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Twenty Years Ago

By Hugo Eberlein

The following article by Comrade Eberlein, who was one of the co-founders of the heroic Spartakus League, represents the opening of a new anti-war campaign.—Ed.

It was in the beautiful month of May, 1914. In Germany a powerful and garrulous Kaiser from the Hohenzollern line was on the throne. In all Kindergaerten, in all schools and in all churches, men, women, young people and children were taught to look up to him with love and respect as the hereditary ruler of Germany. Hardly a number of the various illustrated periodicals appeared but that it had pictures of the Kaiser in it. What he was doing, what he was not doing, where he stood, how he walked, in what he travelled and on what horse he rode—and he was a very mobile gentleman anxious to push his finger into every pie. All he did and all he said were flatteringly recorded in all the newspapers. Two patriotic songs were played everywhere, on bands in the quarters of the well-to-do and on hurdy-gurdies in the workers' quarters—"The Watch on the Rhine" and the German version of "God Save the King."

In Austria, too, a Kaiser was on the throne, an old and respected gentleman, ruler of an empire comprising many nations. The contingents from all these nations were hammered into a uniform army having a double purpose—to carry the sword and shield of the empire against the foreign foemen, and in the interior to support the imperial structure and maintain law and order. The empire of the Habsburgs was not a stable one, but at least there was one firm and unmoving point—the Kaiser. For

sixty-six years he had sat on his throne above it all, immovable, healthy and active in his way. And in Vienna itself, Prague, Budapest, Craoow and Pola the military bands played his anthem—"God Save our Kaiser."

But both these Kaisers were outdone in power and panoply by the Czar of all the Russias who held sway over the greater part of Europe and Asia. Unlike the others, he was not only the secular head of his subjects, but also the head of their church. The revolution which threatened to shake him off his throne had been happily crushed and all danger seemed past. The defeat of the Russian armies in the Russo-Japanese war had been made good by the organisation of a still more powerful army. The rebellious bourgeoisie had again become the obedient servants of the Czar, who protected them against the importunities of the workers and won new spheres of influence for them. The peasants were being pacified by reforms along Stolypin lines and Russian State securities crept up on the stock exchanges of the world. In the few schools and in the innumerable churches of the Czarist empire the strains of "God Save the Czar" sounded unceasingly.

Under the sceptres of these powerful rulers enormous accumulations of wealth were made, but they were unevenly distributed between the various empires and still more unevenly distributed within their frontiers. The few received their share in abundance, and the many scrambled for the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table. Millions and millions got nothing at all. And peace, peace the blessed, reigned over the empires on the Volga, the

Rhine and the Danube. On the Danube? Yes, even on the Danube, for what was a little Balkan war on the Lower Danube? It was so far away, almost in Turkey. And if the people there sprang at each other's throats, what about it?

In Europe itself there was peace, not only peace, but a secure peace as the parliamentary orators assured the people in all countries in solemn meetings in Berlin and in Paris. Was there not the powerful international social democracy and the trade unions with their millions of members, and did they not keep a watchful eye open for the preservation of peace? Peace at home and peace abroad, sang the choir of the reformists and pacifists. The period of wars and revolutions is past, thanks be to God!

In a little Austrian village near the Russian frontier a political emigrant, almost unknown to the world of the great and mighty, the leader of a party little known abroad, was at work, *Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin*, the leader of the Bolsheviks.

But by the year 1914 the period of free trade and free competition, the period in which low prices played the part of heavy artillery in the struggle for foreign markets, the period which provided the economic basis for political liberalism, had already passed. But with the end of this period ended also the period of peace at home and peace abroad. The new economic system, monopolist capitalism, was warlike both abroad, that is to say, as opposed to its foreign competitors and to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and at home, that is to say, towards its own proletariat. As early as the 'seventies of the last century the first cartels began to be formed in the most important branches of production. At the turn of the century these cartels represented the basis of the whole of economic life. The concentration of production and capital became the motive force in the formation of cartels, for the cartels gave the capitalists the power to exploit not only their own workers who produced commodities at home, but also the consumer wherever he might be. The small banks with their discount business were no longer influential enough to finance these new undertakings. The banks began to undertake the financing of industrial undertakings, industrial capital began to merge with bank capital, and the finance oligarchy dominated the whole economic system. Monopolist capitalism gave the death-blow to free trade and powerful customs barriers were erected. In their customs policy the capitalists found themselves at one with the agrarian junkers who were clamouring for tariffs to protect them.

International cartels were formed and controlled the markets of the world practically in a monopolist fashion. Monopolist capitalism prevents the unhindered development of the productive forces because it eliminates competition. It also limits industrial production and turns the capitalists into rentiers, coupon clippers and mere parasites. Thus, taken as a whole, monopolist capitalism produces a certain stagnation and leads capitalism into a period of decline and decay. But the rottenness which results is not a passive process of decay. The most profitable business of finance capital is the export of capital (railways, canals, etc.) to the backward countries as a result of which it controls the affairs of these countries and extracts a super-profit from its operations. The urge towards the formation of national States is replaced by the urge to control foreign countries—the policy of monopolist capitalism is imperialism. However, the earth was already divided up between the big capitalist countries and in consequence a struggle for the re-division of the earth set in and as a further consequence the armament race, the conclusion of military alliances, the mobilisation of the lesser States round the banners of the two imperialist protagonists, in this case, Great Britain and Germany, and the feverish and open preparations for imperialist war.

This struggle for super-profit is fought out on the backs of the workers and of the oppressed peoples. But pressure produces counter-pressure. National-revolutionary movements grew up in Turkey, China, Persia, everywhere. The Arabs in Tripoli offered desperate resistance to the invading Italians. And what of the proletariat itself? It fought bitterly in hundreds of mass economic struggles with hundreds of thousands engaged on the side of the workers, but these struggles were fought out along old trade union principles and as a result for the most part they were unsuccessful. A demand grew up increasingly for new methods of struggle. The workers of the world felt instinctively that they were about to be led into the slaughter and they exerted pressure on the International. The Stuttgart congress which took place in 1907 adopted a resolution to the effect that the workers of all countries should adopt the most effective means possible in order to prevent the

outbreak of war and that if they failed in this they should maintain their deadly enmity towards capitalism and utilise the economic and political crisis brought about by the outbreak of war in order to overthrow capitalism. In 1912 this resolution was solemnly reaffirmed by the congress of the International in Basle. And then preparations went ahead for the next congress which was to be held in Vienna in order to . . . Well, we shall see, the congress was to have taken place in August, 1914.

That was approximately the situation twenty years ago. By the grace of God? Kaiser Wilhelm II ruled over the German Empire, Kaiser Franz Joseph over the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Czar Nicholas II over all the Russians—and in a little Austrian village on the Russian frontier an almost unknown Russian political emigrant was at work—*Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin*.

Politics

The Japanese-American Conflict

By Howard Lindsay (New York)

The Japanese-American antagonism consists of a conflict between two imperialist countries, each of which is striving to extend its sphere of influence, especially in Asia. Japan aims to dominate China and the Pacific. America came late upon the scene to participate in the carving up of China. This led to the so-called Open Door policy, by which the U.S. attempted to wedge her way into Asia, particularly China. Japan's ambition to rule exclusively in China would mean the forced exit of American capital from China and Asia.

Japan, as a new factor in Latin and South America, serves to intensify the basic contradiction between the U.S. and British imperialism. Britain's campaign against Japanese dumping in the colonies and in her markets has been one factor to force Japan to seek markets in South American and the Caribbean countries. Japan's efforts are primarily directed at undermining American influence there and at the same time beating the British in South America.

The political support by British imperialism of Japan's policy in the Far East in no way indicates a harmony of interest between Britain and Japan in China, but is an expression of the basic Anglo-American contradictions and the anti-Soviet policy of the British imperialists. The fight against the Chinese Soviets, against the Soviet Union, binds England to Japan. Britain relies on Japan as a bulwark against revolution in the Far East. This factor is of great importance in directing British policy towards Japan.

The "Washington (U.S.) News" (April 30), mouthpiece of the Roosevelt administration, accuses Japan of an "aggressive, driving programme of economic expansion" just at a time when the U.S. is preparing to enter "strongly into foreign competition." A special survey of Japanese trade competition made by the U.S. Department of Commerce shows that Japanese trade is making phenomenal advances in Uncle Sam's own backyard, the increases ranging from 100 to 1,000 per cent. in a majority of South American countries, to the detriment of many American exports.

While the Japanese are invading one field after another in American markets, political relations between the two countries have become sharpened. The suavity of diplomatic language has only served to bring this sharpening into bold relief.

In an address in January of this year the Japanese Foreign Minister declared that between the U.S. and Japan "there exists no question that is intrinsically difficult of solution." Japan desires American friendship, but U.S. must not fail to appraise correctly Japan's position in Eastern Asia, which is characterised as a "cornerstone of peace." Almost coincidentally, Stanley Hornbeck, chief of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, reiterated the Stimson doctrine of "non-recognition of governments made by the sword." The Japanese Foreign Office reacted immediately, describing it as regrettable that Hornbeck should revive the much-contested Stimson doctrine and wilfully ignore the existence of a great Power (Japan), which bears the responsibility for maintaining peace in the Far East.

On March 21 the American press printed the exchange of "Amity Notes" between Japan and the U.S. These notes, couched in diplomatic verbiage, declared that no question "fundamentally incapable of amicable solution" exists between the U.S. and

Japan. These "Amity Notes" were not worth the paper they were written on. Less than a month after the exchange, the Japanese imperialists serve a notice which is aimed directly at America, with the intention of driving U.S. imperialism out of China and Asia, and saying in so many words that it is prepared to meet with force, if necessary, any opposition to its role as chief preserver of peace in Asia. The Japanese Foreign Office spokesman formulated a Japanese "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia, which gives Japan a self-appointed and exclusive dominating influence in the affairs of Asia, particularly China.

The Japanese manifesto first of all asserts baldly Japanese overlordship in Asia. Japan has a "special position in China," it must carry out its "mission" and fulfil its "special responsibilities"; there is no country but China that is in a position to "share with Japan the responsibility for the maintenance of peace in Eastern Asia." Japan will oppose the "supplying to China of war-planes, the building of aerodromes in China, and the detailing of military instructors and advisors to China; or the contracting of a loan to provide funds for political uses." The manifesto opposes "joint operations undertaken by foreign Powers, even in the name of technical and financial assistance" to China.

American companies have been selling aeroplanes to China and have participated in the establishment of Chinese air routes. The Japanese statement comes close on the heels of an announcement by the Nanking government of an order placed with the United Aircraft Exports for bombing planes. American exports of aeroplanes and parts to China amounted to more than 1,500,000 dollars in 1933. The Nanking government has established a series of air lines in co-operation with the Pan-American Airway System, the Consolidated Aircraft Corporation, the Curtiss Wright Aircraft Corporation, and the United Aircraft Co. American instructors at the government air school at Hangchow include several American aviators (Capt. Frank Hawks and Major James Doolittle, etc.).

On April 30, the State Department made public a note sent to the Japanese Foreign Minister which affirmed American treaty rights in the Far East in the light of Japan's declared intention to be the judge of what relations China may have with Western Nations. The statement reminded Japan of the treaties and international law in reference to China, and declared that "no nation can, without the assent of others concerned, rightfully endeavour to make exclusive its will in situations where there are involved the rights, the obligations and the legitimate interests of other sovereign States."

The Japanese reply was a restatement of the Foreign Office spokesman's definition of Japanese privileges in China, differing only in tone. The Open Door in China is still open if nothing goes through it that Japan considers detrimental to the peace in the Far East. The suave reply of Hirota was attacked by the "New York Herald Tribune" (4-25-34), which declared that Japan's foreign policy "never will be abandoned as long as Japan has a footing on the mainland," and concludes that this leaves no foundation for future relations with Japan but "alert distrust."

Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Minister, announced that the British government accepted the Japanese assurances that it will observe the Nine-Power Treaty and will maintain the Open Door in China, and that Britain "is content to leave this particular question where it is." In this statement, the British were accused openly of co-operating with Japan against the U.S. Commenting on Sir John's statement, the "Herald Tribune" writes that "Sir John's determination to drop discussion of it (Japan's Note) before it is brought down to earth in one or another form makes the British attitude towards Japan's ambitions almost as disturbing a problem as Japan's own declaration of them." In a similar vein the "New York Times," in an editorial headed "Scarcely a Closed Incident," criticises Sir John's failure to publish the text of the Japanese Note to the British government, as he promised. This lack of publicity "left suspicions behind it." The United Press reported from London that "it was believed that the Japanese and British governments may have reached an understanding to keep the contents secret."

This indicates a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, probably in the form of a gentlemen's agreement. Japan can reckon on Great Britain only against the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and not with regard to Japan's plans to dominate the Pacific. In China and the South Pacific, Japan and British interests conflict. Britain cannot permit Japan to come too close to India. This

probably explains the recent British Note gently reminding Japan of British interests in China and the speeding up of work on the naval base at Singapore.

The race for naval and air armaments is the sharpest expression of the Japanese-American conflict. The U.S. answer to Japan was President Roosevelt's statement that he would ask Congress to use an indeterminate amount of public works funds for immediate naval construction. The "Army and Naval Journal" (4-28-34) says that the U.S. statement regarding naval construction is an "American answer" to Japan. President Roosevelt has

"made more headway by proceeding to build up the navy, by the navy air flight demonstration to Honolulu, by recognising Soviet Russia, by continuing non-recognition of Manchukuo, while at the same time making loans to China."—(Washington correspondent, "Herald Tribune," 5-1-34).

The United Press wonders whether the announcement of Japan's new Chinese policy "was timed to coincide with the departure of the U.S. fleet from the Pacific for the Atlantic. Its presence and manoeuvres in the Pacific have been factors in Japanese-American relations" ("New York World Telegram," 25-4-34). The Japanese statement comes just after the beginning of the U.S. fleet manoeuvres in the Pacific and its movement through the Panama Canal to New York. The present manoeuvres are "perhaps the greatest peace-time manoeuvres, in so far as training and results are concerned, that have ever been held by the U.S. navy." ("New York Times," 16-4-34). The fleet "opened a high seas battle such as might be fought by the whole U.S. fleet against a fleet of equal strength far out in the Mid-Pacific under conditions which would deprive the fleet of any shore-based aid." ("New York Times," 16-4-34). It is obvious that the hypothetical enemy is Japan. A few days later, when the fleet passed through the Panama Canal in 48 hours, the Japanese promptly termed the transit a failure because it required so much time.

The cost of the naval building programme passed by the Roosevelt administration is as follows: The Vinson Bill allotting 475 million dollars for 103 ships and 95 million for aeroplanes; 275 million from the Public Works Administration; 284 million in the Naval Appropriations Bill, making a total of 1,125 million dollars.—("Congressional Record," March 1, 1934, page 3,530.)

During the last seven years the U.S. spent 2,413 million dollars on its navy. In the past three years (excluding recent appropriations) 1,065 million was spent. The present appropriation exceeds the amount spent in the last three years and is by far the largest amount spent by any nation in peace time. If the figures on army appropriations are included along with these for the navy, it means that in the past seven years the U.S. has spent 5,330 million dollars for direct war preparations. ("Congressional Record," March 5, 1934, page 3,724.)

The Japanese Budget carries the largest military and naval appropriations in Japan's history. Forty-five per cent. of the Budget expenditures are for the army and navy and, if the other items closely related to military preparedness are included, the appropriations reaches about 60 per cent. of the whole Budget. Japan wants naval parity with the U.S., to which the U.S. would never agree. The situation has reached the stage of an intensified naval race between the U.S. and Japan for hegemony of the Pacific.

The Japanese mandated islands, the Caroline and Marshall islands, located in the South Pacific, form a strategic wedge between the Philippines and Hawaii. They already constitute a series of bases for Japanese naval and air craft over a distance of 2,000 miles along the route of any American fleet from Hawaii which may attempt to operate against Japan.

Japanese naval manoeuvres during the summer of 1933 took place near these mandated islands in the Pacific. It was the largest aggregation of war vessels ever assembled under the Japanese flag. This year's manoeuvres will extend over a wide area of the Pacific, south from the main islands of Japan and embracing Bonin and Loochow islands; they are expected to be extended as far as the equatorial Pacific near the island of Yap, which is close to the U.S. island of Guam. When it was reported some time ago that Japan was building an airfield on the island of Saipen (near Guam), the U.S. naval staff hinted that the Japanese authorities may have conceived the idea from the detailed survey the U.S. is making of the Aleutian islands in Northern Alaska.

The Aleutian islands are within striking distance of the great cities and naval bases of Japan. A small fleet of U.S. naval planes left recently for the Aleutians to continue the intensive survey plans for fortification begun two years ago. The importance of the mandated islands to Japan in a war with the U.S. is fully recognised. In order to build up U.S. naval bases in the Pacific, Carl Vinson, chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the House of Representatives, suggests that the allies (England and France) trade some of their Pacific islands to the U.S. in part payment of their war debts to the U.S.

Unemployment Under the New Deal

By Charles D. Fletcher (New York)

After one year in the promised land of New Deal over fifteen million men find themselves without jobs. Approximately 3,200,000 have been re-employed. This questionable accomplishment is a far cry from the promises made when Roosevelt took office to the accompaniment of an orchestrated paean of praise by the press. Six million were to be re-employed through the N.R.A. by September, 1933. Four million were to be employed in public works by October.

By early winter Secretary of Labour Perkins claimed that four million were put to work as a result of the N.R.A. Secretary of Interior Ickes claimed that five million received jobs as a result of the public works programme. The Civil Works Administration, which was a subsidiary body to the Public Works Administration hurriedly set up to provide work-relief for the winter, claimed to have brought about the employment of four million workers.

In reality each government department purposely duplicated each other's count to create a false impression. Instead of what seemed to be re-employment of twelve million workers only three million had been returned to jobs by winter. In addition work-relief was furnished by the C.W.A. to four million for three winter months, and three hundred and fifty thousand young men were established in semi-military work camps. That was all.

The main effect of the N.R.A. on re-employment was that the government legalised, institutionalised, and universally extended the share-the-work (and pay) programme of the capitalists. The government hoped that by reducing the number of working hours per week that three to four million more would be employed. Speed-up and other evasions prevented that. Although almost the entire working class has been put on short-week jobs and short pay, perhaps three-fourths of a million jobs were "created" this way.

The government's only direct move to increase employment was through its public works programme. Three and a half milliard dollars were allocated to the construction of public works (one-third is for war preparations) last year. One-half milliard is being added. This programme, we were promised, would put over a million workers back on the pay-rolls directly and result in the indirect employment of twice the number in the manufacture and shipping of building materials. What the government propaganda did not say, not mentioning other half-truths, was that this sum was not as great as the amount spent in 1928 or 1929, that the total volume of construction in the country is under one-fourth of the 1929 figure, and even the 1929 volume of construction failed to avert the crisis.

The following table of employment is based on official censuses and indices of employment. Allowances are made for migration to and from farms, in and out of the country, growth of children into workers and reduction of death rate.

	(In thousands)				
Workers	July 1929	Mar. 1933	July 1933	Oct. 1933	Nov. 1933
Employed ...	33,420	21,080	22,890	24,600	24,310
Unemployed ...	3,080	17,640	15,100	14,600	14,940
Employed in Production Industries	16,380	8,620	10,090	11,000	10,700
Per cent. Unemployed ...	8.3	51.8	43.5	38.4	40.1
Employed in Service Industries *	15,940	12,160	12,400	13,125	13,010
Per cent. Unemployed ...	6.3	28.6	27.2	22.9	23.6

* Government employees, professional service, domestic and personal service, trade, transportation and communication workers.

Workers	Dec. 1933	Jan. 1934	Feb. 1934	Mar. 1934
Employed ...	24,390	23,400	23,900	24,640
Unemployed ...	14,940	16,060	15,630	15,000
Employed in Production Industries	10,390	10,140	10,490	10,970
Per cent. Unemployed ...	41.9	42.6	40.5	37.8
Employed in Service Industries...	13,420	12,710	12,780	13,000
Per cent. Unemployed ...	21.2	25.4	24.9	23.6

At the point of lowest employment, March, 1933, 17,640,000 workers were out of work. It is impossible to determine how many business men and farmers were thrown back into the working class, but it would be erring on the side of mildness to estimate their number at between 800,000 and 1,000,000. The total unemployed was thus approximately 18,500,000. In the year of herculean effort of the New Deal but 3,200,000 workers were re-employed. All figures of employment include large numbers of men and women employed on the average of less than three days a week. Many in the steel industry were employed as little as one day in each two weeks. As long as their name appeared on the pay-roll they were reported as employed.

Workers in the production industries were harder hit than those in service activities. Those in the construction industry were the most severely hit of all industries. Disemployment of manufacturing workers in 1907-8 was approximately 15 per cent.; in 1914, 10 per cent.; in 1918, 15 per cent.; in 1921, 28 per cent.; in 1933, 43 per cent. As was to be expected, workers were more severely affected by unemployment in the manufacture of production goods, such as iron, steel and machinery. Those workers engaged in the manufacture of products of direct consumption, such as food, clothing, etc., were less unfortunate.

Per cent. of Manufacturing Workers Employed compared to July, 1929 in:—	July 1929	Mar. 1933	Mar. 1934
All Manufacturing ...	100.0	57.6	79.0
Production Goods ...	100.0	39.0	60.5
Direct Consumption Goods	100.0	71.0	91.8

Workers in the construction industry were the most severely affected of all industries. The number employed in March, 1933, including those engaged in public works projects, was two compared to each ten at work in July, 1929. Government employees were the least affected of all workers by unemployment. From available data it is estimated that 8.8 remained at work of each ten in 1929.

When the proportion of workers on part-time jobs is reduced it should result in an increase of the average pay for those at work. The New Deal that restored profits to capitalists failed to raise real wages of the workers above the extremely low level of the crisis. Still lower real wages are in prospect. After the present seasonal spurt is spent the worker's pay-check will be smaller. In addition the cost of living will increase. According to the Department of Labour the cost of food has risen 20 per cent. in the last year and continues rising. Clothing and house furnishings have risen

This low level of purchasing power is reflected in retail trade. The Federal Reserve Board issues monthly reports on business done by department stores. These reports reveal that since Roosevelt took office the increase over the same month of the previous year in the number of dollars worth of merchandise sold was smaller than the rise in prices. This means that less clothing, house furnishings and other needs were purchased than in the hopeless year of 1932. Figures from chain grocery stores show that workers consumed less food.

Because of the N.R.A. short-week jobs and the increasing cost of living, conditions for workers will become worse, or at best remain at their present low level. The grinding speed-up imposed upon them has made it inevitable that, even if production and service should again reach the 1929 volume there will be some eight million workers unemployed.

In spite of a rise in prices bank loans for commercial and industrial purposes have not increased even from the low point of the crisis. Prospects for a resumption of new capital investments are dismal. Artificial, government-induced activity is not a cure. Rather, it is a fever that will inevitably result in a relapse.

The New Greek State Budget

By Gr.

The Greek Minister of Finance, **Loverdos**, has submitted the State Budget for 1934-35 to parliament, with the comment that it shows a deficit of "only 100 million drachmas." A brief analysis of the Budget shows its outspokenly anti-popular character.

The revenue of the 1934-35 Budget is estimated at 10,240 million drachmas, the expenditure at 10,582 million. This would mean a deficit of 342 million drachmas. But it must be borne in mind that one item figuring under "receipts" is the interest left unpaid to the foreign creditors in accordance with the partial moratorium: 1,417,000,000 drachmas. One can well imagine, therefore, what the cancellation of the moratorium would mean to Greek State finances.

On the revenue side, the indirect taxes are to bring in 6,866,000,000 drachmas, or 80 per cent. of the total revenue, while the direct taxes are calculated at 1,700,000,000 drachmas, or 20 per cent. of the revenue. It is a well-known fact that the indirect taxes are imposed on the most important articles of consumption, so that they are mainly paid by the toiling masses. At the same time, the greater part of the direct taxation has to be paid by the peasants, small tradesmen, handicraftsmen, etc. (land, income, turnover taxes, etc.), so that it may be stated that 90 per cent. of the taxes are paid by the toiling masses. Last autumn the government imposed fresh taxes to the amount of 500 million drachmas. These taxes included a tax on tobacco consumed in the country itself, an income-tax which aroused the small tradesmen to revolt in many places, a new tax on the salaries of employees and civil servants, an increase in the tax on mineral oil. All these new taxes are paid almost entirely by the working people. At the same time the taxation of the capitalists has been further reduced by a lowering of the death duties, etc.

As regards expenditure, the Budget of the three War Ministries (army, navy, and air) swallows up a total of 1,871 million drachmas. This sum does not, however, include the secret war funds of the so-called "defence treasury," nor the sum spent by various Ministries for war purposes, as, for instance, the building of roads and bridges, chiefly of a strategic character, by the Traffic Ministry. The sum total of official military expenditure has been increased by 90 million drachmas compared with last year.

One hundred and sixty million drachmas are provided for the foreign creditors in excess of the sum provided last year. The total sum provided for the payment of interest on the, and redemption of, foreign debts amounts to 1,557,430,246 drachmas, or 15 per cent. of the whole Budget. This year the landowners receive 150 million drachmas by way of compensation for their "expropriated" estates. The expenditure for the Ministries of the Interior and Justice, together with the expenditure for the parliament and senate, will amount to something over one million drachmas (10 per cent. of the Budget). Salaries for officials and civil service officials amount to 3,097,000,000 drachmas.

The total expenditure for the administration and maintenance of State power, for military expenses, for payments to foreign creditors, for compensation to the Greek landowners, amounts to 7,591,115,758 drachmas, as compared with 7,500,626,349 drachmas in the Budget for 1933-34, or 85 per cent. of the whole Budget.

As compared with this, 1,573,982,773 drachmas fall to productive and cultural expenditure, as compared with 1,591,750,135 drachmas in 1933-34, equivalent to only about 15 per cent. of the total Budget. Of this, 415 millions are to be expended for so-called productive work as compared with 397 millions in 1933-34, 320 millions as compared with 354 for other work (chiefly for the Ministry of Traffic), and 107,538,850 drachmas for the Agricultural Ministry as compared with 108,919,577, a miserable sum for an agrarian country like Greece. For education 18,636,310 drachmas are estimated in place of the 18,192,310 drachmas of the 1933-34 Budget. It is only necessary to compare this wretched sum with the official military Budget of 1,871,000,000 drachmas to gain a clear idea of the culture of Greek capitalism.

For the public health service 161,626,354 drachmas have been estimated as compared with the 139,339,361 drachmas for the previous year. 100,584,800 drachmas for public welfare service as compared with 117,430,300. Finally, 248,910,003 drachmas have been allotted to the refugees' settlements as compared with 236,802,629 drachmas.

This is the new Budget of Greek capitalism—a Budget of cruel robbery of the toiling masses, for the benefit of the Greek and foreign capitalists, and of the insane preparations for war.

Germany

The Pogrom-Propaganda Action of the National Socialist Party and the Reply of the C.P.G.

Following the Nazi "May Day celebrations," Dr. Goebbels Minister for Propaganda, announced a "comprehensive propaganda against the grumblers," which is to rouse the whole of the people like drum-fire. After Hitler, on May first, gave vent to his annoyance with the critics and fault-finders, now, according to Goebbels' instructions, an attack is to be launched at thousands of meetings throughout the length and breadth of the country against "grumblers," "inciters," and "rumour-spreaders." As accompanying music to the intensified terror introduced by the establishment of the new "people's courts," the propaganda drum is to be beaten, not so much to convince as to intimidate the enemies of the brown dictatorship.

Goebbels opened this new campaign of lies with a speech in the Sports Palace in Berlin on May 11, which culminated in a furious incitement to a pogrom. As the fascist dictatorship of finance capital possesses neither the means nor the will to do anything in face of the disastrous impoverishment of the masses, which is stirring up popular discontent, the indignation of the masses, in accordance with the old recipe employed already in tsarist Russia, is to be diverted from the ruling class by means of anti-Jewish incitement.

Of course Goebbels does not attribute the desperate economic situation to its real causes, to the capitalist mismanagement, the reckless foreign and commercial policy, the squandering of vast sums on armaments and subventions, the wholesale corruption. For him there is only one explanation: the Jews are to blame! To the complaint against the boycott of German goods by the Jews abroad Goebbels adds the following open threat of a pogrom:—

"They must not believe that if they really carry the boycott so far that it should represent a serious threat to our economic situation, that we shall therefore leave the Jews undisturbed. The hatred, fury, and desperation of the German people would be first directed against those who are within their reach in the country."

The fascist leaders see the economic disaster approaching: they observe how hatred, anger, and desperation are increasing among the masses; they fear that the victims of their mismanagement will call those responsible to account. Hence the frantic attempt once again to divert the indignation of the people to the Jews as scapegoats. Should it come to new terrorist excesses in the next few weeks, then Goebbels' responsibility for such excesses will be plain to the whole world. The perverse criminal Streicher, the district Nazi leader in Franconia, who combines his anti-Jewish incitement with sexual orgies and who, in a special number of his notorious "Sturmer," has again dished up all the legends of Jewish ritual murders in the last century, occupies a prominent place in the national socialist hierarchy. Incitements to pogroms are part of the arsenal of national socialism. If fresh massacres of Jews should occur in Hitler's "Third Reich," nobody will believe that they represent a spontaneous action of the masses.

Goebbels tells the workers that they should not be dissatisfied if they have not yet attained a level of existence worthy of human beings, for "to-day we are in the midst of a war." To the war economy and the special courts, which are every whit as bad as the courts-martial, there is now to be added, as is usual in time of war, the exhortation to hold out.

The rest of Goebbels' speech consisted of abuse of the Catholic clergy who misused their pulpits for the purpose of propaganda for the Centre party, and of chauvinist incitement against the French. If the launching of a special propaganda action against the "grumblers" is an unmistakable indication of how hostile the mood of the masses is to the Hitler regime, Goebbels' speech shows even more plainly how the brown demagogues are under the pressure of this mood of the masses.

The C.P. of Germany has replied to the new campaign of incitement in a leaflet, in which it is stated:—

The drum-fire of national socialist propaganda is directed against the grumblers and carping critics, against the spreaders of rumours and incapables, against saboteurs and inciters. That is what the leader orders and what Dr. Goebbels announces.

Who are the **grumblers**? Millions of workers and employees are still discontented, although they have work. **Wages have been reduced again and again**; the deductions from wages have become ever greater; prices are rising. One cannot keep a family decently on 20 to 30 marks a week. And now the factory "leaders," supported by the labour law, want to reduce wages and salaries still further. The Minister for Economy Schmidt says: "A responsible government cannot tolerate increasing wages."

Dr. Ley spoke of the starvation wages of the German workers. Whoever rebels against these starvation wages, whoever wants to resist wage cuts and to organise the fight for a living wage, is a **grumbler**.

"**Down with the grumblers!**" shout the bureaucrats, who, as a result of the "national revolution," have obtained office and dignities and pocket several thousand marks a month.

Who are the **carping critics**? Newspapers write about the tremendous successes of the battle for work. But there are still **seven million unemployed**. Those who have obtained work are for the most part just as badly off as before. They must drill in the Labour-Service camps in return for a basin of soup and a few pfennigs pocket money, or have to sweat their insides out as "assistant agricultural labourers." The number of persons employed has been increased by the introduction of **short-time work**, but there is **no corresponding increase in the rate of pay**. The workers on short time earn from 12 to 18 marks less than they formerly received as unemployment benefit. Women and young workers are turned out of the factories, **millions of unemployed are deprived of benefit**. Whoever criticises these methods of the "battle for work," whoever describes it as a **battle against the workers**, whoever demands **adequate support for all unemployed**, is a **carping critic**.

Down with the carping critics, shout the capitalists, who pocket millions for "creating" work. They have nothing to criticise in regard to the creation of profits, they are satisfied with their **6 to 12 per cent. dividends**.

Who are the **rumour spreaders**? Everywhere one hears that the millions which have been squeezed out of the working people, for winter relief, for providing work, for protection against air attacks, etc., go to fill the **pockets of corrupt Nazi officials** or are squandered on armaments. **Hitler** has a magnificent villa in the Bavarian mountains and a new motor car nearly every day. He draws thousands of marks a month in profits from his publishing companies. **Goering** has a luxurious castle and every day a new swagger uniform. **Goebbels** has had a winter garden built in his villa at the cost of 100,000 marks.

Under these circumstances the cover of the German currency has fallen to 5 per cent. **Inflation and bankruptcy of the State are approaching**. **Dr. Schacht** has declared that **Germany is bankrupt**. The bank and stock exchange magnates are not expropriated; they are transferring their capital abroad. The money in the saving banks is handed over to speculators for the purpose of "providing work." The small savers will soon learn to their cost that their money, which they have saved by dint of bitter thrift, has again disappeared.

These are all facts. But whoever speaks of them is a **spreader of rumours**. To the **concentration camps with the spreaders of rumours!** roar Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering, because they fear the truth like the plague.

Who are the **saboteurs and inciters**? They are everywhere where there are working people, for it is not only the workers who are realising that they were never exploited and oppressed as much as they are in the Third Reich, but also the clerks, the peasants, and the middle class. They believed Hitler would help them, that he would reduce the taxes, abolish interest slavery, and bring about a fresh economic revival. But what have they seen? The motor-car owners, the industrial magnates are freed from taxation, millions are paid in subventions to the big agrarians, the houseowners, and even to the owners of big stores. But the tax on wages, the turnover taxes, the poll taxes, in short all taxes borne by the masses still exist. Millions of peasants' sons are disinherited by the entailed farm law. The middle class and small peasants are crushed by taxes, deprived of their last penny by "voluntary gifts," and, with the declining sales and destroyed credits, are facing certain ruin.

If they murmur against these conditions, if they call to mind

the promises of the Nazis, if they do not pay the taxes, then they are told: You are sabotaging national construction, you are inciting against the national uplift! You are **saboteurs and inciters**. To the **Special Courts** with the saboteurs and inciters! shout those who benefit by the system of Nazi corruption, the deceivers of the people who promised the moon but have done nothing but increase the misery and bestial oppression of the working people.

The brown rulers are raging and threatening because the masses are turning away from them in disappointment and indignation, because the **resistance is growing**, because the **revolutionary storm is approaching**.

Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels are threatening with **imprisonment and the executioner's axe** all who venture to expose, criticise and attack the capitalist exploitation, the starvation, the bloody terror, the insane armaments of the "Third Reich." Whoever fights against this system of wage-cuts and reduction of relief, of compulsory labour, extortionate taxation of the poor, of vast profits for the millionaires, of tax abatements for the rich, is to be rendered silent as a "grumbler" and "saboteur."

The capitalist rulers and their Nazi agents **fear your criticism**. Therefore, exercise the right of criticism! **Goebbels and Hitler** are raging against the "**spreaders of rumours**." Therefore, spread the **truth** about your starvation existence, about the Nazi corruption and the vile terror! They abuse the Communists, the revolutionary workers, who, in spite of bloody sacrifices, organise and lead the fight for wages and bread, for socialism, as "saboteurs" and "inciters." Therefore, unite more firmly than ever with these "saboteurs" and "inciters." Become yourselves "saboteurs" and "inciters" against this accursed system of exploitation and violence!

Demand workshop meetings, with the right of the workers to speak freely! Bring forward your complaints and demands, elect piece-work and wages commissions! Do not tolerate wage cuts! Demand wage increases in accordance with the rising prices, the increased speed-up, and to make up for short-time work!

Exert pressure on the "confidence councils." If they do not put forward your demands, then they are not your confidence councils, but the confidence councils of the employers. Elect your own workshop delegates, set up your own independent class trade unions!

"The critics did not do any better," says Hitler. Who are the critics? They are the revolutionary workers, the Communists. The working class never had power in Germany. They could not show here that they can manage things better than the capitalist class. The capitalists were in power when the social democrats sat in the government. They are in power now when the Nazis are governing. The social democrats and national socialists have brought nothing to the working class but hunger, misery, and slavery, because they are in the **service of capitalism**.

The critics of capitalist exploitation, the Communists, have shown that they can do things better where they are in power, in the **Soviet Union**. There there is no unemployment, no wage cuts, no misery and starvation for the working people, no terror against the workers. The bank and stock exchange magnates are expropriated, the mines and factories and the land belong to the workers and peasants. Only the working people have to decide. They have the weapons in their hands, and they have victoriously defended the proletarian fatherland against world imperialism.

Communism is the only salvation for the German people. Hitler is leading Germany to disaster. **Inflation and war** stand threatening at the door. A system which is doomed to perish is defending itself by means of terror and murder against the rising working class.

After a bestial war of extermination waged for a year against the revolutionary proletariat, the **fascist rulers are trembling** at our criticism, at our attack.

Therefore, more courageously forward in a firm united front against wage cuts and deductions from wages, against deprivation of unemployment benefit, against compulsory labour, against terror and war incitement!

For the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of capital!
For the workers' and peasants' power! For the dictatorship of the proletariat! For Soviet Germany!

The Communist Party of Germany.

The Nazis' Attack on the Soviet Union

By Gore Graham

The Nazis are beset with difficulties. After the many funeral orations over Marxism the activity of the Communists is as persistent as ever. After months of bullying, the opposition in the churches is as strong as ever; the "quarrelsome men of God" are still a sharp thorn in the Nazis' side. And, above everything, the economic situation shows no real improvement.

Nazi leaders have admitted that the way out for Germany is the securing of a larger share of the world markets and imperialist expansion. But the recent trade figures reveal that during the first quarter of the present year German exports are 8 per cent. (7,600,000 marks) less than they were in the same period last year.

As a reflection of the general difficulties the struggles within the Nationalist forces have grown sharper, marked this week in the arrest of the former Stahlhelm leader—although for months the Stahlhelm is supposed to have been absorbed in unity with the Nazi Storm Troops.

The leaders of Hitler Germany have thus begun a new blood-thirsty attack on revolutionary elements. The new People's Courts are a measure of their determination to behead those who even think anti-fascist thoughts. They have thus begun a new wave of persecution against the Jews, preparing pogroms on the Jews in a way probably never equalled in history.

And they have thus begun a new offensive against the Soviet Union. Hitler's speech to the "German Labour Front" on May 16 was distinguished by a bitter and peevish attack on the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, as the only anti-fascist State in the world, has just recently exposed the war aims of Hitler Germany in the clever diplomatic proposal for a pact with Germany guaranteeing the safety of the Baltic States. The Nazis were forced to turn this proposal down. And there is no need to expatiate on the reasons. Only a few days after this exposure of German war aims in the East, Latvia carries out a fascist coup under the leadership of a Premier who negotiated with Hitler.

In addition the Nazis are getting uneasy owing to the fact that the Soviet Union has steadily diminished its imports from Germany. The Soviet Union has not carried on a lot of showy phrasemongering about boycott but has systematically reduced its imports from Germany so that during the first quarter of this year they are 75 per cent. lower than they were in the same period last year.

For several years the Soviet Union has been the best customer of German industry. The impossible behaviour of the Nazis has changed all this. The unemployment and short time for tens of thousands of German workers that will result from this great reduction of Soviet orders is something else the German workers have to thank Hitler for.

And so Hitler loses his temper and makes a long attack on the Soviet Union, an attack that also was made a few days after the very ceremonious visit of the Japanese naval squadron. And this is the calibre of his attack.

After the usual stories about millions dying of hunger in the Soviet Union, he said:—

"Soviet Russia seemed like a man wandering through a bog on the arm of a stronger man. This Soviet Russia toiled perpetually along on the arm of capitalist States. She took from them her workers, her engineers, her machines but talked the whole time about Marxian Communism. Soviet Russia should be stood on her own feet and told: 'Now create your paradise yourself.' The results would be interesting. At present the land of Communism lived from the non-Communist institutions of the world."

This strikes one first of all by the humour of it; for it is an expression of Hitler's irritation that the Soviet Union is independent of the capitalist world, and, to be very concrete, independent of German industry to the tune of reducing its imports by 75 per cent. within a year!

Secondly, it is as baseless as the yarns he spun about the hungry, dying millions.

The number of foreign workers in Russia is not one per cent. of the total number of workers in Soviet industry. The proportion of foreign engineers and technicians in relation to Russian engineers and technicians is considerably less than it was before the Revolution.

And now as regards material from abroad. The policy of the

Soviet Union has been one of perfect willingness to have a part of world trade, to buy or sell on the world market the things that it wants to buy and sell and on terms that suit it. This is an advantage to the Soviet Union but it is not a vital necessity.

The world crisis that shook the whole of the capitalist countries to pieces merely affected the Soviet Union to the extent of causing it to change its foreign trade planning.

As for the proportion of this foreign trade, let us take the period of the first Five-Year Plan. During that period 42.1 milliard roubles were invested in Soviet industry, agriculture and transport. Of that sum only 3.52 milliards were devoted to foreign purchases. Not ten per cent. of the total.

Last year, 1933, the first year of the second Plan, that proportion grew even smaller. To talk of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. leaning upon the kindly arm of the capitalist world is merely the drivel of a fascist butcher irritated by all the difficulties of running a prison State.

If the Soviet government has demanded credits for its purchases abroad then this is only in accord with general customs of world trade. Purchasers of machinery, factory equipment and the like always ask and always get long credits. And the Soviet government has been the receiver of this credit because it alone is the buyer for the whole country.

But the leader of fascist Germany to talk about Soviet dependence on the capitalist world! German industry during the past years has been built up and reorganised simply by foreign loans. And at this very moment the economic leaders of Germany are struggling their hardest to avoid the catastrophe of headlong inflation simply as a result of foreign bondholders that have their hands on German industry's throat demanding their interest.

Nazi Germany, that is mobilising all it has for war, and war on the Soviet Union, cannot even do this without foreign support. Hence the rapid building up of the German-Japanese alliance, and the Nazi toadying to British imperialism for its support in this war.

The puerility of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union is merely a measure of his bitter exasperation. Yes; the Nazis are in difficulties. And that means only one thing; that the fighters for peace, the defenders of the Soviet Union, must quickly strengthen their forces for the struggle against the threatening imperialist war on the Soviet Union.

Austria

The International Federation of Trade Unions Hands Over Workers' Money to Dollfuss

By Gustav (Vienna)

A few days ago the workers, not only of Austria, but of the whole world were surprised by the report that the police, in conjunction with the functionaries of the one-time free trade unions of Austria, had succeeded in getting huge sums of money, belonging to the trade unions, back to Austria from abroad. The news was first received with general incredulity in Austria. However, the release of the trade union bureaucrats who had thus purchased their liberty by this act of betrayal, furnished final proof of the truth of the report.

The sum involved at present is five million shillings, which the Austrian metal workers' union had placed in the hands of the Amsterdam Metal Workers' International for safe keeping when the social-democratic party of Austria was already reckoning on the dissolution of the trade unions. These monies were sent back to Austria with the consent of the International Metal Workers' Union and handed over to the fascist united trade union. This example of the metal workers' leaders is to be followed by the bureaucrats of the food workers' and the building workers' unions.

It seems that there are no depths of treachery to the workers to which the social fascists would not sink. Even those who believed that nothing more could surprise them are again faced with facts which they find hard to believe. The Austrian trade unions were always the most "radical" in the social fascist international. They always spoke with contempt of their foreign comrades who openly advocated collaboration with the bourgeoisie. They themselves have solemnly said: *Rather die than be slaves!* For what is life without freedom?

The followers of the Austrian trade union leaders therefore expected from them miracles of heroism. When, in February, it was seen that none of the trade union secretaries took part in the

fight, and when none of the trade unions issued the slogan of the general strike, the trade union members hoped at least that their leaders would steadfastly reject fascism. But the Austrian trade union bureaucrats even surpassed their Italian and German colleagues in cowardice and treachery. The Italian trade union leaders required years until D'Aragnona concluded his Judas Pact with Mussolini. Leipart and his comrades offered their services to Hitler already after two months, when they called upon the workers to take part in the national socialist May Day festival.

The Austrian trade union leaders did not need even this time for consideration. Before the thunder of the guns had ceased they offered their submission to Dollfuss. They flocked to join the Patriotic Front while the corpses of the insurgent workers were still unburied. The secretary of the Labour Chamber, Dr. Palla, took a seat on the fascist administrative council. Other trade union bureaucrats accepted functions in the fascist unity trade union, and among these secretaries were no less than 12 social democrats.

The social-democratic party of Austria, however, still had the excuse that all these were only contemptible deserters. A great number of trade union functionaries, on the other hand, were pining in prison rather than bow the knee to fascism. It was argued that the best proof of the hostility of the social democracy and the trade union secretaries to fascism was the fact that large sums of trade union money had been sent abroad in order to prevent its being seized by the fascists and to keep it for the fight of the Austrian workers.

This money is now being given back to Dollfuss as the price for the release of the trade union bureaucrats. To them, life without freedom was worth nothing, and they have bought their wretched personal freedom with the money which was contributed by the workers for the fight for freedom for all.

The responsibility for this monstrous act of treachery rests not only with the Austrian trade union bureaucrats but with the whole of the Second International, for the money could not have been handed over without the consent of the I.F.T.U.

The first fact is that the Austrian trade union money was handed over to the I.F.T.U. The social fascists admitted this and were particularly proud of it. In a leaflet signed by the "Central Committee of the Revolutionary Social Democracy of Austria" it is stated:

"As a matter of fact—after the experiences in Germany and on the instructions of the organisations—money was transferred abroad in order to prevent its being seized by the fascists. This money is in the keeping of foreign workers' organisations and will be used right up to the last penny for the purposes of the Austrian working class."

The Bruenn "Arbeiter-Zeitung" wrote:—

"The trade union money sent abroad will be brought back to Austria when there are again free trade unions in Austria, not trade unions serving fascism. Until then it will be under the control of the International Federation of Trade Unions and administered by the international Industrial Secretariats. . . ."

The second fact is that this money has been brought back to Austria, that it has been handed over to the unity trade union, regarding which the "revolutionary socialists" themselves wrote in a leaflet:—

"What is the unity trade union? It is not a real workers' organisation, but a constituent part of the fascist system."

The Austrian and the international social fascists thereby support the bloody dictatorship of Austro-fascism at its weakest spot, for the further existence of the Dollfuss dictatorship depends upon its winning over the workers.

The Austrian workers will turn away with loathing, indignation and hatred from those who, out of fear of being held under arrest for some months, have committed this monstrous act of treachery. The international working class must likewise turn away from the whole crowd of traitors in the Second and Amsterdam Internationals.

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.

New Forms of United Front Tactics

By Gustav (Vienna)

Since the February uprising the Communist Party has grown steadily. It is winning over ever-increasing numbers of revolutionary workers hitherto organised in the social-democratic party. It is on the road to becoming a mass Party.

But this growth is not being accomplished without conflicts with hampering counter-forces. Police terror is not the sole enemy of the Communist Party. As was to be expected, the social-democratic party has not abandoned its policy of **splitting** the working class. It continues, as ever, with its endeavours to prevent the workers from joining the Communists. And, though the number of workers is continually growing who have **ideologically broken down the barriers raised by the Austrian S.P.** in years of work between its adherents and the Communists, only in the actual **practical co-operation in revolutionary struggles** will the disastrous influence of Austro-Marxism be completely wiped out.

Under the present circumstances, the tactics of the united front acquire the utmost importance for the further development of the proletarian class struggle in Austria. It would be a sectarian attitude to maintain that now, after the collapse of the S.P.A., these tactics are no longer suitable. Even though the S.P.A. may be politically dead, its traditions are still strong, consciously or unconsciously, among a great section of the workers.

Unless these strata are won over, an effectual struggle against the fascist dictatorship is impossible. The Communist Party, rallying in its ranks the most progressive strata of the proletariat, must in duty bound draw the remainder of the masses into the struggle. The united front tactics mean co-operation with all workers, with all groups of workers, with all workers' organisations, on the basis of the struggle against the Dollfuss dictatorship, for the rights of the workers.

It is precisely under the circumstances given by the collapse of the Austro-Marxist illusions, and the enhanced prestige of the Communists, that an excellent basis is given for applying the united front tactics in Austria for the first time on a really broad mass foundation. Almost the whole of the working class is convinced of the necessity of the joint struggle. The days when the "small handful" of Communists might be derisively referred to are gone for ever. The Communists will increase this urge for the joint struggle and direct it into the right channels. In the joint struggle the last remnants of distrust will be best removed.

An important step on the way to the united front is represented by the agreement arrived at by the Vienna town committee of the Austrian C.P. and the leaders of the "Red Front," the former "Left" wing opposition in the Austrian S.P. This agreement has been supplemented by a number of local agreements with groups of the "revolutionary socialists"; that is, of the official S.P., for the purpose of joint preparations for May 1. These agreements contributed greatly to the plan and mass character of the agitation carried on for May 1.

This successful application of the united front tactics will be continued. It may be anticipated that in the immediate future the number of joint actions will be greatly increased.

The main question of the united front continues to be, as ever, the **trade union question**. After lengthy and fundamental discussions, this question has now been completely cleared up. During the days following the disbanding of the free trade unions, the slogan was frequently proclaimed: "Form Red Trade Unions!" This corresponded to the traditional sectarian tendencies of individual Communists. And this became speedily apparent in actual practice. Concrete and really revolutionary mass work for gaining the confidence of the broad masses of the non-Communist workers was replaced, under this slogan, by the formation of pseudo-revolutionary sectarian organisations composed principally of Communists or former adherents of the R.T.U.O. But these scarcely reached the former free trade union members at all.

It became apparent that correct revolutionary trade union tactics must be speedily laid down. What the Austrian working class needs in its trade union struggle is not a number of splinter organisations, but trade union mass organisations on a revolutionary basis. Therefore the task set is the **continuation of the trade union organisations on a revolutionary foundation**. These organisations must be made really class organisations, in composition and in leadership, and in their policy.

The point of paramount importance is not the building up of a central trade union apparatus. The first necessity is the continuation of the trade union organisations in the works and factories. This is a necessity arising not only from conspirative reasons, but it is the prerequisite for a successful struggle, economically and politically. The trade unions built up on local and residential basis, too, must be speedily reorganised on the factory basis by the revolutionary workers. Here the last remnants of the old reformist traditions must be relentlessly eliminated, if the trade unions are to be given effective fighting powers.

In some places the social-democratic trade union secretaries, especially the younger functionaries of the trade unions, are endeavouring to carry on the trade union organisations contrary to the instructions of the S.P.A. Some have even endeavoured to get into contact with the C.P.A. for this purpose. To them the maintenance of the central apparatus appears of the utmost importance. They demand that the subscriptions already collected should be handed over to the former secretaries. But the revolutionary workers take up the question as one of the development of the lower organisations of the trade unions, and these will administer their own funds for the present. Hence it may be anticipated that in the trade unions the Communists will have severe conflicts with the social democrats for the right line. Much will depend on the revolutionary energy, on the convincing powers, and the talent for leadership of the Communists. But unless the trade union structure is built up on the right lines, a further advance of the class struggle in Austria will be impossible. The trade unions must become organs of the revolutionary united front.

The second extremely important question of united front tactics is that of the fate of the *Schutzbund*. It is precisely from among the *Schutzbund* that the best and most militant elements come over to the Communist Party. Other *Schutzbundler*s, who have not yet taken this step, are ready to co-operate with the Communists. Besides this, the organisational unity of the *Schutzbundler*s is very great. The *Schutzbund* has already been illegal for a year. Its prestige is now greater than ever among the workers, as a result of the heroic struggle of the *Schutzbundler*s in February. This demands especially elastic tactics from the Communist Party. There can be no thought of liquidating this organisation. It must rather be the task of the Communists to aid the revolutionary *Schutzbundler*s in carrying on the organisation, and to win over the leadership. A number of Communists must join the *Schutzbund*, and at the same time the best and leading *Schutzbundler* comrades must be won for the C.P. The new *Schutzbund* will continue the best traditions of the February struggles, but must develop from a social-democratic party guard into a revolutionary united front organ of the proletariat.

These elastic united front tactics will be adopted by the Austrian C.P. towards all former mass organisations which are being continued on a revolutionary basis. But not for a moment will the fundamental struggle against the nefarious policy of social democracy be abandoned, and no pardon will be given to those who hope that even to-day they can split the united struggle of the working class.

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany and of the C.C. of the C.P. of Austria

Workers, Peasants, working people of Germany and Austria!

The whole of the proletarian world has seen with pride and admiration the heroic fight of the revolutionary sons of the Austrian working class. The armed fight in Vienna, Graz, Linz, Steyr and in Styria, the numerous strikes in the German factories and works are signs that our German working class is again on the march, that the old slogan, "Put an end to this system," is becoming a living reality, that the end of the rule of the bourgeoisie and its fascist dictatorship is approaching.

All the oppressors and exploiters, all those parasites for whom our working people of Germany and Austria have had to starve and bleed for decades, all the powerful and rich, the bank magnates, the factory and milling barons, are joining in a howl of triumph over the bloody crushing of the armed resistance of the Austrian workers.

The social-democratic leaders, who are responsible for the defeat of the heroic fight in Austria, bewail the sufferings and the sacrifices of the proletariat, moan over the thousands of fighters in

Germany and Austria who have been shot, murdered or tortured. It was they, who are whining to-day, who fifteen years ago prevented you, German and Austrian workers, from taking possession of the mines and factories, it was they who withheld from you, peasants and land workers, the land of the wealthy big land owners. They killed fifteen thousand German workers in order to maintain the capitalist society, which has resulted in a bloody dictatorship against you. They helped the fascist bands to organise, they helped to rob you of the bread and salt from your table. It is they who to-day are declaring to the workers of Germany and Austria that fascism was not to be avoided, and that the working class is defeated and vanquished for a long time.

But wait a bit! The German working class in Austria, it is true, has lost a battle, but the fight is still going on. Neither mortars, nor guns, neither armoured cars nor machine-guns, no power in the world is able to prevent the victory of the German and Austrian workers and toilers when they rise in their majority in revolt against their oppressors, when in their majority, under revolutionary Bolshevik leadership, they follow the victorious tactics of Lenin and of our Communist World Party.

There are victories which are defeats and defeats which bear within them future victories. The revolutionary fight of the Austrian and German proletariat in November, 1918, which brought victory almost within the grasp of the working class, turned into a defeat because the majority of the working class, caught by the illusions of a democratic republic and parliamentarism, placed its fate in the hands of the treacherous social-democratic leaders. Hundreds of thousands of workers in Germany and tens of thousands in Austria have learnt the lessons from this defeat and have discarded these illusions and broken with the social-democratic and reformist fathers of these illusions. In Germany they have created a powerful weapon in their fight for emancipation, a Communist mass Party which has proved by deeds that it alone is capable of conducting the fight for the emancipation of the working class. The bloody defeat of the revolutionary social-democratic workers in Floridsdorf, in the Karl Marx Hof, in Linz, in Graz and in Styria, has once again plainly proved to the Austrian workers that the working class can never be victorious in a social-democratic organisation which aims solely at winning election victories, but not at leading armed fights, or under a social-democratic leadership which knows only the tactics of bargaining and negotiations and of fraternisation with the bourgeois parties.

Austrian and German workers, trade unionists, *Schutzbundler*s! The rich and great, the exploiters and employers have created fascism in order to wage civil war against the poor. If we wish to achieve the freedom of the working class, the revolutionary overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, then we must gather the majority of the workers and toilers in a common revolutionary front, and fill them with the determination forcibly to abolish fascism.

We shall never be victorious if we have traitors in our own ranks. The phrases of Otto Bauer and Seitz may have sounded more radical than the cynical acceptance of fascism by Wels and Severing, but they were always at one in their collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In Germany and also in Austria, in the past they did everything in order to prevent any serious struggle, in order to disarm you, to create a defeatist mood among you, and hold you back from the general strike.

Workers and peasants of Austria, workers and peasants of Germany, remember Noske and Zoergiebel, the murderers of workers, remember Severing and Seitz. It was they who, in Germany, issued laws and orders by means of which your meetings, your demonstrations, your mass defence organisations were prohibited; it was they who, in Austria, delivered over the arsenal and the weapons which were in your hands to the fascist counter-revolution.

Social-democratic workers in Germany and Austria, think of our murdered comrades in arms! Their blood cries up from the ground for revenge, and if they could rise again they would be the first in the front to drive the social-democratic treachery from the country for ever. We shall never be victorious if Otto Bauer and Wels are at the head of the Austrian and German working class. At the head of the fighting revolutionary front there stand the immortal heroes who laid down their lives for the emancipation of our class. In the fight against the fascist dictatorship they have set an example showing how the revolutionary front of the proletariat must be set up for the overthrow of the fascist dictator-

ship. The revolutionary united front of the proletarian revolution in Austria and Germany is advancing in the spirit of August Luettgens, John Scheer, Joseph Ahrer, Muenichreiter and Weissel.

Thousands of workers and toilers of Austria believe that the union of the whole of the working people of Germany and Austria will be realised if Dollfuss-Austria unites with Hitler-Germany. But Hitler cannot bring about the union of Austria and Germany any more than did the social democrats when they came into power in 1918, any more than did bourgeois democracy. The national union of the whole of the German working people cannot be brought about in a land in which the majority of the German people is socially oppressed and enslaved. The national union of the German people will come only when the social freedom of the German working people has been won and secured. Only we Communists can bring union for the whole of the working German people, because we alone give the people real right of self-determination, real democratic, social freedom.

We Communists say to the workers, small peasants and toilers who to-day are still in the camp of the oppressors of the workers and toilers, that their place cannot be there, with the enemy of the working people, but only with us, and that our victory is inevitable. We say plainly and unequivocally to those who still fulfil the role of hangmen for the bourgeoisie, to those who oppose the fight for the emancipation of our working people, that they will not escape our hate and their annihilation.

German and Austrian proletarians! Hunger and misery are continually increasing in your countries, and with them increases the hatred of the masses against the fascist dictatorship. There is only one way out of the crisis of the capitalist system, that is to drive out the capitalists, to set up the rule of the workers and peasants, to place power in the hands of the Soviets of workers and peasants, freely elected by the workers and peasants. It is necessary to organise together the way of victory, the way of emancipation, the way of the revolutionary defeat of the fascist dictatorship. We want to set up jointly a land of proletarian liberty, to advance together to Socialism.

Socialism is not that which the social democrats or the fascists represent to you as "Socialism." Socialism is the confiscation without compensation of the big estates of the junkers and feudal lords, of the churches and monasteries, the seizure of the factories, mines, ships, and big tenement buildings, and their joint administration by the commissions and Soviets of the poor, the exploited and of all hitherto disinherited workers, peasants and toilers. Socialism means work and bread for all workers and toilers. Socialism means an end to the capitalist system and its crisis. Socialism means taking possession of the chief means of culture, of the big printing works, the bourgeois newspapers, the theatres, radio and the cinemas by the workers and poor peasants; it means the mastery of science and technique by the sons and daughters of the working class and of the toiling peasants. Socialism is the confiscation of the villas and summer residences of the rich and princes and placing them at the disposal of the children of the poor, of the indigent sick and aged, the driving out of the sons and daughters of the rich factory owners and landowners from all schools and universities and opening them to the youth of the proletariat and the toilers.

Only the proletarian revolution, as the real people's revolution, only the taking over of power by the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communists creates the pre-conditions for the abolition of starvation, poverty and misery, creates Socialism. If you wish to win power and achieve Socialism, then you must help to set up the revolutionary united front. The setting up of the unity of the working class is to-day a question of life and death for the proletariat, the decisive pre-condition for liberation from the fascist prison. This revolutionary united front is possible only without the leaders of the social democracy Bauer and Wels, and only on the basis of the revolutionary Marxist class struggle. If you wish to attain power and to achieve real Socialism, then you must forcibly shatter the rule of the bourgeoisie, then you must destroy the capitalist State from top to bottom and set up in its place the form of rule of the working class, the power of the workers and peasants.

Workers, toiling peasants, small shopkeepers and artisans in Germany and Austria! Do not be discouraged by the difficulties of the tasks confronting you. You must plainly realise that a few years under the yoke of fascism will cost more in sacrifices than the victorious proletarian revolution. Fill your minds and hearts

with the thought of the emancipation of the German workers and toilers, with the thought of the coming revolutionary overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

There is only one way out of the fascist dictatorship and the capitalist crisis; the way chosen by the proletariat of Russia in October, 1917, under the leadership of the Communist Party. This way has led to socialism, to the social and national emancipation of the Russian workers and toilers. The Communist Parties of Germany and Austria call to you German and Austrian toilers to follow this path, the path of struggle for a future common German and Austrian Soviet Republic.

Workers, peasants, artisans, drive away the fascist bands, strike against wage reductions and worsening of working conditions, prevent by mass struggles the fascist murders and imprisonments, break through the fascist prohibition of demonstrations, fight for higher wages and restoration of all rights of the workers, for democratic rights and liberties. In Germany organise in the independent class trade unions, in Austria do not let your trade unions be smashed by fascism, continue them legally or illegally, unite in committees of peasants and toilers. Do not pay a penny in taxes! Disarm the fascist terrorist bands!

Workers in the Ruhr and in Styria! Working people in the cities on the Danube and on the Rhine! Peasants in Lower Austria and in Bavaria! The hour of retribution for all the crimes of the oppressors and exploiters is approaching! Rise, you poor and disinherited! Fight together with the Communists for the emancipation of the German and Austrian working people!

To the fight for work, bread and freedom! Down with the hangmen and traitors! Down with Hitler and Dollfuss! To the fight for real Socialism!

All power to the Soviets!

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of
Germany and Austria

(Sections of the Communist International).

The White Terror

Rakosi Must Be Saved!

By M. M.

Rakosi's life is in danger! This terrible news has aroused the indignation of all those who know the sterling worth of our Hungarian comrade, Rakosi, who since 1925 has been pining in the dungeons of the reactionary, bloody Horthy government.

Mathias Rakosi, who was born in 1892, knew the misery of the working class from his earliest childhood, and already in 1909 he became one of the leaders of the young radical students of Hungary. He worked in Germany and in England as a commercial clerk. In the year 1913 Rakosi, who was then living in England, joined the social-democratic federation. During the war he was called up to serve in the Hungarian army. He became a prisoner in Russia, and was released as a result of the Russian revolution. On his return to Hungary, Rakosi engaged in revolutionary propaganda in the army. In the autumn of 1918, when the Hungarian Communist Party was formed, he became an organiser and agitator for the Party.

During the period of the Soviet government in Hungary, Mathias Rakosi became the assistant of the People's Commissar for Trade. When the Czechoslovakian army, which was in the pay of the Entente, headed by France, attacked the only mining district left in the hands of the Soviet Republic, our brave comrade, Rakosi, together with several hundred workers, held the front for several days, guiding the work of the miners, securing the transport of the Red soldiers and thereby saving the existence of the Hungarian Soviets for the time being.

After the fall of the Hungarian Soviets, Rakosi fled to Vienna, where he was placed in a concentration camp. After his release he attended the second congress of the Comintern. He was appointed secretary of the Executive Committee of the C.I.

He then returned to Hungary in order to lead the illegal work of the Communist Party. Following his arrest in 1925 he was brought before a special court and threatened with sentence of death. The big campaign conducted throughout the whole world caused the Hungarian bourgeoisie to retreat and Rakosi was brought before an ordinary court which on July 29, 1926, sentenced him to 8½ years' imprisonment.

The most atrocious means were used in prison in order to bring about his death, and it was only thanks to his revolutionary tem-

perament that he was able to stand this brutal treatment. But the fascist Hungarian bourgeoisie is bent on destroying its implacable enemy.

Rakosi should have been released on April 24. He is still kept in prison; a new charge is being trumped up against him. He is accused of murders! And the Public Prosecutor demands the death sentence for our comrade.

Rakosi, who has served his terrible sentence and is in a serious state of health as a result, must be released; he must not be brought before a court again. He must be wrested by the workers from prison and the death danger, just as he was in 1925.

The Hungarian embassies and consulates in all countries must be flooded with protests by the workers, peasants, intellectuals in order to save the courageous Hungarian revolutionary!

Against the Fascist Persecution in Rumania

To the Hand and Brain Workers!

To the Anti-Fascists of the Whole World!

The fascist government in Rumania which caused the leaders of the fascist bands, the Iron Guard, who murdered Duca, to be acquitted, have launched a fresh campaign of repression against the movement of the anti-fascist committees.

The special law for the "protection of the State," which was passed recently, has no other purpose than to drive underground a movement which has won broad masses of workers, peasants, and honest intellectuals for the fight against fascism. The fact that this committee has more than 100,000 followers, possesses a central organ and three district organs, and local committees throughout the whole country, which organised the counter-attack against the fascist bands and compelled German ships in Rumanian ports to haul down their swastika flag—all this greatly disturbs the Rumanian bourgeoisie.

The same applies to the broad mass campaign which was launched by the anti-fascist movement for the release of the heroic railway workers of Grivitz. This campaign took the form of solidarity strikes in the workshops, street demonstrations, mass meetings and impromptu meetings at the factory gates.

The government resorted to brutal measures of repression: prohibition of all periodicals, arrest of the national secretary, who is a member of the national peasants' party, arrest of the Bessarabian district committee on a charge of "conspiracy," numerous arrests throughout the whole country on account of membership of the anti-fascist movement (sixty students were arrested and tortured in Yassy, fifty workers in Constantza, and dozens of others in Klausenburg, Grosswardein, Czerrowitz and other places).

The government is using every means in order to drive the anti-fascist movement into illegality.

Hand and brain workers! Anti-fascists of the whole world!

You have on many occasions demonstrated your active solidarity with the anti-fascists of Rumania. As a result of your campaign, the authorities in Bucharest were compelled to allow a re-trial of the Grivitz railway workers.

We call upon you once again to protest against the suppression of the anti-fascist movement in Rumania and to render aid to the brave anti-fascist fighters of Rumania.

For the legality of the movement against war and fascism!

For the unconditional release of all anti-fascists of Rumania!

World Committee for the Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism.

First of May

America's Greatest May Day

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The United States saw this year the greatest May Day celebrations in its history. Even early in the day the capitalist press reported that in New York the outpouring of demonstrating workers would probably be the largest in the world after those in Moscow and Paris. An incomplete tabulation of the first two-score cities to report showed a total of 400,000 in parades and demonstrations under the leadership of the C.P. In New York 100,000 workers participated in the socialist demonstration (half of the number that were in the Communist one in that city), while a number of others were scheduled under their auspices on which no reports are available yet.

New York City saw the biggest demonstrations in the country, both Communist and socialist. In the united front demonstration

of the "Left" wing 200,000 jammed Union Square, traditional proletarian meeting place. For four hours the marchers paraded past the reviewing stand, while tens of thousands watched along the line of march. When the parade reached the Square some 50,000 workers were waiting there, kept back by the police. The reactionary "New York Herald-Tribune" stated that the police lines "probably kept the numbers down... it was impossible to cram any more persons into the spaces." (May 2.)

Fifteen hundred police were out, with another 1,000 in reserve, and special machine-gun squads in midtown armoury and police cars were ready for action. Despite the usual provocative propaganda by the police and the press, the great size of the demonstrations and the iron discipline of the workers resulted in a peaceful day. The "Daily Worker" had printed half a million copies of a special 24-page edition and distributed them throughout the country, which played a great part in the mobilisation. In New York 2,000,000 leaflets, issued by the United Front May Day Conference, and 200,000 Dailies were spread broadcast, and many preliminary meetings, sectional demonstrations were held.

The socialist demonstration was held in Madison Square, a half mile away from Union Square. To a large extent it was mechanically mobilised, many workers being forced to participate. The Painters' Union, led by gangsters who suddenly became "socialists," tried to fine workers failing to appear. The I.L.G.W.U. (Garment Union) forced its members to work half a day, then held meetings in the shops, where union officials tried to force the workers to join their demonstration.

In other cities the demonstrations were not as large as in New York, but many of them faced more difficult conditions, such as police terror for some time before and during the demonstrations. In Detroit the demonstration was banned, over fifty workers were arrested, workers' homes and clubs were raided by bands of police and threatened with arrest; 38 Michigan University students going to the parade were waylaid by police, brutally beaten, and now face expulsion from college. Police and legionnaires attacked and broke up the demonstration of 10,000 workers.

In Birmingham 5,000 Negro and white workers demonstrated re-forming their ranks repeatedly despite attacks by police, deputies, gangsters, and American Legion bands; armoured cars patrolled the streets, machine-gun nests dotted the Square, and threats were made by the city officials for a considerable period before May 1. Motor cycle and auto police rushed through the workers' ranks in an effort to smash the demonstration. Numerous skirmishes resulted in many injuries and arrests, those taken being held incommunicado till the I.L.D. got to them. The demonstration was held in a park before the prison where the Scottsboro boys are held in death cells despite a police ban.

In Chicago 20,000 workers demonstrated in historic Union Park, where the Haymarket massacre had occurred 48 years ago. The S.P. and renegades held no demonstration, but merely an evening indoor meeting of 2,000. Over 50,000 cheered the parade, which wound through the financial district. The police banned the parade and repeatedly refused a permit, until mass pressure forced it two days before the demonstration.

In Minneapolis 15,000 demonstrated, while 7,000 paraded. A counter-demonstration of social fascists, farmer labourites, and Trotskyists numbered only a few score. In Milwaukee 10,000 demonstrated, while 6,000 paraded. On the Pacific Coast, Los Angeles saw a demonstration of 15,000 and San Francisco of 10,000. In the former city the S.P. section participated in the united front with the C.P., defying threats of expulsion.

In Philadelphia 30,000 met in the main square in the largest demonstration ever held in that city. In Boston 15,000 paraded and 20,000 gathered in the central square, ignoring police provocation and the near-by disruptive pyrotechnics of police and patriotic organisations. Cleveland saw a demonstration of 10,000. Buffalo of 5,500. In Toronto, Canada, 15,000 demonstrated, while 7,000 paraded, and in the evening 9,000 met in the Coliseum.

This greatest May Day demonstration ever held brought the workers out on the streets in the same spirit of militant struggle as in the rapidly widening movement of economic strikes and political revolt against the capitalist way out of the crisis. It will lead to greater effort to bring about unity between "Left" wing workers and those under reformist influence in the struggle against starvation, fascism and war. It will be followed by intensified struggle from that for the daily interests of the masses to that for the Communist way out—a world Soviet.

India

For Trade Union Unity in India

We have received an appeal worked out at the end of 1933 by a group of participants in the Indian revolutionary trade union movement. Lately the followers of the class trade union movement have been correctly carrying out the tactic of united front, correctly putting forward the suggestion of electing strike committees by the workers themselves, etc. The appeal correctly puts the question in regard to the possibility of uniting parallel trade unions which exist separately. The conditions which can guarantee positive results of such an amalgamation are as follows:—

(1) Energetic defence of everyday needs of the workers of a given trade.

(2) Stubborn work of creating mass working-class organisations which follow the class point of view (trade unions, mill committees, etc.).

(3) Formation and strengthening of Communist fractions inside these mass proletarian organisations.

(4) Persistent and patient everyday revolutionary work among the workers in the mills, especially there where the influence of reformists and national-reformists is strong, building our Communist nuclei and our groups in the mills and workshops.

(5) Taking concrete examples, persistently and energetically explain to the workers the difference between revolutionary class policy and tactic from the reformist policy and tactic. Concrete material for such an agitation which would help to expose the reformists should be taken not only from day to day struggle, but should also include general questions—such as, for example, the attitude towards the struggle for independence, towards the policy of the National Congress, etc., etc.

The appeal clearly states that tactic of united front and even amalgamation of some parallel trade unions—of ours and the reformists—does not mean that armistice with reformism is accepted; it does not mean that peace with reformism is declared; on the contrary, if the Communist carry on good and energetic activity and work, if they ably carry on agitation at the same time, then there will be created favourable conditions for widening the influence of the Communists among the workers in the united trade unions.

In spite of the fact that the appeal was worked out more than six months ago, and possibly was published in a changed form (it was published in India with the request to the trade union people to express their opinion on it), the editorial board considers that it is worth while to publish it, because it touches the vital problems of the Indian labour movement.—Ed.

Working Men and Women of India,—

The working class of India is on the eve of new struggles for its existence. The British imperialists, spreading terror and oppression, have drained, with the aid of the landowners, princes, and usurers, two thousand million rupees of gold out of the country in the course of the last two years. All this gold drained is the result of the exploitation of the workers and the ruin of millions of peasants who have been driven off their land and are now dying of hunger.

The lot of the workers is no better. During the last few months of 1933 a further 30,000 textile workers of Bombay, 10,000 workers of Ahmedabad, 3,000 of Coimbatore, etc., have been thrown out from the mills into the streets.

There are over 200,000 unemployed textile workers in Bombay, Calcutta, and other places. It is the same all over the country, in the towns and in the villages. Not a day passes without new groups of workers being thrown out of the shops, mills and railways. And not only starvation and unemployment stalk through the country, but the wages of the workers are being cut by the employers. During the last few months of 1933 the beggarly wages of many textile workers of Bombay, which did not exceed 25 rupees a month, have been reduced by 20 to 40 per cent. A 25

per cent. wage cut was announced in Ahmedabad, a 14 per cent. reduction was put through in Nagpur, and the wages of women workers in the rice-husking mills in Toliganje were reduced by 20 per cent. for a 12-hour working day, and the same takes place everywhere.

Unemployment is growing, wages are being slashed, but the workers are compelled to work more. Weavers are forced to work on four looms instead of two, and the same is true all over the country.

There is no limit to the misery of the working class. The path of the workers is covered with sweat, hunger and blood. Every day conditions are getting worse. It is no surprise that new sections of formerly backward workers rise to the struggle against the damnable exploiters and national enslavers.

THE STRUGGLE FOR BREAD AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The Indian workers suffer from the yoke of the British imperialism, which is the basis of the unbearable slavery and misery of the people. Not one worker should stand the foreign imperialist oppression and slavery.

The All-Indian Congress Committee of the National Congress called upon the workers not to fight against their own capitalists, but to support the bourgeois National Congress in a pseudo civil disobedience campaign against the imperialists.

Hundreds of thousands of workers believed the National Congress and went with it. They thought the National Congress would defend the interests of the people, would fight against the imperialists. They were told by Bose, Kandalkar, Ruikar, Roy, Karnik, and other similar leaders of the labour movement that the I.N.C. will fight for the toiling masses. In the summer of 1930 Kandalkar and Roy appealed during the notorious "Labour Week" campaign to the workers to stand by the common national front with the bourgeoisie and remain as "arms and feet of the Congress," i.e., to remain a submissive appendage to the capitalists, and not to fight against the bourgeoisie and not to organise strikes. However, the result proved to be bad. The workers were deceived. The leaders of the National Congress (Gandhi and Co.) went to London to negotiate with the imperialists. And now in 1933 the National Congress has called off the mass civil disobedience campaign, shamelessly throwing the blame on the people, claiming that the masses have no desire to fight. The National Congress disorganised the ranks of the toiling masses and prepared in this way the conditions for a new offensive on the part of the imperialists and the millowners against the workers and peasants. And now Karnik, Kandalkar, Ruikar and Alve, who joined their ranks, in order to divert the attention of the workers from the political struggle, state that they are prepared to fight only for wages, and call upon the workers to abandon for the time being the struggle for independence.

The advice of such leaders at the present time, just as before, only helps the enemies of the working class. The workers of India do not want to be slaves. The working class sees that the National Congress, headed by Gandhi and his helpers—Bose, Nehru, Kandalkar, Roy, Karnik, Ruikar, and others—has disrupted the struggle of the toiling masses. Many workers have lost faith in the National Congress. **But the working class did not and will not stop to fight for independence.** It knows very well that the conditions of life of the workers cannot be earnestly and seriously improved if the Indian people remain slaves of British imperialism. The workers have no bread, wages are falling, starvation and oppression are growing exactly because the imperialists own the country and hand in hand with the Indian capitalists, exploit and oppress the workers. The imperialists are oppressing the country and give support and preserve the landlord-feudal-usury system, which has completely ruined the peasantry and the whole people. The imperialists support the factory owners in crushing the strikes of the workers. Only by freeing the country from the yoke of the imperialists and landlords, and creating an independent workers' and peasants' republic, will the proletariat be able

successfully to solve the problem of bread. The class-conscious workers will not follow these reformists, who say: Fight for bread and don't mix up, don't join the struggle for independence. The workers will not follow the reformists, because the struggle for bread cannot be separated from the struggle for independence. The working class will reject with contempt the false statements of Karnik (see "Maharatta," October 15, 1933), that the working class is politically unconscious and that the masses "are not able to grasp big political issues . . . national independence . . ." etc.

The working class will fight for bread, for every pice, and at the same time help the peasantry to overthrow the yoke of landlords and usurers, and will gather its forces and, attracting alongside it the peasantry, will fight for independence. These tasks are inseparable. Only enemies of the proletariat, only national-reformists, the concealed assistants and liberal-assistants of British imperialism, can separate them.

Because of that, the present important task of the workers' movement is not only to fight for bread and wages, but develop at the same time a genuine mass struggle against the slave constitution worked out by British imperialism.

WHAT THE PAST EXPERIENCE OF WORKERS' STRIKES TEACHES US

During the last few years the workers have repeatedly offered resistance to the attacks of the employers. However, most of them met with defeat. The time has come when we should find out the cause for this, and determine the path we should choose to be successful.

The experience of the workers' strikes shows us that: The trouble is that most of the workers are not organised, not united, do not have a revolutionary Marxian proletarian Party and mass class trade unions, and quite a number of the workers follow the reformists and the national-reformists, who have split the ranks of the proletariat and, with the aid of reformist policy of arbitration and class collaboration, are carrying on harmful activity.

The results of this policy of the reformists can be easily seen from the experiences of the railway and textile workers.

In 1930 the workers of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway came out on strike. Ruikar and Co. insisted on arbitration and appealed to the Viceroy and to Gandhi for help. The Railwaymen's Federation, led by Giri and Mehta, instead of organising strikes on other railways in support of the G.I.P., joined hands with Ruikar and compelled the workers to submit to an agreement, the result of which was that thousands of workers were discharged and the strike was defeated.

They did the same thing in 1932 on the S.M. Railway, despite the fact that the workers throughout the country were demanding a general railway strike. A ballot taken among the railway workers by the reformist Railwaymen's Federation in 1932 showed that the great majority of the men voted in favour of a strike.

However, Mehta, Ruikar, Giri and Co., while adopting, under the pressure of the masses, a resolution for a general strike, sabotaged its being carried into effect. They kept on urging the workers to be patient and to continue for the fourth year to negotiate with the imperialist railway administration not to discharge or discriminate against the workers. The employers did not object to listen, to talk and continue to oppress the workers. The administration kept on dismissing workers, lowering wages, the offensive of the employers kept on increasing, and the resistance of the workers was hindered—that is the result of reformist policy. This is the result of the policy of Mehta, Giri, Ruikar, Khedikar and Co. on the railways.

Things are no better in the textile industry. In Nagpur the millowners announced a 20 per cent. reduction of the already miserable wages of the workers in the Model Factory. The reformist tactic of Ruikar and Co. was to make an agreement with the employers to reduce the workers' wages by 14 per cent. and then to describe this tremendous cut in wages as a workers' victory. This means to mock and sneer at the workers, whose material conditions of life are very often worse than imprisonment. This is the essence of the tactics of the national-reformists, who advocate arbitration. The same thing took place in Ahmedabad. The millowners of Ahmedabad and the leaders of the local trade union are known as followers of Gandhi. The capitalists and even the former governor of Bombay, Lord Sykes, have always told the workers of Bombay to follow the example

of Ahmedabad, and he used to say "how obedient the workers of Ahmedabad are and how peacefully they are getting along with the millowners." What is the result? During the strikes in Bombay in 1929 Gandhi and his followers succeeded in keeping the workers of Ahmedabad at work, and in that way kept them from helping the Bombay workers by going on a sympathy strike. When, as a result of this, as well as of the government terror, the disorganising work of the national-reformists and the absence of a revolutionary Marxian proletarian Party, the Bombay strike was defeated, the millowners of Ahmedabad in their turn, with the co-operation of Gandhi's arbitration, reduced in 1930 the wages of the workers in Ahmedabad. And now, in 1933, the millowners of Ahmedabad have commenced again to dismiss the workers and announced a new 25 per cent. cut in wages. Gandhi is again the arbitrator. He will once more cut the wages of the workers by 14 to 20 per cent., and will say to the workers: Be patient, and accept the cut, accept this in the interests of the nation, i.e., in the interests of the capitalists.

Working men and women, the policy of the national-reformists is the policy of arbitration and class-collaboration, covered up by phrases about the defence of the interests of the workers, leading to the defeat of the proletariat. It is time to finish with such a policy and oust such leaders out of the labour movement.

The only path of successful struggle, even for the partial demands of the workers is the path of class solidarity and mass struggle, the path of strikes and revolutionary actions, the path of a consistent class struggle. But to carry out this struggle the working class must form its militant class trade union organisations, that will be capable of defending the interests of the workers.

WHAT TRADE UNIONS DO WORKERS NEED?

Without an All-Indian revolutionary Marxian proletarian political Party, the leading organisation of the working class, able to work under any conditions, without concealing its face, and mass trade unions and other proletarian organisations, the working class cannot attain the independence of the country and the improvement of the workers' conditions.

Organisation—that is the only weapon in the hands of the proletariat in the struggle against the imperialists and their own capitalists.

It is time to form mass trade unions in every branch of industry, trade unions that will fight under the banner of the class struggle. The trade unions must base themselves upon the mill and shop committees. Mill committees, elected by the workers in every factory to defend the daily interests of the workers and protect their rights, must become the powerful base of the working-class movement.

"Every worker should join a class trade union."

"In every factory a factory committee, elected by all working men and women."

These are the slogans for everyday work among the workers. It is time to put through a determined struggle against the practice of forming bureaucratic, small trade unions, controlled by a handful of leaders, where the president and the secretary manage affairs against the interests of the workers and replace the organisation with themselves.

In every trade union it is necessary to elect a management committee mainly composed of the workers from the bench, a committee which will meet regularly and decide upon the business of the union. It is necessary to hold often regular meetings of the trade union membership to discuss and decide upon the most important trade union and political problems of the given industry, as well as problems that agitate the entire country.

It is necessary to observe the strictest financial discipline and accounts with regard to trade union money. The trade unions and the factory committees, without replacing by their functions a political party and without transforming themselves into one, must in their everyday work set themselves the task of raising the class-consciousness of the workers, training them in the spirit of devotion to the struggle against the capitalists, for the independence of the country, for the creation of a Workers' and Peasants' Republic. For that purpose and to carry out consistent and honest defence of the everyday interests of the workers, it is necessary to drive away from the trade unions all national-reformist leaders who represent the interests of Indian capitalism, and throw out

leaders like Joshi-Shiva Rao, who represent the interests of British imperialism, and replace them by class-conscious workers, who defend and represent the policy of consistent class struggle and are loyal to the interests of the world proletarian revolution.

STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY

Unity in the ranks of the workers is a necessary condition for the successful struggle of the workers for their daily interests and for their total liberation from exploitation. The factory owners, the landowners and the imperialists fear this unity as they do death. Through their agents—the reformists—they split the ranks of the proletariat and disorganise its resistance to the capitalists, hinder the development of the strike movement and the workers' leading participation in the struggle for independence. During the past years the agents of the exploiting classes succeeded in splitting and disorganising the workers' movement in our country. Such a situation can no longer be tolerated. We must attain the unity of the ranks of the workers. It is necessary to eradicate the influence of the reformists. It is necessary to throw out from the ranks of the working-class movement all agents of the exploiting classes. Among the workers the movement for the unification of their ranks to fight the offensive of the imperialists and the millowners is growing. And that is one of the most important events at the present time.

Seeing the moods of the workers, the reformists are trying to utilise the slogan of unity in such a way as to strengthen their influence, isolate revolutionary workers, and retard the development of the strike movement.

Every working man and woman must understand that the question of unity cannot be separated from the question of the platform on which this unity can be realised. Unity is possible only on the basis of class demands that express the interests of the workers, only on the basis of struggle against the capitalists. Can there be any unity between strike-breakers and the strikers? Can there be unity between those who defend the interests of the workers and those who are agents of the imperialists and the bourgeoisie? No, this is impossible.

Last year many reformists, covering up with phrases about unity, split the trade unions. In 1929 Giri, Siva Rao and others split the trade union congress in Nagpur and created a separate reactionary trade union federation because the workers refused to co-operate with the imperialist Wheatley commission and demanded to carry on struggle against imperialism. And later, in 1931, Bose, Kandalkar, Roy, Ruikar, Karnik split the trade union congress in Calcutta and formed a separate trade union centre because, as Bose stated in the "Bombay Chronicle" of July 11, 1931, it was necessary to crush those trade unions that defended the interests of the working class, criticised and exposed the leaders of the bourgeois National Congress for their treacherous negotiations with the British imperialists, and demanded the organisation of a general strike on the railways.

Kandalkar, Ruikar, Roy and Co. split in 1931 the Bombay Unity Committee, which was organised to prepare the All-Indian Trades Union Congress. It included the Red Trade Unions and the representatives from the national-reformist trade unions. But the latter split this committee because the revolutionary workers came out for a class platform and policy and protested against the reformist proposal to allow affiliation with the Amsterdam International, in which there are labour organisations that support the bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

And so we see that the reformists and the national reformists, while using phrases about unity, in actual life split up the trade unions so as not to let the workers start a determined fight against the imperialists and millowners.

For this reason the workers must not simply believe the phrases about unity. They must compare the words and actual deeds of every trade union leader. The workers must create unity in the course of the actual struggles; the workers must demand that a clear programme of demands be put forward and see that a struggle should actually be carried on for these demands, for the interests of the workers. We must not permit the reformists to fool the workers once more under the cover of slogans of unity.

Unity among the workers must be achieved—unity for the defence of the workers' interests, for the organisation of strikes where it is necessary.

Such a unity must be created in the shortest possible time.

OUR PROPOSAL FOR JOINT STRUGGLE

The supporters of class trade unions, seeing that during the last few years the conditions of life of the workers have been constantly becoming worse, have considered the steps that have to be taken to help the working class to organise resistance to the offensive of the imperialists and capitalists, and decided to appeal to all workers and trade union organisations to come together to organise and jointly carry out defence of the workers' interests.

The supporters of class trade unions propose to all the trade unions to organise a united front, on the basis of the following points taken from the platform of the class trade union movement:—

(1) To prepare, organise and carry out the resistance of the workers to the insolent and brutal attack of the owners and develop it into a fight to raise the wages and improve the labour conditions.

(2) To consolidate and organise the unemployed workers for the struggle against hunger, misery, and unemployment.

As part of the resistance of the workers against the capitalist offensive, the class trade unions propose besides organising and leading strikes there where conditions demand to start at once preparation to organise and then to carry out general strikes of the textile workers and the railwaymen, putting forward the following demands:—

(1) To reinstate the discharged workers with pay for all time lost.

(2) Repeal all wage reductions that took place since 1929.

(3) Eight-hour working day.

(4) A weekly rest with pay

(5) Recognition of the rights of the trade unions and the factory committees as organs of the working class to defend the interests of the workers.

(6) Repeal of all anti-labour laws and ordinances. Freedom of speech, press, organisation, and assembly. Immediate release of all political prisoners.

To add the following two demands for the railway workers:—

(1) To raise the minimum wages to 25 rupees.

(2) To restore all privileges (free passes on trains, etc.).

In order to organise the struggles of the unemployed, the supporters of the class trade unions propose to all trade unions to come together and jointly organise unemployed committees, linking up their work with the other workers' organisations. And start a widespread campaign by means of meetings, demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., and getting support of the employed workers, demand aid from the municipalities, millowners, and the government. To prepare and carry through the struggles of the unemployed under the following slogans:—

(1) Immediate payment of a grant to every unemployed worker to the amount of 50 rupees; free rent, heat, light, and free transportation on railways while looking for work.

(2) Introduction of State unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the employers.

In order to carry out all these proposals directed to organise resistance to the employers, the supporters of the class trade unions appeal to all workers and trade union organisations who are ready to accept these proposals of united struggle against the employers, to come together and jointly form strike committees, elected by workers, and other organs to prepare for strikes and carry them through.

If the joint struggle assumes genuine forms and will be carried into practice, the supporters of the class trade unions are prepared to unite with other trade unions and form united trade unions by way of calling conferences of workers' delegates from the mills and workshops.

The supporters of the class trade union movement fought and will fight for the unity of the workers' ranks. The Girmi-Kamgar and G.I.P. trade unions were split through no fault of the revolutionary trade union movement; the initiative of the split belongs to the national reformists. Our weakness—i.e., the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement—was that we did not try energetically enough to prevent the split and did not succeed sufficiently enough to explain to the wide masses of the proletariat the essence of the splitting policy of the national reformists and liberal reformists.

The supporters of the class trade unions are prepared in the course of joint struggle to unite our class trade unions with the

parallel trade unions which split off, and form united trade unions, by way of calling joint conferences of worker-delegates elected from the mills for the purpose of uniting the trade unions and electing management committees.

The supporters of the class trade unions, emphasising that this unification does not mean peace with the policy of reformism, are ready for the sake of unity of the workers' ranks and their class education, to form joint trade unions. The supporters of the class trade unions preserve the right while working in such trade unions to put forward various proposals and openly defend them before the workers, explaining the difference between class proletarian policy and a national-reformist one. We, the supporters of the class trade union movement, propose to carry on a joint struggle against the offensive of the exploiters and hope that all workers will gladly give their support for proletarian unity and hope those trade union leaders who are prepared, not in words, but in deeds, to fight for the interests of the workers, will accept these proposals and show by their actions that they are prepared to fight for the unity of the proletariat. This will be unity of the workers for the struggle against the exploiters, and not the unity of the reformists, who try to disorganise the actual struggle of the workers, isolate the class-conscious workers and subordinate the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie. The working class must fight against such disorganisers of the unity of the workers, who cover up their actions with phrases about unity.

Long live the fighting united front of the workers to defeat the attacks of the employers!

Forward to the creation of class mass trade unions!

Forward to the defence of the interests of the proletariat!

Long live the independence of India!

Fight Against Imperialist War

Appeal of the International Committee of Women Against Imperialist War and Fascism

A manifesto to women throughout the world has recently been issued by a group of well-known women, including Lilla Fenner-Brockway, Charlotte Despard, Anna Lindhagen, Karen Michaelis, Marguerite de Saint-Prix, Hélène Stasova, Sun-Tsin-Lin, Ellen Wilkinson, Dr. Gertrud Woker. The manifesto calls for preparation for a world rally of women against imperialist war and fascism.

The Women's Committee, which has arisen out of the Amsterdam Movement, deems it as well a duty as an honour to place itself unreservedly at the disposal of this call, drawing upon its previous experience in the struggle. It welcomes the setting up of an **International Initiative Committee** open to all women of goodwill to which its appeal may reach.

The **World Congress of women on July 28 and 29** coincides with the 20th anniversary of the declaration of war in 1914. The terrible memories of those four years of slaughter are not yet forgotten, and yet once again there are signs of a new world catastrophe approaching—which will outdo in horror what has already been lived through.

Eleven million men—the flower of the race—killed, thirty-two millions sick, maimed, dying, tens of millions of families without support, tens of millions of children undernourished, value by hundreds of millions created by the workers wiped out, entire countries ruined, vast regions given over to famine. . . .

Women in the factories, on the farms, workers by hand and brain!

Think what a new war would mean. . . . Modern military science will turn the homeland into a slaughterhouse. Aeroplanes can fly almost any distance, no shelter can give protection against explosives and incendiary bombs, no living thing can escape the action of poison gas. . . .

Are you willing to be the victims of this abominable destruction? Shall your own dear ones be victims? We must declare: No! All of us must be united against these ghastly preparations of an avoidable disaster.

But raise your eyes! War is here already! War was unleashed in the Far East in September, 1931. Japanese imperialism grabbed vast areas of China, of Manchuria, of Inner Mongolia. This war is spreading.

The great and powerful imperialist countries intentionally maintain political and economic anarchy in China under the Kuomintang government. The whole of China, immense as it is, with the exception of Soviet China, where the yoke of foreign imperialism has been cast off, is nothing but the prey of the Japanese.

In this business Great Britain, France, and the United States are at once the confederates and the rivals of the Tokio government. They have helped, and still help, the Chinese militarists in their attacks against the Chinese Soviets, so as to destroy the national and social revolution which has already freed 90 million workers and is gradually bringing all China out of slavery and misery.

Women! The Chinese people look to you to show your solidarity with them in their struggle against their oppressors.

In capitalist countries the crisis has reduced a third of the population to utter destitution; only war industry now knows "golden days." Armaments bear crushingly on the people. War budgets, ever expanding, weigh more and more heavily on the working class in town and country.

The land of peaceful socialist construction is threatened. Japanese imperialism is not content with bringing the Chinese people into slavery. Having accomplished the first step in its robber campaign, it is going on to provocation against the Soviet Union. In its plans of aggression it receives support from Nazi Germany, from England, and other capitalist Powers, who cold-bloodedly contemplate the possibility of war against the U.S.S.R.

The steadfastly peaceful policy of the U.S.S.R. and the growing protests of the world's workers have so far managed to stop such a war.

In this struggle between the forces of peace and of war, on which side are you, working women, girls, mothers?

Are you going to allow the Soviet Union to be attacked, the socialist country in which free men and women are building a new and happier society?

In Morocco, in India, in Syria, in Palestine, in Indo-China, in the Dutch East Indies, in black Africa millions of men have been dispossessed, reduced to frightful misery and want by British, French, Dutch, and Belgian capitalists.

In India for a century and a half Great Britain has been starving three hundred million people. War is always there. British soldiers and the inhabitants go on killing each other in a continuous one-sided struggle, in the interests of the City profiteers. Whole regions have been transformed into cemeteries, peopled only with skeletons and corpses.

Well might Hitler boast that in Germany he has but carried on the tradition of Britain in India, so true is it that fascist methods and colonial methods are but one and the same—the same disregard of justice towards women, the talk of the "inferior peoples" (just as they speak of the Negro in the U.S.A. withal), the same terror, the same destruction of cultural values.

At another point of the world map, for thirty years, imperialist France has over-run Morocco by fire and sword, purely for the benefit of the **Bank of Paris et des Pays-Bas**, of Stavisky and Co. who live on the sweat of the workers in France and its colonies.

Women, are you going to be on the side of the oppressed peoples in their struggle for national independence? You must take a stand against these imperialists who, after robbing the natives, compel them to guard the robbers' gains, recruiting them into their armed forces, forcing them to use their rifles against their own people.

In the middle of Europe, in Austria a new Sarajevo threatens. What webs of intrigue the rival capitalists have woven round this little suffering country, victim of the disgraceful Treaty of Versailles-Sevres, which placed it under the guardianship of Great Britain and France! Do you remember how representatives of liberal opinion and the diplomats of the Second International intervened in parliamentary debate in support of this dangerous and hypocritical trusteeship?

The Austrian drama is only beginning. The armies of Czechoslovakia and Italy, Hitler's hordes, stand by ready to start a conflict on the banks of the Danube; ready to set all Europe aflame.

Women! Can you stand by with folded arms before this threat of war right here in Europe? Will you not be to the fore

when the time comes to stop Austria being turned into a battlefield of the rival imperialisms?

In its determination to crush the resistance of the masses, **fascism** stands revealed as the most inhuman, most barbarous system of oppression.

Emergency powers assumed in Prague, Brussels, Washington, Paris. In London, Mosley's fascist activities are alarming public opinion.

We are now in the second year in which the brown plague, outdoing the white terror in Italy, Poland, Hungary has settled over Germany. Its troops, in the name of law and order, provide the world with an example of cruelty raised to the level of a science.

To the shame of capitalist civilisation, Hitler's bands are killing German workers, exiling writers and scientists. The gains achieved by German women in the course of long struggles have been wiped out by Hitler fascism.

The triumph of Hitler fascism was born of the capitalist democracy of the Weimar Republic. The ruling class in France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and England are also working to ensure the victory of fascism.

Those who bid the masses have patience and paralyse their power, sowing the dangerous illusions about capitalist democracy and denying the necessity for an unyielding struggle against all the forms of capitalist rule as the only means by which life and liberty will be preserved from the fascist dictatorship, these persons commit a criminal act.

However, the toiling masses are becoming aroused. In London and New York there have been the hunger marches, general strikes against fascism have taken place in France and Spain; in Austria there has been armed resistance; in Czechoslovakia and Belgium a struggle for the defence of political rights; in Germany a heroic resistance, a rising tide of revolutionary action. . . . The struggle is everywhere.

Women! Do you want fascism to snatch from you your dearly won rights? Do you want to be driven against your will into the fascist semi-military organisations? Put no faith in the fascists' hypocritical promises! Drive away fascist agents, paid, as they are, by the warmongers and the profiteers. Arise in your unity; struggle for the workers' most precious rights. Against the barbarism of fascism and its agents.

Crisis, fascism, and war are the three heads of the capitalist hydra. Only by a tremendous effort on the part of the exploited and oppressed throughout the world will they be struck off, one after the other.

War can be averted and the fascist danger driven back. The release of Dimitrov is a striking proof of the irresistible might of the masses inspired by the same faith and the same will.

The heroic struggle of the anti-war fighters of Japan, of the Chinese workers and peasants, is a noble example for all.

Women! Unite against war, fascism, and poverty.

Play your part in the great **World Congress of Women**, which will take place in Paris on July 28 and 29!

Send out the call to all women of goodwill!

Get together in great meetings and conferences. Elect your delegates.

Draw up in your streets, your factories, your schools, office, workshops the list of your demands.

You demand the right to live, yourself and those near to you.

You demand a better world, where you will no longer be exploited, either as women or as workers.

Millions of women like yourselves are living in the same hope. It rests with us all to prepare together the realisation of our hopes. But for that: **We have to act!**

To work! Into the struggle!

Women's World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism.

VI International Solidarity Day

Solidarity Action of Proletarian Internationalism

By Wilhelm Pieck

Solidarity—who is not roused by this stirring word? In what Continent does this word not prompt the revolutionary masses to fraternal proletarian action? Solidarity is the touchstone of class-consciousness, of revolutionary morality; solidarity is the antithesis of the striving for profit of the bourgeois class, of capitalist egotism, which in its greed for money ruthlessly walks over millions of human bodies.

Fascism proclaims the God-ordained "leadership principle" and the "authority of the leader," of the capitalist exploiter. We Marxists, welded together by the close bonds of proletarian class solidarity, know only the principle of mutual aid, of self-sacrificing devotion in the interest of our class. We shatter with the sword of our socialist ideology the racial incitement, the national hatred and individualism borne of capitalism. Our proletarian solidarity is not superficial humanitarian sentimentality. Our solidarity grows out of the soil of scientific Marxist knowledge, out of the deep class affinity with all our exploited fellow workers and the oppressed colonial peoples. Our solidarity is not alms-giving, but an arousing appeal to mutual aid for the victory of our class and the establishment of the socialist society.

Who else but we Communists are capable of such examples of self-sacrifice as we daily experience in the front of the class battles! In Austria, bombs and gas-shells burst against proletarian dwellings. And a few hours, a day later, millions of Soviet Russian workers are collecting funds in their works and factories, hundreds of thousands of proletarians come out into the streets in Madrid, Paris, Prague, London and New York in demonstrations of solidarity with their heroic Austrian brothers. In a few days the Russian workers and peasants collect a million shillings for the death-threatened mothers, children and the fighting masses of Austria. Protest strikes in Czechoslovakia, stormy demonstrations outside the Austrian embassies—that is the work of days. And our great Soviet fatherland, in which the spirit of proletarian solidarity is the first commandment of our class morality, opens wide its gates to offer a new home, a real fatherland to the refugees, threatened by the executioner, from Austria, Germany, the Balkans and all capitalist countries. And this solidarity, which rouses the bourgeoisie to fury, inspires millions of toilers to new revolutionary deeds.

The general strike sweeps over Spain. For weeks the proletarian battalions in the provinces are engaged in heroic strike struggles. Many mothers and children are nearly starving, when hundreds of workers' children are conveyed from the strike areas in the provinces of Madrid, Barcelona and Catalonia to other districts, where they are given hospitality in working-class families. The strikers are thus relieved of anxiety for their children and womenfolk, and the fight for the victory of the workers goes on.

Millions demonstrated for Sacco and Vanzetti. The workers of all continents took up the cause of the unfortunate Scottsboro Negro boys. The whole world proletariat raised a storm of protest on behalf of our beloved Georgi Dimitrov and his comrades who were threatened with death. The strong arm of international proletarian solidarity snatched them from the scaffold of the brown barbarians. Everywhere, in the German mines and factories, in the workshops of France, Scandinavia, America, England and the Balkans, the masses are sounding the tocsin for the release of the beloved leader of the German working class, *Ernst Thaelmann*. In the fierce struggle for the life and liberty of this true son of the German working class the world proletariat is manifesting its class solidarity with the heroic fight of the German working class.

From all parts of the globe: from Soviet Russia, from far-off Asia, from the colonial and European countries, there is heard the revolutionary battle-cry of the workers under the leadership of the Comintern, against the new threatening man-slaughter. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, a wall of revolutionary solidarity is being built round our fatherland, the U.S.S.R.

The traitors in the Second International, who in a series of criminal acts have for more than two decades sullied the red flag of proletarian solidarity, in the mud and filth of the trenches, in the swamp of strike betrayal and new war preparations, are more than ever to-day the objects of hatred and loathing. Those who ally themselves with the bourgeoisie, as do the traitors in the Second

International, must sacrifice proletarian solidarity for the interests of their bourgeoisie.

This year's international solidarity day must mark the commencement of a new broad offensive on the front of brotherly revolutionary class aid. It must serve to bring home to the minds of larger sections of our class and of the toilers the great importance of the Workers' International Relief.

This year's Solidarity Day of the W.I.R. must be dominated by the fight for the release of Thaelmann and the 140,000 incarcerated anti-fascists. Let all proletarians keep in mind those words addressed by Thaelmann three years ago to the German working class:—

“The Solidarity Day of the W.I.R. serves to reawaken and strengthen that proletarian class solidarity, that proletarian class-consciousness, which has been trodden under foot and destroyed by the social-democratic leaders.”

The World Economic Crisis

The Dream of Economic Castration

By P. Lapinski

All indications show that the crisis in the capitalist world has given way to a depression, a less acute economic process. The lowest point of decline has obviously been reached. During the year 1933 production in the capitalist world increased by an average of ten per cent., and in some countries the increase was even greater. Production increased chiefly in those countries in which it had declined most; for instance, in the United States. The situation is now beginning to improve, and here and there the rate of improvement shows signs of accelerating. This undeniable improvement which has taken place has already had its effect on the State finances in a number of countries. The conversion of State debts is proceeding successfully. The Budget in Great Britain shows a considerable surplus, etc.

And, nevertheless, the situation remains dismal. Just as the result of an improvement on various fields of capitalist economy, the shadowy side of the picture as a whole is emphasised still more and the source of the evil is revealed still more clearly.

It is not merely a question that the improvement is proceeding without uniformity and that in a number of countries it is being forced forward by artificial and risky “heroic measures.” It is not only a question that in certain countries—France, for instance—there are signs of a new decline, and that other countries—for instance, Germany—are on the verge of new economic difficulties. It is, above all, a question that there are no signs of any extended reproduction, and that the replacement of basic capital is proceeding only very slowly. A really permanent improvement, not to speak of a new period of prosperity, is still very far off.

This is shown most clearly on the **emission market**. In the ordinary course of things industry renews and extends its productive apparatus either from its own resources or with the emission of new shares and debentures. However, the old reserves were practically swallowed up during the years of the crisis and new capital is not flowing into industry. Building operations are practically at a standstill. The parasitic capitalist State is utilising almost all the existing credit facilities in a monopolist fashion for its own ends.

There is money enough available. In the most important capitalist countries the banks have their cellars full of resources. The most important banks in the United States are more than solvent, but, despite that, President Roosevelt is pumping the credit system of the country full with new milliards and founding new credit institutes. According to various computations there are at present from 30 to 40 milliard francs lying idle.

In **Great Britain** alone perhaps there exists something like a capital market; however, new capital investments in industry are inconsiderable. In 1933 they did not amount to a quarter of what they were in the last year before the outbreak of the crisis. During the first quarter of this year capital investments in the U.S.A. in those industrial undertakings which are still popular—the so-called public utilities corporations, the electricity works, etc.—amounted to the ridiculous sum of 15 million dollars. In France during the past year industry has sought practically no supplies from the capital market. The monthly emission of new shares and obligations amounted to no more than 221 million paper

francs. In Germany the capital market has practically disappeared. New shares appear on the exchanges only as a replacement of old shares after the reduction of basic capital.

That is the situation in all capitalist countries. The emission market—that is to say, the process of introducing new capital into industry—is paralysed, despite the undeniable improvement of the economic situation.

It is not merely a question of lack of “confidence.” It is clear that without a modicum of “confidence,” without some belief in the future, in a comparatively peaceable development, no industrialist can risk large new investments, no bank can trust industry with new credits, and no rentier can entrust his “savings” to new securities. And what sort of “confidence” can develop in a structure whose roof is on fire, when the atmosphere of civil war is abroad in a whole series of countries, when the struggle of two systems, capitalism and socialism, is increasingly felt to be the pivot of all development?

And, nevertheless, it is not merely a question of lacking confidence. The decisive, original and most innate contradiction of the whole capitalist system, the contradiction between the productive possibilities and the market possibilities, has reached an unparalleled intensity in our time. On the one hand the productive possibilities have developed to an unparalleled extent, the whole productive apparatus has grown tremendously, thanks to the world war and its demands, to the latest advances in industrial technique, to the industrialisation of a series of formerly backward countries, and to the efforts of all capitalist countries to achieve autarchy or economic self-sufficiency. And, on the other hand, the market prospects and possibilities have experienced a fundamental change. Not only has the world been divided up to the uttermost, but one-sixth of the world, the Soviet Union, has been withdrawn for good and all from the world capitalist system, and it is rapidly developing into a powerful industrial country on the basis of a socialist economic system. The process of revolutionary development has dislocated all economic connections with the colonial continents (China), the chronic agricultural crisis has ruined the peasant masses, new forms of exploitation have been found and chronic mass unemployment has come to stay. The whole innate senselessness and the whole economic idiocy of capitalism in the period of decline has found its clearest and most brutal expression in fascism. Fascism itself develops from the crisis of capitalism, and not a little from the market crisis from which capitalism is suffering, and yet fascism still further destroys the available market by pauperising vast proletarian masses.

And thus when the economic situation improved, when the crisis developed into the stage of depression, capitalism came up against its own swollen productive apparatus, against its own distended, but rotting, body. What is the use of extending the existing productive possibilities when they are already too extensive?

We now observe that the whole of the capitalist organism, and in particular its fighting elements, are beginning to grasp the necessity of throttling production, of destroying systematically great branches of the productive mechanism and destroying potential productive possibilities.

The bourgeoisie is more and more adopting the idea that the decisive period of its industrial construction has passed, that industrial construction is completed, and that the question is now to find what to do with all the factories, the mines, the machinery and the railways. In 1932, at the time of the presidential election campaign, Roosevelt, then candidate, declared in a speech in San Francisco:—

“Our industry is already built up. It is a question whether it has not been built up too much. Whoever wants to build new factories and new streets, and to organise new trusts would be more of a hindrance than a help to us. The days of the great initiators, of the finance titans, are gone. Our task is not to find and exploit new natural wealth, and not to produce a still greater quantity of commodities, but to learn how to carry on with the existing resources and the existing factories.”—(Quoted according to Gilbert Seldes in “The Years of the Locust,” page 233.)

That is the prevailing feeling, and it refers not only to industry, but also to agriculture and to the whole raw material and foodstuff basis of humanity. Limitation is the slogan. In the struggle against gold and currency difficulties, in the efforts to establish economic autarchy, and with a view to securing the

political support of the peasantry, the governments in a number of European countries have caused the increase of the tilled area even in the years of the crisis, but, at the same time, one of the most important agricultural countries, the United States, has seen its government take over for the first time in history the role of conscious organiser of the limitation of the tilled area. The U.S. Secretary for Agriculture, Jolles, has come to the conclusion that if the present policy is continued, anything from 40 to 100 million acres must be left lying idle by means of government measures.

But those European countries which, as a result of various political and tactical considerations, have caused an increase in agricultural production, are now faced with the question of what to do with the "surplus" products they have on hand. The enormous stores of grain cannot be used up. In France a prohibition of the spring sowings is being introduced, and the newspapers prophesy that in the immediate future the government will have to abandon its efforts to maintain prices at a high level by law, or adopt the American example of systematically limiting the tilled area.—("le Temps.")

It would be an error to believe that even Great Britain with its narrow agricultural basis is free of such worries. Even in Great Britain there is "too much" milk. There are, officially admitted, over two million unemployed workers and their families to drink it, but no one who can pay for it.

Machinery, once the pride of capitalism, now produces horror. In Germany last spring two-thirds of all the workers in the machinery producing industries were unemployed. The fascist government has made a beginning with its usual "determination" by issuing instructions for the limitation of mechanical production in the cigar and cigarette industry. In a number of cases zealous officials have even sealed up the harvesting machinery in order to prevent its use.—("Frankfurter Zeitung," March 25.)

The problem of machinery is difficult enough, but when it comes to the problem of what to do with the millions of workers and their families, capitalism is hopelessly at a loss. There is no doubt that the most important feature of the new economic situation is the crass disproportion between the increase of production and the decrease of unemployment. Thanks to the improvement which has taken place, the industrial production of Great Britain has already reached the level of 1924-25, but to-day unemployment in Great Britain is exactly double what it was in those years. It is a shocking fact that after a year of the "new era," and despite an increase in production of about 25 per cent and a considerable improvement in the economic situation, the gigantic army of unemployed remains, according to the figures of the League of Nations Bureau, well over 11 millions. That is the mene tekel which the inexorable hand of history is writing on the wall of capitalism, for it means that without a corresponding extension of the market the technical development of industrial production must inevitably cast millions and millions of workers, enormous sections of the total population, into chronic unemployment, impoverishment and misery.

The whole policy and the whole programme of autarchy or economic self-sufficiency is fundamentally nothing but a programme of limitation, economic self-mutilation, universal economic castration, a forced abandonment of the world market whilst fighting bitterly for the division of its remnants. In 1933, despite the beginning of the improvement, world trade as a whole did not exceed the totals of the crisis year, 1932, and reckoned in gold it amounted to no more than a third of the total world trade in the period before the crisis. At the moment the transition from the crisis to the period of depression is proceeding in each country chiefly on a "national" and "autarchic" basis. In his chief work Marx enumerated the "formation of the world market" as one of the three fundamental factors of capitalist production. Now capitalism is destroying the world market it created.

The unconfessed idea at the back of all the great and varied economic plans which are now being adopted by all capitalist countries, and in particular in the United States, with the professed aim of improving the economic situation, is the organised limitation of production. A cynical Washington journalist has expressed this idea in the following fashion: "Naturally, the fundamental principle of our new economic policy is the axiom: the lower production the greater wealth." The high mission of the present capitalist governments in all countries consists in cutting down production in order to maintain the profits of a

small group of powerful trusts. Where individual industries prove themselves unable to perform this task on their own—that is to say, to overcome the resistance of the weaker undertakings and throttle production—the government itself is prepared to intervene with State measures. This is the idea at the back of the measures being adopted in the United States and also recently in Great Britain with reference to coal mining, steel production and cotton.

This new system of State interference is different from that of our socialist system, and different even from the State capitalism of the war period, in that its task is to throttle production and not to increase it. War-time State capitalism aimed at screwing production up to its topmost pitch. The latest variation of State capitalism has exactly the opposite task, with one exception, the production of war materials is not affected.

The new type of State capitalism means, to use Lenin's words, a prison for the workers, and the limitation of production means chronic mass unemployment. Capitalism is driving towards its own economic bankruptcy. Engels once referred to "the wonderful development of the productive forces under capitalism," and Marx declared that the development of the productive forces of social labour-power was the historical task and the justification of capitalism's existence. Capitalism now abandons its historic task and loses thereby the justification for its existence. It must disappear from the scene, as all social formations have done once they have exhausted their productive possibilities. With its dream of economic castration capitalism has pronounced its own death sentence. However, this death sentence can be carried out only by the revolutionary proletariat.

The workers of the whole world are in a position to judge: Under capitalism, "control" and "planned organisation" means the limitation of production, chronic unemployment and mass misery. Under socialism, the same things mean the development of the productive apparatus, a tremendous work of socialist construction, an enormous increase of the total of social wealth, a rapid advance in the cultural situation of the whole people. Two systems: On the one hand the capitalist dream of economic castration, and on the other an all-round, organised and enthusiastic growth of production and general well-being.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Production of Books in the Soviet Union

By I. Luppold

In almost all the important capitalist countries the publishers and booksellers have already issued their statistical reports for the year 1933. In this respect the leading "civilised" countries present a rather gloomy picture. In the best case their situation can be characterised by an expression used by Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Party Congress: "They are marking time."

The world economic crisis was bound to have its effect on the publishing trade. The American "Publishers' Weekly" records that the development of the book trade in the year 1933 was bound to follow that of all other branches of trade. "At the beginning of 1933, the situation was really depressing. The Christmas sales in the bookshops were 25 per cent. less than last year."

Two spheres of science, and, accordingly, two spheres of literature, claim our special attention.

Number of Books Published (Titles)						
	U.S.A.	France	Italy	England	Germany	R.S.F.S.R.
Technique	218	584	222	595	1,115	8,513
Agriculture	60	530*	469	194	627**	3,230

Are not these figures really startling? We see in the capitalist countries, in the technically leading countries, a tremendous decline in the publication of technical and agronomical books. In our country in which Socialism is being built up, we see a tremendous increase in the publication of technical and agro-technical literature. The enthusiasm for industrial construction and the mastering of the new technique has created a huge demand for technical and agro-technical literature, and we must admit that this demand has not yet been satisfied.

* Including natural science and biology.

** Including domestic economy.

But perhaps the most important capitalist countries are making up for the decline in technical literature by the publication of theoretical and philosophical works, giving a firm scientific basis to the world view? Let us glance at the following table:—

Number of Books Published (Titles)

	U.S.A.	France	Italy	England	Germany	R.S.F.S.R.
Religion	632	636	408	1,022	1,913	176
Philosophy	219	333	364	261	434	99

From this table it can be seen that in the capitalist countries the figures relating to books on "religion" by far exceed the figures of the first table. In the leading civilised countries technique lags behind religion, the agronomical books behind idealistic philosophy.

As far as religion is concerned, the Soviet Union has no desire whatever to compete with the leading civilised countries; we prefer to publish technical and agro-technical literature instead.

In regard to philosophy, everybody knows that books of a materialistic tendency hardly amount to a dozen in any capitalist country. But what sort of books are published under the heading of "philosophy" in the capitalist countries? The "Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel" (Stock Exchange News for the German book trade) writes: "The economic depression has had its effect upon astrological and occult literature. There has been an increase in the number of publishers who publish books on fortune-telling, character reading and similar mystic sciences, on transcendental methods in scientific and other spheres." This is characteristic of the books appearing under the heading of 'philosophy.' In England and America astrological, spiritualist, theosophical, occult and similar literature has been increasing for the last decade. In the year 1932 there appeared on the German book market a large number of books on graphology, chiromancy, fortune-telling by cards, dream books, as well as books on clairvoyance, etc., in fairly big editions.

In this respect there can be no talk of the Soviet Union lagging behind, for not a single book is published on such themes in our country. We also do not consider it necessary to publish books in order to refute this mysticism originating from the intellectual life of the middle ages.

There is one sphere of literature in the capitalist countries in which the output figures are rising, but statistical data on this subject are obviously lacking. This sphere is war science. The above-mentioned German paper regrets the lack of war literature in post-war Germany, whilst the English organ, "Publishers' Circular," stated: "Whoever studies human nature can observe that the decline in the output of books on pedagogy is made up for by an increase in the number of books appearing on war and military science." In the imperialist countries the science of destroying human lives is obviously more popular than the science of educating and training humanity.

Things are different in the Soviet Union. Whilst we are "lagging behind" in regard to books on philosophy, theosophy and theology, we are able to draw "consolation" from the facts revealed by the following table:—

Number of Books Published (Titles)

	U.S.A.	France	Italy	England	Germany	R.S.F.S.R.
Natural sciences and exact sciences	357	49†	254	617	996	3,106
Medicine, hygiene	360	823‡	531	435	876	855
Social and political science	621	653	626	1,098	1,346	3,247

It is a matter of course that the Soviet Union takes the first place in regard to literature on social and political science. But also in this sphere we are not yet able to satisfy the demand of the toiling masses. But it will surprise many to learn that in regard to books on natural science we are far in advance of the five leading capitalist countries and even exceed the total production in this sphere.

We are still lagging behind in our output of books in the

† To this must be added the books on natural science and biology, which in the French statistics are included in 530 titles of books appearing under the heading of agriculture.

‡ Together with the veterinary books which are included in the French statistics under the heading of medicine.

sphere of art, history, philology and juridical matters. It will be our task to overcome this backwardness in the next few years.

We thus see: in the capitalist countries a decline in the output of books, an exceedingly small number of books on technique and agriculture, and on the other hand an increasing number of books on idealistic philosophy, theosophy and theology. In the Soviet Union an unprecedented increase in technical and agronomical literature, a tremendous boom in books on natural and social science.

In the R.S.F.S.R. alone, there were published in the year 1933, according to provisional statistics 366,163,000 copies of books, of which 340,845,000 copies were in Russian and 25,318,000 in 87 other languages. Such an expansion of publishing activity is inconceivable in any capitalist country, but for the Soviet Union these figures do not by far represent the farthest limit.

The Development of Soviet Trade

By L. G.

The transition to Soviet trade, i.e., trade without big and small capitalists, which means that the circulation of goods is socialised and the private trader ousted, is an essential factor in the development towards the classless society. The tremendous achievements of Soviet trade are characterised by the following features, which are closely connected with each other: (1) growth of the turnover in Soviet trade; (2) growth of the share of the decentralised goods fund; (3) development of a network of shops both for wholesale and retail trade; (4) overcoming of the consumers' co-operatives' position of monopoly; (5) increasing share of the so-called open, non-standardised stores in addition to closed stores, which supply only shock brigades; (6) higher cultural level of the trading methods.

The first Five-Year Plan resulted in an increase of the turnover of the co-operative and State retail trade by 75 per cent. In the first year of the second Five-Year Plan there has been a further increase in the turnover, and the first months of the year 1934 saw a further acceleration of this development.

In the first three months of this year the turnover of the State and Co-operative retail trade increased by about 24 per cent. Considerably greater quantities of the most important foodstuffs and articles of consumption have been offered for sale. A lively development is to be perceived in regard to trade for the open market. In March, three times the quantity of pastries, twice the quantity of potatoes and half as much again of dairy products were sold on the markets than in January this year.

Particularly striking is the development in the small towns. The turnover of goods of the decentralised goods fund in the State and co-operative network has greatly increased. Already in the year 1933 the decentralised supply of food and articles of consumption constituted already a high percentage of the turnover of the Co-operative and State trade. In regard to vegetables, this supply amounted to about 60 per cent., potatoes to 55 per cent., and dairy products to 25 per cent. of the total trade.

From the beginning of 1931 to October, 1933, more than 100,000 shops were opened, the network of public dining rooms (without the co-operative dining rooms) has increased threefold, and the network of wholesale trade has been fundamentally renewed. The trade organisations were greatly diminished in order to increase their efficiency and to adapt their activity better to demand. Instead of the 3,200 large rural organisations of the co-operatives which existed in the year 1930, about 40,000 village co-operatives were formed.

Good progress was made in the sphere of specialising trade. This constitutes an important means to raise the level of trade and improve trade technique. In the towns the specialised shops constitute the overwhelming majority. The monopoly position of the consumers' co-operatives on the market, which impeded the struggle against the bureaucratisation of trade, has been overcome.

Competition has found its way into the trading system. In the year 1931 the consumers' co-operatives comprised about 70 per cent. of the whole retail trade and public feeding, whilst to-day this percentage has declined to 40 per cent. In the rural districts the consumers' co-operatives are of decisive importance for the distribution of goods, but in the towns they have been replaced by the "closed factory shops," partly also by the open State shops and stores.

The development of Soviet trade was accompanied by the transformation of the system of "closed shops," the transformation of

the whole system of workers' feeding, which has been handed over to the factory management. This system has proved to be of great advantage to the workers.

The development of open trade, in particular in regard to food, has everywhere led to a decline in prices on the collective farm market. In March of this year average prices on the collective farm markets were 50 per cent. lower than in March last year. The decline in prices amounted for bread and pastries to 55 to 60 per cent., for vegetables to 60 to 65 per cent. In the year 1933 and in the first three months of this year prices were reduced in all spheres of trade.

In spite of this rapid development Soviet trade is not yet able to satisfy the demand for goods. The proletarian purchaser is rapidly increasing his demand both in regard to the quality and quantity of goods. This confronts Soviet trade with great and complicated tasks which demand solution. The lagging of Soviet trade behind the rapidly growing demands is due to the fact that, apart from the shortage of various articles, the network of the lowest links of trade, of the shops in the towns and the village co-operatives, has not yet been adapted to the growing requirements. The consistent realisation of the principle of the personal responsibility of the managers, business accountancy, the training of good cadres, the struggle against equalitarianism in the trade apparatus—these are the methods which must lead to a far-reaching improvement of our trade system. All those measures recommended by Comrade Kaganovitch in his report to the Seventeenth Party Congress will result in the demands of the purchasers being satisfied and the profitability of Soviet trade increased.

Proletarian Mass Organisations

Three Years of Revolutionary Freethinkers' Movement

By Yan Yansen (Paris)

The coming session of the Executive Committee of the International of Proletarian Freethinkers (I.P.F.) will be presented with a report concerning the state and the activity of the individual sections of the international, which proves that since the cleansing of the international from the presence of its social-democratic leaders, and in particular since the session of its Executive Committee which took place in 1931, the international movement of proletarian freethinkers is active and at work in twenty national sections.

Since the session of the Executive Committee in 1931, three years ago, the importance of the struggle of the revolutionary freethinkers for the class struggle as a whole has grown considerably. That is not accidental. The whole system of capitalism is in a galloping decline. Back to barbarism! That is the slogan which characterises the development of dying capitalism. Productive forces are being destroyed or made idle. With the one exception of the productive forces engaged in the war industries. Apart from the chemical industry and other branches of science serving war-like purposes, science has ceased to have any value. Religion, on the other hand, is much more valuable, for it stultifies the brain of the working man and makes him "humble" towards his exploiters, reconciles him with his impoverished situation, and paralyses his fighting spirit.

On its part, the churches know that their fate is bound up with the fate of capitalism. The example of the Soviet Union has shown them that the decline and disappearance of capitalism are their own decline and disappearance. Up to the present the churches have always been willing to place themselves at the disposal of any class that happened to be in the saddle at the moment, whether it was the feudal nobles, the agrarian junkers, or the capitalists. In the interests of all these classes the churches preached to the exploited masses that they should "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." However, when the working class, destined to replace the capitalists, establish themselves, they will not develop into a class of exploiters, but they will abolish the exploitation of man by man altogether, and with this they will abolish altogether the hypotheses for the exercise of religious power and influence. For the first time in the history of social development the power of the church to adapt itself to the needs of the ruling classes will meet with insoluble difficulties.

Here we have the cause of the fanatical hatred with which

the men of God in all countries pursue the proletarian free-thinkers' movement and its world organisation, the international of proletarian freethinkers.

The Fourth Congress of the I.P.F., which took place in Bodenbach in November, 1930, and drove the reformist traitors, Sievers, Hartwig, Ronzal, and Lebenhard, out of the ranks of the proletarian freethinkers' movement, laid the foundations for the rapid development of this comparatively young working-class organisation on a world scale. The fact that the international has now 22 national sections, where previously it had only seven, is sufficient exterior picture of this development. The Bodenbach Congress hammered off the slack which had accumulated in the bourgeois and reformist past of the organisation. It put an end to the exclusive occupation of the organisation with "enlightenment work," with its limitation to the scientific refutation of the Bible, etc., and with the isolation of the organisation from the tremendous social struggles proceeding all around it.

The clear acknowledgment of the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat, the open adoption of Marxism-Leninism, and the entry of the organisation into the front of the revolutionary class struggle, created a basis for the development of the activity of the various freethinkers' organisations which for the most part had vegetated up to then as little more than sects and created the preconditions for the rapidly growing importance of the movement in the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation.

To-day this importance is greater than ever before. The more declining capitalism seeks support from the churches and from religion in general, the more necessary it becomes to build up mass organisations which are capable of conducting the class struggle against capitalism, against the churches and religion, and against fascist cultural barbarism on the ideological front, and in this way to assist in drawing those workers and other toilers who are still under religious influence into the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat for emancipation.

The reports of the various sections of the I.P.F. give a clear picture of the successes which have already been achieved in this struggle, but they do not neglect to show the weaknesses and deficiencies of their work.

In tireless work and courageous persistence the young movement had to contend with great resistance from the class enemy before it succeeded in establishing its place in the front ranks of the class struggle. In Japan the inaugural congress of the new movement was dispersed by the police and those present at it were arrested. In Bulgaria the proletarian freethinkers had to fight a difficult battle before they were able to win a certain legality. In India a broad mass movement was initiated against the treachery of Gandhi, although there was no organised body in existence to carry on the fight. All these successes indicate that the policy adopted by the I.P.F. is the correct one.

However, another and still more important fact proves that an effective struggle against the churches and against capitalism can be carried on only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat. To-day, in the Spring of 1934, six sections of the I.P.F. have been prohibited by the capitalist authorities, the sections in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, and Japan. In Germany the prohibition was issued by the Bruening government in 1932, with the support of the German social democracy, and the prohibition is being maintained by Hitler fascism. In Czechoslovakia part of the efforts of socialist ministers to save democracy consists in persecuting the proletarian freethinkers' movement. There is no doubt that the proletarian freethinkers will have still further persecution to contend with in the future.

However, so much can already be said: the proletarian freethinkers have stood the test in all countries. Despite great sacrifices, the struggle is being continued. The innumerable workers who have lost their lives in the struggle for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, the hundreds of thousands who are being tortured and maltreated in concentration camps and in prison, have not made their sacrifice in vain. The events in the countries of fascist terrorism show clearly that the proletarian freethinkers' organisations have learned to work under the hardest conditions of illegality and that they occupy their place in the revolutionary proletarian class struggle with boldness and steadfastness.

On the other hand, the bourgeois-reformist international free-

thinkers' union is decaying side by side with the rotten system of capitalist exploitation with which it has thrown in its lot. Not all the radical phrases of Sievers Hartwig, and the others can deceive the masses of the workers as to the essentially counter-revolutionary policy of the I.F.U. The acts of these people are sufficient to prove the correctness of the old warning to look at their fingers rather than at their lips: Did not Sievers and his friends boast that they had abandoned the German freethinkers' association with 600,000 members and 5.5 million marks in its treasury to the fascists, "with everything completely in order" and without a struggle? Did not Ronzal in Austria form so-called free religious associations in place of the freethinkers' association dissolved by Dollfuss, only to liquidate even those abortions after a short space of time?

As a result of the destruction of its strongest sections, those in Germany and Austria, the bourgeois-reformist international freethinkers' union is organisationally bankrupt, but its ideology is still alive amongst the broad masses of those who were formerly its members and amongst its remaining members. Therefore our struggle against the dangerous ideology of reformism is by no means at an end. This struggle is at the same time a struggle to win these masses for the aims and for the organisations of the proletarian freethinkers on the basis of an anti-clerical and anti-fascist united front.

This policy of the united front also opens up the path to the millions of workers and poor peasants who are still under religious influence. These masses cannot be won by bourgeois "enlightenment." But the fact that they suffer economic exploitation and political oppression jointly with the masses of the revolutionary workers affords a basis for leading them into the class struggle on the side of the proletariat and winning them for Marxism-Leninism.

The successes which we have already won in the revolutionary proletarian freethinkers' movement must not blind us to the faults and deficiencies which are manifest in all the sections of our international. The reports from all the sections of the international indicate that despite successes the progress of the movement is not keeping up with the rapid development of the class struggle, with the counter-measures of the class enemy, and with the measures made necessary on our part in answer.

There are still strong traces of the bourgeois-reformist past to be seen in the work of our sections, abstract and sectarian methods of propaganda and agitation, a neglect of the oppositional work in the sections of the bourgeois-reformist I.F.U., and within those organisations of freethinkers which are not affiliated to either international, and in particular those in the Latin countries, complete isolation from the masses of the toilers who are still under religious influence, insufficient and ineffective work amongst the women and amongst the youth, amongst the Left wing intellectuals, and amongst the middle class, deficient connections between the sections and the international executive committee and between the sections themselves, a neglect of the organisational development of the sections, insufficient work to develop the body of officials, and insufficient and ineffective work to build up a mass circulation for the publications of the sections.

These weaknesses and deficiencies hamper the development of the revolutionary freethinkers' organisations into a powerful mass movement. The objective conditions favourable to such a development are present to a great extent and they are becoming more and more favourable every day. It will therefore be one of the most important tasks of the coming executive session to find ways and means of overcoming these difficulties and weaknesses and giving the sections concrete tasks in the anti-clerical and anti-fascist struggle in order in this way to open up a new offensive on the cultural front and in all capitalist countries against the class enemies of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The heroic struggle of our comrades in Germany and in the other countries of the fascist terror indicates the powerful reserves which the working class is able to bring to bear in the struggle. The example of these comrades must spur on the other sections of the I.P.F. to mobilise all possible forces to develop a mass struggle on the cultural front against capitalism and fascism, for the struggle of the revolutionary proletarian freethinkers is at the same time a struggle for the overthrow of capitalist and fascist barbarism and for the victory of socialism all over the world.

Proletarian Youth Movement

Reorganisation of the Work of the Y.C.U.

By Chemodanov

At the Seventeenth Party Congress of the Bolsheviks of the vast country in which the toilers are free from capitalist exploitation, unemployment and fascism, in which the working class, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, is victoriously building up the classless society, Comrade Stalin, the leader of the international proletarian revolution, said:

"Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct Party line, proclaim it from the housetops, enunciate it in the form of general theses and resolutions and carry them unanimously, in order to make victory come of itself, automatically, so to speak. This, of course, is wrong. Those who think like that are greatly mistaken. Only incorrigible bureaucrats and quill drivers can think that. As a matter of fact these successes and victories were obtained not automatically, but as a result of a fierce struggle to carry out the Party line. Victory never comes by itself—it has to be dragged by the hand. Good resolutions and declarations in favour of the general line of the Party are only a beginning, they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given, after a correct solution of the problem had been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organised, on the organisation of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfilment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, the organisational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, i.e., its success or failure."

Comrade Stalin did not confine himself to these statements, which are of tremendous political and practical importance. With Leninist frankness he unsparingly criticised various types of functionaries who hinder work and demanded their removal from leading positions. The first type of these functionaries are people who have rendered certain services in the past, people who have become "aristocrats," who have become vain and believe that the rules of the Party and of its leading organs are not binding for them, that they need not carry them out in practice, that they can violate them with impunity. - The second type of functionaries which is to be found most in the Y.C.U. (although there is also no lack of the first type) is the honest chatterbox who talks a lot about the line "in general," on the shortcomings "in general," on a change and a turn "in general," but who, as Comrade Stalin said: "is incapable of organising anything, who would submerge every living cause in a flood of watery and endless speeches."

Comrade Stalin's report at the Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. provides all the Sections of the Y.C.U. with the Leninist instructions for their daily practical work.

It is the task of every League, of every Central Committee and of every local branch to study this report very thoroughly, to acquaint the broad masses of the toiling youth with it and, without waiting for special instructions from above, without waiting for an hour, immediately to overhaul their work and, proceeding from the instructions of Comrade Stalin, to reorganise their work in such a manner as to ensure the rallying of still broader masses of toiling youth round the Communist Party. Every young Communist must bear in mind that nobody will reorganise the work and the leadership of his organisation for him. Everything depends upon ourselves, upon our organising the struggle ourselves. And we are still organising our work, and consequently also the youth for the struggle for their economic and political demands, badly.

Let us bear in mind what Comrade Stalin pointed out: that everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure, depends upon the organisational work, and let us consider in this connection some aspects of our practical work.

Comrade Stalin teaches us: "Everything depends upon our organisational work," but many "honest" chatterboxes in our

ranks do not think so. Is this true or not? Yes, it is the bitter truth. In many Y.C.I. organisations there is much talk about politics "in general" but little is being done, that is to say, the realisation of the policy of the Party, of the League's own political decisions is not being secured in an organisational respect. Is this so or not? Let the comrades in the individual branches examine their work and consider what attention they are devoting to organisational questions, and then answer this question.

We do not wish to discuss the importance of organisational work "in general," but examine some fundamental organisational questions in our actual practice.

Let us begin with the most important question: the selection and promotion of *cadres*. It is a generally known truth that everything depends upon the human material, upon men and women, their selection, their capacity to realise in practice those tasks which they set themselves.

The December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. devoted great attention to this task and emphasised that

"A real Bolshevik, tenacious and not bureaucratic struggle for the masses of the toiling youth, for the systematic consolidation of the contacts established with it, by means of giving expression to all its wants and demands, by means of the capacity to organise the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and to mobilise the masses of the toiling youth for this struggle—this must be the activity of every Young Communist, of every cell, every Y.C.I. group and in particular of the leading cadres of the Y.C.L., sub-district committees, district committees, provincial committees and Central Committees."

Can we say now, two years after the Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I., that the cadres have been selected and tested by the central committees, or the leading local organs, according to the instructions of the E.C.Y.C.I.? And have we not in our midst "aristocrats" who have become vain, who are not carrying out the decisions of the Party, of the League and their leading organs and hinder their work? And have we not in our midst those "honest chatterboxes" who only talk, draw up long resolutions, but who do not know in actual practice how to approach the Youth and to organise mass work, how the most simple thing is to be organised, not to speak of strikes and demonstrations, or the organisation of a factory cell or a group in a bourgeois mass youth organisation. Have we not people in our midst who at "their" meetings are used to talking a lot about politics "in general" and who have forgotten that the Young Communist is before all the organiser of the youth, who is responsible to the Communist Party for organising them?

Certainly we shall find such types in our midst, and not a few of them either. Why should we not put in their place in the leading committees other people, not "aristocrats," not chatterboxes, but organisers of the work and struggle, who know how to organise mass work not in words but in deed?

That is the first important question that every organisation and its members must raise. It is probable that some comrades will object to this and declare that it is not permissible to put the question in this manner. Some comrades will say that our functionaries are young and inexperienced and that we have very few people at our disposal. That is wrong. There are enough people available, but we lack a Bolshevik, a serious and proper method of selecting our cadres, of promoting them, we are not working properly with the cadres. And sometimes our comrades are afraid to promote new cadres to leading work or they promote in the first place those who know how to talk.

We can quote a very instructive example from the development of the German Young Communist League. The opportunist *Neumann-Remmele-Kutschi* group exercised for a time a strong influence in the C.C. There was not a question of principle in which this group, under the leadership of Kutschi, did not differ from the line of the Y.C.I. They replied to the demand of the Y.C.I. to promote fresh functionaries to the C.C., to the leading committees of the local groups, that there were no cadres and well-trained comrades. . . . The Y.C.L., under the leadership of Comrade *Thaelmann*, has shattered this opportunist group. It was then necessary to replace the whole leadership of the C.C., and the necessary number of comrades was found. Later the League was driven underground. The wave of fascist terror broke over it; hundreds of active functionaries, devoted to the Party, were bestially murdered; thousands were flung into the prisons and concentration camps. This was a blow dealt to the whole League, but

in the first place to its cadres. But new cadres have been set up, who, though they do not possess great experience, are nevertheless fighting heroically against the fascist dictatorship and acquiring experience of the class struggle. Contrary to the opinion of the opportunists, who do not know their cadres, underestimate them, and are of the opinion that the League will collapse without them, without the "dignitaries," who think that the decisions of the Party and of the Y.C.I. can be violated with impunity, without the chatterboxes, the German Y.C.L. is living and fighting.

There exist sufficient functionaries; it is only necessary to test their work and select them in a Bolshevik manner. It would be ridiculous to wait until the police, by arresting our functionaries, compel us to proceed more energetically with the promotion of our cadres. It is said that the comrades are young and inexperienced. But the Y.C.I. is not an organisation of old people. We are all learning in the work. Experience is acquired in the struggle. Therefore, it is of no use complaining about inexperience but to see to it—and the quicker the better—that in the leadership of every organisation and of the League there are less "aristocrats" and chatterboxes and more of such people as are recommended by the December Plenum of the Y.C.I.

It is not only necessary to select the cadres, but they must also be properly distributed and utilised. The question of the distribution of the forces, of knowing these forces, is not an organisational question of secondary importance, but a question of tremendous political importance. Very little attention is devoted in our ranks to this question, whilst at the same time there is much talk about politics. Ask the functionaries of the C.C. of the Y.C.L. of Sweden, France, England and also Germany, how many registered members they have and how they are distributed in the various towns and districts, and they will not be able to answer your question, but if you ask them their opinion "in general" on fascism, social fascism, militarisation, they will start to talk without a moment's hesitation and it will be difficult to stop them. Perhaps some of the comrades will answer your organisational question. Of course, for instance, the English comrades: They will tell you that the League has something over 1,000 members, of whom 500 are in London, 200 in Scotland, 60 in Lancashire, etc. That means that half of their members are in London. But in Lancashire, where the League has only 60 members, there are many factories. And how many cells has the League? Not a single one. That constitutes the distribution of the forces. The same can be said of the other Leagues.

But how can you work successfully, issue directives to all committees and organisations without concretely knowing *who* will carry out this line and these directives, and *for whom* they are written? The comrades in the U.S.A. or in France must not run away with the idea that they are any better than the comrades in England with regard to knowing their own forces and the distribution of their cadres. Both in the U.S.A. and in France, as well as in a number of other countries, there are many, and not even small, factories, not to speak of the rural districts, which have never even seen a live Young Communist. Perhaps things are better in the provincial, district and local committees? No, here they often know so little about their own forces, their circumstances, that they learn of the arrest of local committees or a factory cell only after two months. And while thinking over the distribution and consolidation of their forces they do not realise that there exists a Party cell in the factory, that young workers are engaged in the factory, but that there exists no Youth cell there. But how does the matter stand with the distribution and utilisation of the available forces in the local organisations? One not infrequently encounters local groups and cells in which actually only two or three members are working, whilst the other members are not drawn into practical work. These few people, who have to cope with a dozen tasks, are feverishly bustling round, but the results of their work are very insignificant; these results are not only insignificant but also harmful, because the members of the organisation who are not drawn into practical work, not only cease to attend the meetings but very often leave the organisation altogether. And it does not occur to those comrades, who are performing ten duties at once, that *they themselves, the manner in which work is organised*, are responsible for the fluctuation of the membership and nobody else.

What conclusions are to be drawn from this state of affairs? The fundamental conclusion to be drawn is that the comrades must have a good knowledge of their own forces, and that it is

necessary to carry out a proper, Bolshevik distribution of them, and make a proper selection from them for the leading cadres.

This means in practice that from an economic and political point of view it is necessary to consolidate certain important centres of the country with trained cadres; that the position of the lower organisational units must be thoroughly examined and particular attention devoted to the districts and factories in which our work has been weak; that the most important districts and factories must be singled out, and particular attention concentrated on their leadership, and the establishment of new, the consolidation of existing organisation secured. In this respect the experience of the Y.C.L. of U.S.A. and England must be utilised. In these countries districts of "concentration" were decided on, i.e., districts in which the forces of the League are to be concentrated. But hardly anything has come of this, because while there has been much talk about concentration, very little has been done in practice. It is not sufficient to adopt a decision on concentration, it is necessary to secure the organisational carrying out of the decision. This means the registering of the available forces in the given district, i.e., the groups, members, functionaries, their correct orientation and systematic, lively and not bureaucratic leadership.

As is to be seen here it is not a question of carrying out a recruiting campaign, but of reorganising the whole work of the League. And the reorganisation must lead to every Young Communist being drawn into the active work of the organisation and being brought to realise that meetings and voting alone do not exhaust his duties towards the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. The Young Communist will be able to fulfil his duties only when the Y.C.L. achieves in practice the realisation of the Party decisions, organises the youth and rallies them round the Party.

In connection therewith there arises the serious question of leadership. Many central committees, local committees and local branches lack the capacity to operate, lack a concrete, systematic checking up of the carrying out of their own decisions in daily work. There is a superfluity of committee meetings, discussions on politics in "general" and paper resolutions. If one attentively observes the work of various central committees of those Y.C.L. which are working under conditions of legality—and in fact not only of the central committees but also of the lower organs—then one can frankly say that they are not working like an operative organ but like a "session organ," and the functionaries in the C.C.s are distributed accordingly. The political leader stands at the head of the C.C., then there is a second functionary called the organiser, in addition there is the leader of trade union work, who is not a member of the C.C. and does not work in the C.C. but in the trade unions and only attends the meetings of the C.C. Then there is the editor of the newspaper, who likewise only attends the meetings of the C.C., then there is the leader of the Agitprop work and some other comrades who are entrusted with this or that work or are working as instructors. The comrades working in the apparatus of the C.C. are attached to the secretariat of the C.C. or the Bureau of the C.C. As a result, there are only two or three really practical working functionaries in the C.C., whilst the other comrades, whose main work in the Y.C.L. consists in attending committee meetings, are not performing any practical work. It frequently happens that this or that question, instead of being settled without any meeting, is first discussed in the secretariat of the C.C. and then transferred to the bureau of the C.C. The secretariat and bureau adopt a decision which very often does not reach the lower organisations. The C.C. as a rule does not supervise the carrying out of its decisions, and inside the C.C. the idea seems to prevail that if a question has been discussed, a resolution drawn up, then the matter is settled, and they therefore proceed to the next business. It very rarely happens that the C.C. or other leading organs invite representatives of lower Y.C.L. organs, for instance of local branches or of a factory cell or of district committees, to report. It is very seldom that this or that leading committee concretely discusses the question where a new Y.C.L. cell is to be organised, who is to organise it and when, what concrete help is to be accorded to the local and lower organisations and when this question must be discussed again by the leading committee in order to supervise the carrying out of the decision.

Apart from much talk about the fascisation and militarisation of the youth, many leading committees have practically done nothing in order to ascertain what bourgeois mass youth organisations exist in their district, what organisational structure they have, what forms and methods they are applying to their work

and how work among the youth in these organisations is to commence in a practical manner, how the Young Communists who are already members of this organisation but are not performing any political work in it as they do not know how to carry it out, are to be assisted.

This, of course, does not mean that in our leading committees there is no discussion of the work in the bourgeois mass youth organisations, of work in the lower organisations, of fluctuation, recruiting and other matters; there is talk enough about all these things, but very little is done in practice in order to convert this talk into deed. It would be good if every leading committee examined from this point of view what practical questions were discussed and carried out in an organisational respect, i.e., what questions have in fact been settled. It would likewise not be bad if the so-called organiser, and together with him the whole committee, examined how often they have discussed the question of the organisational structure, and while in practice having no concrete idea of the character of the lower organisations, paid no attention to their practical work but instead, talked more on politics with them.

If our Leagues are examined from the point of view of their organisational structure, one gets a very variegated picture. As a rule the basis of our organisation is the local Y.C.L. group; in spite of all the demands of the E.C.Y.C.I. the factory cell has not become the basic lower organisation.

The local organisations have not yet acquired a uniform character. In various towns in which there exist only two or three groups they are headed by a district or regional committee. In other towns where there are relatively more young Communists, there are district committees, street cells, local groups, factory cells and one or two fractions in auxiliary organisations. And in countries where the Y.C.L. is illegal there often exist in addition amorphous groups of the revolutionary youth. It is quite understandable that the C.C. as well as the leading committees have to approach these organisations in a differentiated manner, i.e., that concrete assistance and leadership must be accorded to those organisations which possess only two or three groups in the whole town, as well as to those organisations which are more or less consolidated and in which the factory cell is beginning to play the leading role. This does not, however, obtain in practice. In our Leagues, resolutions are drawn up on the question of the struggle against the social-fascist influence, but it is not sufficient to draw up resolutions; their organisational carrying out must be secured. One and the same question, for instance, the question of the struggle against fascism; war and social fascism, must obviously be put in a different manner in every local Y.C.L. organisation, taking into account the position and the available forces of this organisation. This is mostly overlooked by our comrades. They usually draw up "general" directives, but very little work is done to reorganise the work of the local organisations in order to draw all Young Communists into the work which has to be carried out not only in the streets and in the tenement buildings but inside the factory and inside the bourgeois mass youth organisations.

In Paris the situation at one time was as follows: there were about 700 Young Communists. In Paris itself the C.C., the Paris Committee and 37 district committees had their seat. If we divide the number of the Young Communists by the number of the leading functionaries we find that every member of the organisation is at the same time a member of a leading committee. All are "leading," all attend meetings, talk about politics, and there is nobody to do the work. This state of affairs existed up to the reorganisation, but even after the reorganisation the situation in Paris has not improved, because the French comrades have not considered the question, how many Young Communists there are in the various districts of Paris, what local groups exist, the composition of these groups, the contacts they possess, what factories exist in each district or suburb, and how the organisation in Paris must be built up in order to ensure that the main sections of the workers, the toilers and unemployed youth shall be brought within the organisational and political influence of the Y.C.L.

In London, New York and in other Y.C.L. organisations of the capital towns very little attention is paid to this question. The comrades are content with what they have achieved, they are afraid to introduce something new into the workers' organisations. The first task confronting every leading committee consists in their acquiring a knowledge of the structure of their organisations, their strong and weak sides, in order to be able to guide them in a concrete manner and to give them practical aid. All the central

committees have to devote their attention to this question, for without the transformation of the lower organisations it is impossible to conduct a successful struggle and to organise the main masses of the youth. The leading committees must pay the maximum attention to the lower organisations, the district committees, for they are the decisive link in the system of the leadership of the League.

Proceeding from this fact we consider the existence of a secretariat and of a bureau in the central committees to be absolutely unnecessary. It suffices to set up a bureau consisting of five to seven persons, who settle all the fundamental political and organisational questions. This fact alone will reduce the number of committee meetings to half. A secretariat and a bureau are still less necessary in the district committees. Under legal conditions a leading committee consisting of 10, at most 15, efficient comrades is quite sufficient. The leaders of the committees must consist of a secretary and several *instructors*, but not of the heads of this or that department who "work out" the questions and resolutions for the committee meetings but never visit the lower organisations.

Only those functionaries of the leading committees are of value who pass three-quarters of their time in the lower organisations and do not say what is to be done, but show on the spot how it is to be done. And the leading committees must see to it that they adopt only such decisions the carrying out of which can be checked, and that every lower organisation is aware of this supervision.

All organisations must be categorically forbidden to adopt declarations and resolutions for "internal" use. If the Y.C.L. consider it necessary to express their political opinion on this or that question which concerns the whole country or a given district or a given factory, this must be done in the form of an appeal to the youth, by leaflets, newspapers, placards, etc. The same question must not only be discussed from the political aspect, as is often done by our comrades, but it must be discussed in such a manner that every Young Communist shall know what his organisation and he himself has to do. It very often happens that comrades, who have to work under strictly illegal conditions, hold plenary sessions and conferences, discuss general political questions, adopt general decisions and leave the meetings without knowing what has to be done in practice. Or in other words, our leading comrades have given the representatives of the lower organisations the political line, but have forgotten to explain how the concrete struggle for the carrying out of this line is to be conducted in the locality from which the delegate has been sent to the conference.

Comrade Stalin teaches us: *it is not sufficient to lay down the political line, it is not sufficient to adopt unanimously a politically correct resolution; it is necessary to ensure from the organisational side that this line is carried out in practice, that the adopted resolution does not remain on paper, but is applied in practice.* But many honest chatterboxes overlook this fact because they fail to see the living reality and the processes which are taking place, i.e., the class struggle behind their political formulae.

The class struggle is sharpening from day to day; events are developing with lightning rapidity. The most important political thesis of the Comintern, that we are *immediately* approaching a fresh cycle of revolutions and wars, is becoming more and more obvious to the broad masses. The bourgeoisie is no longer capable of retaining the youth under its influence by means of the old bourgeois-democratic Parliamentary methods. The bourgeoisie perceives the growth of Communist influence and the increasing resentment of the toiling masses; it is *making a turn* and is establishing the open fascist dictatorship. The process of organisational and ideological bankruptcy of the Second International is being accelerated, dragging with it the Socialist Youth International, the direct bearer of bourgeois influence among the toiling youth.

The class struggle confronts the Young Communist Leagues

with new, higher and more responsible tasks. It demands of them the readjustment of their work, before all their organisational work. It is this question to which Comrade Stalin has drawn our attention. On the basis of his instructions, and Bolshevistically taking into account the objective conditions of the class struggle every Y.C.L. organisation must commence to readjust itself without special resolutions and sittings. The Leagues must readjust themselves in such a manner that they rally ever broader masses of the youth round the Party and become in fact real revolutionary mass Youth organisations.

Book Reviews

American Imperialism in Hawaii

By Hy. Kravif (New York)

In Hawaii, a new 32-page pamphlet by Samuel Weinman, we have a smashing indictment of the history of U.S. exploitation in these centrally located islands in the mid-Pacific. Thanks to the propaganda of the capitalist press and movies in the United States, the Hawaiian islands are usually pictured as a kind of modern paradise. There are several reasons for this deliberate falsification:—

"First, it screens the slavery on the sugar and pine apple plantations. Second, it conceals military preparations for the next Pacific war. Third, tourists, readers, and movie fans pay millions for illusions of paradise."

Hawaii derives its importance to the imperialists from its central location in the Pacific Ocean. It controls the trade and determines the military manoeuvres of the Pacific. It is a stepping stone to the Orient. By making of Hawaii a two-crop country—sugar and pine apples—the imperialists have been able to wring super profits of 20 million dollars a year on a total export value of 100 million dollars. For this reason, Weinman can report 10 millionaires out of a population of some 380,000.

To-day a small clique controls the land and almost everything else. Some 21 companies, "almost all of them interlocked, own and lease a total of 303,980 acres." Finance capital rules the roost. It extracts profits from utilities, hotels, newspapers, food, transportation, and other industries. The monopoly of the Castle Cooke interests, descendants of missionaries who were among the first to bring "civilisation" to the islands, is nearly complete. They dominate the State machine. For example, William B. Castle, jun., Under-Secretary of State in ex-President Hoover's administration, was a member of the imperialist oligarchy.

For the workers on Hawaiian plantations, the employers have decreed low wages, starvation, unemployment. Against such conditions as these, significant strikes took place in 1909, 1920, and in 1924. In the 1924 struggle, 20 were killed in one day; 76 strikers were arrested, and others deported; this with the aid of the National Guard. During the crisis years, conditions have become even more intolerable for the masses. Yet for 1932 the government could report that "an average profit of 5.17 per cent. was made by 17 sugar plantations during the year."

The Roosevelt war programme gives special attention to Hawaii and particularly to Pearl Harbour at Honolulu, the most completely equipped war base in the Pacific. Under the N.R.A. "public works" fund, nearly 10,000,000 dollars has already been allotted to strengthen Pearl Harbour as a war centre. A total of some fifty million dollars has been spent to date on this one port. Another 100,000,000 dollars is required by the Navy Department to complete its programme, and Secretary of the Navy Swanson, who paid a visit to the islands last year, has referred specifically to the need to "further the development of outlying bases in the Hawaiian islands."

The factual character of Comrade Weinman's pamphlet helps us better to understand the background against which the anti-imperialist masses of Hawaii are struggling.

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