satisfied with the fact that this or that organisation sent its representatives to the united front conference. They must decide concretely at what other trade union branches, at what other enterprises, work must still be concentrated, in order to draw the workers there into the united front of struggle against the Bill. They must adopt concrete decisions about those organisations of their city or district which do not join the united front, to delegate their representatives to meetings of their memberships, adopt decisions to call, if necessary, membership meetings over the heads of the leaderships of these organisations. Without such a concrete struggle for the united front we will not be able to win new decisive successes in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie.

Another question to which the united front conferences and the united front committees must give their full attention is the question of the organisation of the struggle of the *employed workers against the Bill*, the question of calling protest strikes—and of preparing for a mass strike. The resolution of the Congress of Action contains important directives on this question. And it is the task of the united front organs to work for the carrying out of these directives. At meetings of the trade union branches, in the factories, it is necessary to raise the question on what must be the further forms of struggle against the Bill, on how to organise big demonstrations and strikes, in order to defeat the attempts of the bourgeoisie to introduce slave labour in Britain and to worsen still more the already miserable standards of living of the working masses.

The united front committees must mobilise the masses for struggle not only against the Government, introducing this slave

Bill, but also against the policy of the local authorities, who are prepared to carry through this Bill in practice, already to-day reducing the relief rates or refusing to pay out additional relief demanded by the unemployed. The Labourites have their representatives, have even a majority in many of the municipal and county councils. Upon them depends the paying out of additional relief to the unemployed. When the New Bill will be passed, their policy will play a most important part. This is why the united front committees must fight not only for the defeat of the Bill, but also for forcing the Town Councils, the P.A.C., and first and foremost, those where the Labour Party has a strong representation, to put into effect a policy corresponding to the interests of the working masses.

The third question, which is also extremely important for the successful struggle against the new Bill, is the strengthening of the *rank-and-file movements* in the unions. The numerous trade union branches, which actively participated in the whole campaign against the Bill, do not as yet realise the full significance of building the unofficial movements. They still, as in the past, are outside of these movements, they do not take the initiative in organising such movements in unions where such, as yet, do not exist. Every worker, every trade union branch, must understand that without organised rank-and-file movements the militant activity will remain scattered, the attempts of the different trade union branches and individual workers to organise resistance to the offensive of the bourgeoisie and to the policy of the trade union bureaucrats will not have the necessary effect. Where the militant workers have consolidated their ranks in rank-and-file trade union movement, they did succeed in warding off the attacks of the bourgeoisie. It is sufficient to recollect the successful struggle led by the busmen's rank-and-file movement, the struggle of the railwaymen, led by the Vigilance Movement, which prevented the bourgeoisie from carrying through the wage-cut decision of the National Wages Board—in order to understand what a great force the rank-and-file movements can be in the unions.

At united front conferences and in united front committees it is necessary to concretely raise the question of the support of the trade union branches to the already existing rank-and-file movements in the unions, of the extension of the busmen's movement to other branches of the Transport and General Workers' Union, of starting rank-and-file movements among miners in other coal districts besides South Wales, of organising militant movements in the engineers', chemical workers', building workers', seamen's unions, etc.

The *National Unemployed Workers' Movement* has in its ranks many members of the unions, not organised as an opposition, systematically carrying on work in the trade union branches. These workers could play a very important rôle in all the work within the unions. The question here is to organise them, to set up contacts between them and the militant employed workers, and to lead their work.

The N.U.W.M. must also extend its work among the broad unemployed masses. The united front committees as a rule do not include representatives of the unorganised unemployed, elected at the labour exchanges and in the workers' areas. There are still thousands of unemployed who are neither connected as yet with the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, nor gathered in broad Unemployed Councils, which could systematically lead the struggle of the unemployed masses. The N.U.W.M. must more actively recruit unemployed workers into its ranks and set up unemployed committees at the labour exchanges, in the workers' areas, united in unemployed councils of the whole city, which could effectively rally the unemployed masses for the defence of their interests.

The growth of the revolutionary moods of the working masses brings all the united front activity on to a higher plane. Closer unity with the masses and trade union branches, a more consistent struggle against the trade union bureaucrats—such is the

militant line. Every day brings new facts of militant workers taking the correct position at united front conferences, explaining the necessity of struggle against the reformists, this main prop of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class. The militant delegates must fight for their line also at conferences called by the trade union bureaucrats. Some steps in this direction were taken, for instance, at the conferences in Bristol and Cardiff, but this work must still be strengthened.

There is no doubt that also in the future the General Council will do its best to undermine the united front and will convene in all big centres "its own protest" conferences against the Bill. Our task is to mobilise all the militant trade union branches and organisations for participation in these conferences, to carry through all preparatory work as well as the work at the conferences in an organised manner, to defend at the conferences the programme of demands raised by the National Congress of Action, to call on the delegates of the conferences to rally to this programme and join the already existing united front committees, and to defeat the splitting policy of the General Council.

The only guarantee for the successful struggle of the proletariat against the fascisation policy of the bourgeoisie, for the defence of its class interests, is the stubborn struggle for unity of the working class, the systematic exposure of the notorious policy of the Labour Party and trade union bureaucrats.

On the Weaknesses of the Communist Party Press in Cuba

By Bychovsky

"The newspaper," wrote Lenin, "is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organiser."

But is the central organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, "El Trabajador," the "Bandera roja," which afterwards replaced it, fulfilling this task, which is especially important during the revolutionary struggles.

It carries on active concrete propaganda on the decisions of the Fifth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Cuba, it persistently struggles against the Cuban variety of Trotskyism, the so-called Junkism, against chauvinism and race theories ("The Negroes as a lower race"), it gives information from the localities, factories, workshops, plantations, strikes, demonstrations, and other revolutionary actions, it deals with partial revolutionary struggles, and links them up with the general perspectives of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, with the struggle for power of the workers' and peasants' Soviets.

In the main the central organ copes with its task. It really rallies the masses politically, organises them for struggle, and in a number of cases it gives slogans suitable for the level and the tasks of the mass movement.

At the same time in the paper there is a series of very big shortcomings, which partly reflect the general weakness of the C.P. of Cuba, but in the main are the result of the blunders, shortcomings, and mistakes of the editors.

A serious political mistake of the paper is that it did not carry on an explanatory campaign of the opportunist mistakes of the C.C. of the C.P. of Cuba at the time of the development of the August struggles against Machado. At that time the C.C. considered that the armed struggle against Machado would lead directly to an imperialist intervention and that the proletariat of Cuba was not ready for this struggle, and the C.C. called on the workers to stop the general strike at a time when it had already grown into a spontaneous armed insurrection. Later the C.C. admitted and disclosed this mistake, as a mistake of a clearly Menshevik type, but on the pages of the central organ it was not dealt with. The criticism of this serious mistake and its social democratic roots were entirely absent from the paper.

The paper also made serious mistakes in regard to the propaganda and popularisation of the basic political slogan of the Party—the struggle for Soviets in Cuba as organs of the revolutionary democratic workers' and peasants' government. In the article: "What are the Soviets? When should they be organised? What is their first activity?" which appeared, although somewhat late, the paper considers that the primary task of the Soviets is the formation of two commissions: (1) A commission for the immediate improvement of the living conditions of the population, (2) a

commission for the defence of the workers' and peasants' government. This indication is all the more important, because the Soviets which were formed in various places of Cuba did not know "what to begin with," and remained inactive, until they were broken up by the troops.

A favourable feature in this article is that it is written fairly concretely and gives directives as to where exactly the sharpening of the class struggle is most favourable for the formation of Soviets.

Having launched the slogan of the formation of a workers' and peasants' government, the Party published a short programme on what this government gives to the various strata of the population: to the workers, peasants, unemployed, and petty-bourgeoisie. However, having published the programme, the Party press did not propagate and did not popularise it further, did not make it the starting point of a systematic explanation to the masses as to what the Soviets could give them in the near future, what is meant concretely by the revolutionary way out of the crisis which is proposed by the Communist Party.

In addition to this, in its propaganda of the Soviets, the paper directly reflects some mistakes of the C.C. Thus one of the manifestos of the C.C., published in the paper, says:—

"Workers! Peasants! In places where our mass struggle has reached the level of civil war, i.e., the armed struggle against the ruling classes under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party, fraternise with the soldiers, and in those places where there is no local government, organise Soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies." ("El Trabajador," No. 8.)

This formulation is entirely incorrect. The fraternisation of the soldiers with the revolutionary masses must be organised not only when the struggle of the proletariat and peasantry has already reached the level of civil war, but at every opportunity, at every contact of the soldiers with the national masses, especially during strikes, demonstrations and mass actions of the proletariat. In this underestimation of fraternisation, as a means of the disintegration of the old bourgeois-landlord army, can be felt the general weakness of the military work of the Party, the insufficient struggle for the mass of the soldiers.

It is just as incorrect to call for the formation of Soviets only in those places where there is no local government, i.e., only in places where the power is already slipping out of the hands of the ruling exploiting classes. This directly leads to the theory of the automatic doom of the bourgeois-landlord regime, to the passive waiting for its break-up. Of course, it is easiest of all to seize power in places where the regime of the bourgeois-landlord dictatorship has been weakened most. But this by no means removes the task of the organisation of Soviets, as the organ of preparation for the seizure of power, as the organ of revolutionary mobilisation of the masses for the struggle for it.

The Party press pays fairly much attention to the questions of work in the army, and there has been hardly a manifesto of the Party without an appeal to the soldiers and sailors.

The C.P. of Cuba is faced with the task of not limiting itself to the sending of manifestos to the army, but to carry on daily organisational work inside the various units, by forming Party cells and sailors' ship committees. With regard to this, the first step has already been taken. The Party has renewed the publication of the organ of the Communist cells of the soldiers and sailors, "Centinella roja" ("The Red Guard"), which deals with the situation in the army, popularises the tasks of the Communists, the character and significance of the Red Army, etc.

"Bandera roja," which has begun to appear instead of "El Trabajador," pays much attention to economic struggles and publishes the articles of worker correspondents from the factories and plantations, both about the strikes themselves and the mass movements which arise in direct contact with them. For instance, in Baguanos (province of Oriente), during the strikes a Red Guard was formed which recruited 120 men, the work of the Y.C.L. improved and a demonstration of 59 Pioneers took place with demands for the support of the strikes.

A big shortcoming is the fact that the paper does not sum up on the strikes from the majority of the letters, and does not deal with their favourable and negative sides, which is necessary for exchange of experience and education of the masses.

The press hardly pays any attention to the questions of the tactic of the united front, the exposure of the role of the petty-

bourgeois A.B.C., the work of the reformist and revolutionary trade unions and the work among the youth and the students. There is no doubt that in the winning of the reformist trade unions the Party has obtained great successes on the basis of the tactics of the united front—the majority of the former reformist unions joined the Reformist Confederation of Labour. But the influence of the reformists remained undoubtedly not only in the unions deserted by the reformists, but also in the unions which joined the C.N.O.C. The struggle against reformist illusions, survivals and influences is far from being finished. The successes achieved must be strengthened. Trade union work is still one of the most important spheres of work of the Party. It must be intensified. Particularly in Cuba, the work among the youth and students is of special importance. It is sufficient to follow all the events which have taken place in Cuba, beginning with the overthrow of Machado, in order to be convinced of the high political activity and great significance of the petty-bourgeois students.

The press pays little attention to the questions of anti-imperialist struggle. In this is felt the former mistakes made by the Party. Insufficient attention is also paid to the question of the struggles of the peasants, their position and the work of the Party among them.

Of great significance for the Communist Party of Cuba for working out a correct political line in the revolutionary struggles, for strengthening all the Party organisations, was the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee, which was held in September, 1933 at which one of the chief questions taken up was the organisational question.

The main shortcomings in this sphere noted by the papers were:—

- (1) The weakness of the District Committees and the leadership of the department cells.
- (2) The absence of the internal life of the cell and isolation from the District Committee and the District Committee from the Central Committee.
- (3) Inability to keep the newly recruited workers in the Party.
- (4) The opportunist form of leadership of several organisations, misunderstanding the role of the Party and trying to adapt themselves to legal possibilities by supporting the government of Grau San Martin.

The Plenum of the Party severely criticised all these mistakes and shortcomings, demanding greater activity of the Party cells, the formation of new cells in the basic branches of industry (sugar, tobacco, railway), the establishment of close contacts with the lower organisations, the intensification of recruiting into the Party (particularly women), to put forward the slogan of drawing 10,000 new members into the Party and 5,000 into the Y.C.L. by November 7.

The central organ of the Party continues to pay attention to this question also after the Plenum, it publishes a series of articles criticising the shortcomings of the recruiting campaign in various districts. In connection with this in No. 3 of "Bandere Roja" an article was published on what is a class and what is a party. It must be stated that this article was not written in a sufficiently simple style and almost inaccessible to the workers and peasants.

In one of the issues ("Bandere Roja," No. 2), the reason for the lagging of the recruiting campaign behind the growth of the strike movement and the influence of the Party is discussed. Though in August and September we had the largest number of strikes, organised and led by the C.P., the growth of the Party during these months was insignificant. In the district of Citios the growth of the Party is three times greater than in the district of Marionas, which is one of the industrial districts where there was the greatest number of strikes.

In this was to be felt the influence of the theory that in order

to join the Party, the worker must have a high political education; in reality, such an attitude closed the doors of the Party organisations to a considerable section of the revolutionary workers who are approaching the Party. With regard to this, the central organ stated:—

"It is necessary that every Party organisation and all its members individually actively combat the sectarian tendencies which consist in the insufficient recruiting campaign, the criminal practice of expelling Party members who have not yet been drawn into work, justifying this by their 'passivity' in the organisation." ("El Trabajador," No. 8.)

A very great defect in the organisation of the Party is that the main Party organisations are still not factory cells, but street organisations, according to the residence of the members. Without doubt this leads to a weakening of the mobilisation forces of the Party in important sections of the class struggle.

A great achievement of the paper is that while publishing the letters of worker correspondents from the factories and plantations, it gives information about how many were recruited to the Party, Y.C.L., and revolutionary trade unions during strikes.

In Santo Lúcia (province of Oriente), during strikes, 45 comrades joined the Y.C.L., of whom 15 were girls.

In Tacajo (province of Oriente) 100 new members were recruited to the Party.

In Samo, as a result of the successfully conducted strike, 845 workers joined the revolutionary trade union of banana workers.

It would be very good if the central organ of the Party utilised the experience of the organ of the Mexican Communist Party, "El Machete," and organised on its pages a section of Party construction, where organisational questions would be dealt with; for example, questions of the work of the cells, mutual relations between the Party and the trade unions, the Party and the Y.C.L., the role of the Communist fractions, etc.

The central organ must pay more attention to questions of the struggle for the widest use of all legal possibilities, which in revolutionary conditions still exist, despite the suppression of the Party. In spite of the orders of the counter-revolutionary government of Mendieta, the C.P. of Cuba must struggle for the preservation of the legal situation everywhere where it is possible and not allow itself to be driven underground. If this is difficult in Havana, nevertheless it is fully possible in a number of provinces. The press must propagate the idea that the Party and the revolutionary trade unions should violate the suppression order on their own responsibility.

A great shortcoming of the Party press of Cuba is the inability to utilise for its propaganda the Soviets and the great achievements of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. The press does not pay sufficient attention to the propaganda of the achievements of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the propaganda of the improvement of the position of the masses which has been attained in the U.S.S.R.

The press of the Communist Party of Cuba without doubt has achieved success. In addition to the central organ of the Party, which appears regularly and on fairly large sheets, provincial papers have begun to be published in Santa Clara, "Luchador Roja," and in Oriente, "El Comunista." The Central Committee has sent directives to the other three provinces about the publication of their own papers.

The central organ, "Bandera Roja," must pay more attention to the provincial papers, giving them daily help by publishing on its pages reviews of these papers.

Finally a few words about the language.

The language of the paper is simple and understandable to the broad masses. True, individual formulations are not always exact and correct. The articles are lengthy beyond all reason. This should be corrected.

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