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## Germany's Home Policy after the Geneva Meeting.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The result of the last meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva is described by the German government press as a great success for the Brüning-Curtius government. Not only the press of the Centre and the big "democratic" papers such as the "Tageblatt" and the "Voss" were full of praise, but also the social democratic "Vorwärts" was bursting with enthusiasm.

At Geneva not only the cruel deeds of Pilsudski's hangmen were discussed but also other and bigger questions. Herr Curtius explained to the Foreign Ministers of England and France the threatening situation of Germany; he pointed out to them that the dictatorial Brüning government needs something more than a mere "moral success", namely, financial aid; he appealed to the solidarity of the imperialist Powers in face of the growing danger of Bolshevism and he found sympathetic listeners in Mr. Arthur Henderson and in M. Briand. In return for a strong inclination of German foreign policy to French imperialism, Briand could do a great deal for Germany. As a first pledge of such willingness Dr. Curtius signed the "Peace Manifesto" of the European Commission, which with hypocritical phrases was directed against Russia and now it is hoped in Berlin that Briand will exert his influence in order that German capitalism shall obtain the desired credits.

The "Institute for Business Research" has just published

an exposé on the question of credit supplies to German economy, in which it is stated in the first place that the growth of credits in 1930 was considerably behind that of the previous year, and then the conclusion is drawn that "an ample supply of credits for German economy depends, as before, on the influx of long-term foreign credits . . . The prerequisite for a greater influx of credits into Germany is, it is true, that the economic and political confidence necessary for the granting of credits is established." The situation on the German money market is becoming continually worse as a result of the outflow of foreign bills, due to the flight of German capital abroad which is still going on. In the period from the 1st to 24th January the Reichsbank recorded a loss of foreign bills amounting to no less than 340.5 million marks. Hence, the reason why the question of aid in the shape of French credits has again come to the forefront.

It is known that in August and September last promising negotiations were carried on to convert the short-term French money coming into Germany into long term credits. These negotiations were broken off as a result of the September elections; French money was withdrawn and the German banks found themselves in such a critical situation that the Reichs Chancellor Brüning, speaking of this situation, recently said "at that time the State and economy for months long hovered

between life and death". In the meantime, these negotiations have been resumed; they were the subject of discussions behind the scenes in Geneva, at which Briand made it plainly understood that there could be no question of credits without political guarantees.

These political guarantees include, besides the already mentioned rapprochement of Germany to France's anti-Soviet policy, a holding aloof from Italian imperialism and German Hitler-fascism, which is a movement financed from Italian sources. Only thus is it possible to explain why Reichs Chancellor Brüning and the groups standing behind him have of late repeatedly cold-shouldered the Hitler movement — kowtowing to Briand!

In his speech delivered on 23rd January in Chemnitz to the Saxon industrialists, Brüning gave a back-hander to Hitler-fascism, which enjoys particularly great sympathy and financial support in these circles, by calling attention to the severe crisis in fascist Italy and emphasising that Mussolini has represented the present German government as a model. On 25th January, Brüning declared at a meeting in Cologne: "We shall not permit any policy of chaos under the cloak of patriotism", and gave a very plain hint to Hitler-fascism by declaring, "the Reichs government will do everything in order to secure the authority of the State against such theories." In both speeches, and also at a third meeting in Düren, the Chancellor declared that the moment has not yet come for taking up fresh negotiations on the revision of the Young Plan. This also was an obeisance to Briand.

As a result of the secret negotiations in Geneva and in the hope of obtaining French credits, even such circles of German finance-capital as were hitherto among the declared advocates of the national socialists participating in the government (such as the circles behind the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung") are

ready to repudiate the national socialists. But it would be a mistake to attach greater importance to this political turn than it deserves.

In the meantime, the inner political development, the ripening of the Brüning fascist dictatorship is still going on. Replying to an interjection by a Saxon industrialist regarding a change of system, Brüning assured his audience: "A change of system is now being carried out in Germany!" The social democratic press suppressed this significant declaration, and the "Left" social democratic Chemnitz "Volksstimme" reported in jubilant tones of the success of the Chancellor at the meeting of the Saxon capitalists. Thus the social democratic press is still trying to justify its support of the Brüning government whilst this same government is preparing to launch fresh attacks against the working class.

In the Ruhr district, the iron magnates are threatening to close down their works if wages are not reduced by 20 per cent; and this campaign for the reduction of wages is still proceeding without interruption throughout the whole country. At the same time further economies, which are directed against the unemployed and also against the invalids, including war cripples, are announced in the sphere of social policy. Simultaneously the industrial capitalists and big landowners are demanding far-reaching protectionist measures, which are bound to result in further heavy burdens being placed on the working masses. The government is discussing a number of Bills which it intends to submit to the Reichstag, again under the threat of article 48. In February, declared Brüning, the Reichstag will be faced with very serious decisions, and he at the same time expressed the opinion that Parliament would also this time, and even more than hitherto, prove an obedient tool of the dictatorship.

The German proletariat is faced with serious decisions and big fights.

## The Soviet Elections.

By D. S a s l a v s k i (Moscow).

Moscow is in the throes of the Soviet elections. There are election posters on hoardings and walls, illuminated election notices on the roofs of high buildings, processions in the streets. The creativeness of the artists is boundless. In the chief square several artistic groups carved in wood have been erected in a few days. All the figures raise their right hand. They vote — **FOR**. This little word, this significant gesture says everything: **FOR** the Soviets, **FOR** the Five Year Plan, **FOR** Socialism, **FOR** the Proletarian Revolution throughout the world.

A bourgeois eye-witness or reader will not understand this. What is the use of this agitation when there is only one Party at the elections — the Party of the working class? In the bourgeois countries the ruling parties do not trouble much about agitation when they can drive Communists underground by police repressions. They do not trouble about positively **EVERYONE** going to record his vote. On the contrary, they are concerned about having as few working men and women as possible at the polling booths. Our slogan everywhere is: 100% attendance on the election day. This is not a hunt for votes. It is a desire for general conscious participation in the elections.

The voting itself is only the last conclusive act in the election campaign. It is the most solemn act. But the whole work has been done beforehand.

I watched today the election in one of the largest and foremost Moscow works, I mean the "Electrical Works". This works has been frequently mentioned in the Communist press. It is the soul and centre of the new Moscow district — the Stalin district. And it must be worthy of its name.

At the entrance to the works there is a live chain of Young Pioneers. The workers' children take an active part in the elections. They organised meetings in their schools and drew up their demands to the new Soviet. According to their age, they will not get into the Soviet. The official political life begins at the age of 18. However, the bourgeois apocrysis about childhood being remote from politics is alien to Soviet public opinion.

In the Soviet school Soviet citizens are trained and

educated. The children of the workers employed in the "Electrical Work", the Young Pioneers have come to the factory gates and bar the way to the workers who go away from the meeting. And grown-up bearded men explain shamefacedly to the children that they have some important work outside, while the children reason with them and urge them to do their Soviet duty. But such "deserters" are few.

A fortnight ago meetings were held in all departments and brigades, and the activity of the Moscow and district Soviets was discussed in detail. The report on their activity is common knowledge. You can see it on the walls in diagrams, figures and short notices. The delegate of the given department also rendered account of his work. This work was pulled to pieces, and if he worked badly, if he had been a bad attendant at the meetings of his section in the Soviet, had not shown any initiative and had not kept his department in contact with the Soviet, he has no chance whatever to be a candidate at the forthcoming elections. All the workers' organisations are taken up with the preparation for the elections. The elections are the chief subject in the wall newspaper of every department, and special columns are reserved in the general printed daily: "Electrical Works" to this subject. Nearly all the questions are on the economic domain: House-building, tramways (this is a very sore point), co-operation, schools and hot breakfasts there. Not only the workers employed at the Electrical Works concern themselves with these questions, they are important to the whole district. The works is no longer an isolated institution. It gives the tone to the whole district.

The question of the Soviet candidate was very thoroughly discussed. This year a new demand has been brought forward: The prospective deputy must be a shock brigader. A worker who has not joined a shock brigade, who has not distinguished himself as a good producer who works consciously for Socialist construction, cannot be a workers' deputy in the Soviet.

The preparatory work has been done. The special workers' Soviet election brigade has taken care that meetings be held

everywhere, that every worker should know what the instruction to the deputies, issued by the Communist Party, is about. This implies not simply reading the instruction, but **studying it thoroughly**. Every point is gone into and weighed, hundreds of new proposals are introduced containing all the small things and details of the workers' mode of life.

Then comes the final solemn act: the adoption of the instructions and the elections. The meetings are held according to departments and shifts. The enormous premises usually filled with workers and bright with electric light, are empty and plunged into semi-darkness. The whole life is transferred to the Red Corners. They are brilliantly lit and decorated. In some departments there are nearly all young women workers with red kerchiefs on their heads — this is the bulb department, the preparatory department and others. In other departments: the tools, autotractor, transformer departments, aged workers with long industrial status and high qualification predominate.

The chairman opens the meeting. He reads paragraphs from the Soviet Constitution, and one of them sounds particularly impressive:

"The R.S.F.S.R., basing itself on the solidarity of the workers of all nations, grants all political rights to foreigners residing on R.S.F.S.R. territory, provided they earn their living and belong to the working class, and also to peasants who do not hired labour..."

Up to 100 foreigners, most of them skilled workers, are employed by the "Electrical Works". Three are several engineers among them. Today all of them are at the elections as equals, as "our own" people, and not as "aliens". In the labour republic all workers are hosts and not guests, regardless of language.

The workers' meeting is following excitedly Comrade Otto Tille's speech. He is an old worker from Berlin. The Communist Party sent him as its representative to the Berlin Municipal Council. Now the Russian workers are sending him as their representative to the Moscow Soviet. He gets up and says with a tremour in his voice that he has come to the U.S.S.R. to help to build up Socialism. Other German workers speak after him — Comrades Wittenberg and Schultz. Naturally, not all foreigners who come to the U.S.S.R. get infected with shock brigade enthusiasm. These workers do not consider themselves as belonging to us. They stand aside. They are not concerned with what is going on here, with the great struggle of the working class. They do not want to share with the workers of the Soviet Union all the temporary difficulties.

But they are in a minority, whereas the overwhelming majority feel that they are at home in the U.S.S.R. which they consider to be the real country of the workers. Comrade Schultz said in his speech that when he lived in Germany he did not formally belong to the Communist Party, though he was in sympathy with it. He has been six weeks in this works, but even in this short time he has become convinced that it is downright criminal for a class-conscious worker not to join the shock brigade movement, to stand aside from the great struggle and constructive work. He asked from the platform to be received into the ranks of the Communist Party.

His words are greeted joyfully and enthusiastically. And one by one, old workers, not Germans but Russians, carried away by the example set by the German comrade, ask to be admitted to the Party. When at the end of the meeting the sounds of the "International" fill the works premises, everyone feels that this is a real fighting hymn of the working class, the embodiment in music of the proletarian revolutionary essence of the Soviet Constitution.

The same thing happened also in several other departments. The "Electrical Works" has sent three German workers to the Moscow Soviet.

Such is Soviet democracy. It is in its fourteenth year, but it is young, full of life and creativeness. Can it be compared with the bourgeois "democracies" which were born almost simultaneously with it in Poland, Latvia, Finland of which only pitiful tatters have remained which cover the Fascist frenzy of the bourgeoisie? The strength of Soviet democracy lies in its nearness to the masses of workers. It is a democracy, not of parliamentary twaddle which covers up deceit, but a democracy of live Socialist endeavour, of constant reconstruction of the workers' mode of life on a new basis.

## POLITICS

### The Laval Government in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The French bourgeoisie has again failed to form a big concentration government, which it so greatly needs in order to carry out its plan for saving itself from the daily growing and deepening economic crisis. The adventurer Laval, a one-time revolutionary syndicalist and member of the Socialist Party, to which he belonged until 1920, had to confine himself to forming a Cabinet according to Tardieu's old recipe. Thus the government only contains elements of the Centre and of the Right.

On Thursday 29th January, about 90 deputies of various groups of the Left Centre came together in order to draw up a programme and also to request the Radicals to join the majority and to participate in the concentration government "in view of the seriousness of the economic crisis and the necessity of forming a strong government possessing a big majority". The radicals however, refused to co-operate with the official representative of the Marin group.

But the Republican Democratic Union (U.R.D.) wished to enter the government. This political formation represents the interests of heavy industry and of agrarian capital, which for a long time have been pursuing common economic aims including before all the policy of high protective tariffs for the French market. The development of the crisis led to increased collisions and frictions between the various capitalist groups, as for instance between the above-mentioned groups and the luxury industry working for export. In order the better to defend their interests the leaders of heavy industry and of agrarian capital attach great value to having their people in the government. On the other hand, the fear of the radicalisation of the masses is so great that a part of the big bourgeoisie, when examining the results of the recent bye-elections, come to the conclusion that the Radical Party is being decimated to the advantage of the Socialist Party, that their followers are deserting them, so that the Radicals could not bring any great accession of strength to the concentration government, whilst in opposition they would soon cease to be dangerous. What the bourgeoisie is aiming at is the formation of a solid bloc, which shall include the most reactionary elements against the "socialist danger", in other words against the revolutionary danger.

The main features of the new government are: 1) As Foreign Minister Briand secures the continuity of the aggressive and anti-Soviet policy of French imperialism 2) Flandin, who was Minister for Trade under Tardieu, is this time Finance Minister, and it should be remembered that he is the driving force of the campaign against Soviet "dumping" and also the originator of the decree of 3rd October, prohibiting the importation of goods from the Soviet Union. Finally, Flandin was also the organiser of the economic blockade of the Central European States directed against the Foreign Trade Monopoly of the Soviet Union. 3) Francois-Poncot, of the Comité de Forges, again obtains the important post of Under Secretary of National Economy, in which capacity he has the task of smoothing out the contradictions of the various capitalist interests. 4) Tardieu appears again, although this time he occupies an unimportant post, namely as Minister for Agriculture, because the bourgeoisie are holding him in reserve and giving him this position in order that he shall take over more important functions in the next government.

The Laval Government will possess a weak majority in the Chamber and a still weaker one in the Senate. The Government is expected to last only four months at the most, to the Presidential elections.

It must be remarked that the big capitalist newspapers, which fully support Briand's policy, whilst they praise the Radicals for having proceeded as far as possible along the path of concessions, nevertheless for the first time openly criticise the demands of the Republican Democratic Union which prevented the concentration (Matin, Petit Parisien). They urge that a government was needed at once. That a government has been formed, but a government comprising the Radicals and excluding the Marin group would have been preferable.

The Communist Party will of course oppose the new government with the same energy as it did its predecessor. It calls upon the masses not to be diverted from forming a united front for the fight for their demands and against the regime. It is displaying the greatest activity in order to convert the unemployed demonstration of 25th February into a broad mass movement. The demonstrations on 25th February must prove to M. Laval, the father of the new "social laws", that the unemployed as well as the workers in the factories are determined to increase their class action under the leadership of the Communist Party. The demonstrations must show the governing class that the masses are determined to thwart the anti-Soviet plans and intrigues of the government and to defend the Soviet Union with every means. Finally, these demonstrations must show the social fascists that the workers are not to be deceived by socialist demagoguery, by their hypocritical opposition, whilst in fact they are taking part in the moral and material war-preparations against the Soviet Union and the persecution of the revolutionary labour movement, both under the Laval government and the government of Steeg, which they openly supported.

\* \* \*

Paris, 31st January 1931.

After a "debate" which lasted about 18 hours, and in which both cliques of the bourgeoisie wrangled over the minor question of Secular education, the Chamber pronounced confidence in the Laval Cabinet by 312 votes against 258, i. e., a majority of 54.

Comrade Cachin declared in his speech that all the Ministries which followed one another (Tardieu, Steeg, Laval), proclaimed the same programme of imperialist offensive, and that both bourgeois fractions are united over the same problems: fight against the proletariat, preparation for war, solution of the crisis at the cost of the toiling masses.

Comrade Duclos, who again appeared in the Chamber after three years illegality, also spoke. He expressed his solidarity with all the victims of reaction and demanded their immediate release. In spite of the interruptions of the bourgeois deputies Comrade Duclos declared that the Communist Party is conducting a life and death struggle against the bourgeoisie and that this fight can end only with the overthrow of capitalism.

## The Trade Union Slavery Bill — A Warning.

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

The MacDonald Government which for weeks has been passing through a serious crisis, has again obtained a respite. Thanks to the support of Lloyd George the second reading of the Trades Dispute Bill was carried in the House of Commons on Wednesday 28th January by 277 votes against 250.

What is this Trade Union Bill?

It is not enough to describe the Trade Union Bill as "a sham", "a fraud", a "lawyers' beanfeast", "unintelligible", "verbal changes and uncertain promises" etc.—as if its only fault were that it fails clearly to repeal the Baldwin Act, that it masks a promise of repeal with vague formulae which the lawyers will make holes in.

Not at all. **The main purpose of the Bill is only too damnablely clear.**

Of course the Bill does not repeal the Baldwin Act in practice. That we knew already from the cunning wording of the lying pledges of repeal that were already made by the Labour Party for years past—"to remove the worst features" etc.

But that is not the main point. The main point is not what the Trade Union Bill does not do, but what it does do.

**The Labour Government's Trade Union Bill makes the position in the most important essentials worse for the workers than even the Baldwin Trade Union Act of 1927 has done.** It fixes new chains—and these in just the direction that is most vital to-day for the whole future of the working class struggle: the advance beyond the most limited economic struggle. This is the conscious aim of the Labour Government's Trade Union Bill—the coping stone of the whole policy of Mondism and violent suppression of the workers' struggle.

How does it do this? The essential question of the Bill turns on the first clause: the new definition of the "illegal

strike", going beyond the Baldwin Government's definition. This runs:

"Any strike or lock-out of which the primary object is an object other than that of furthering purposes connected with the employment or non-employment, or the terms of the employment, or with the conditions of labour, of any person (whether or not employed in the trade or industry in which the strike or lock out takes place) shall be illegal, and it shall be illegal to commence or continue or to apply any sums in furtherance or support of any such illegal strike or lock-out."

What is the effect of this?

The Baldwin Act of 1927 declared a strike illegal only if it fulfilled two conditions: first, that it is a sympathetic strike going beyond a trade dispute in the industry in question; plus second, that it is "calculated to coerce the Government". The aim to cover the type of the General Strike of 1926 is here obvious.

But the MacDonald Bill, while professing to remove the restriction on the sympathetic strike, in reality by the new clause extends the sphere of the "illegal strike" to a degree the Baldwin Act never dared to attempt.

The supposed removal of the ban on the sympathetic strike is valueless. For as soon as the "primary object" is supposed to go beyond the most limited trade bounds (and this is easy to allege of any dispute that has extended beyond one industry), it becomes illegal. And as the junior Arthur Henderson LL. B. has hastened to inform the anxious bourgeoisie in the "Labour Magazine" (Jan. 1931):

"I suppose that no lawyer of eminence will deny the extreme difficulty of determining when the primary object of a strike is a lawful industrial object and when it is a strike to coerce parliament."

Thus the distinction of the "primary object", which is claimed by the Labour Government to safeguard the "legitimate" sympathetic strike or general strike, is declared in advance by the Labour Party's own lawyer to be valueless.

But the new and stricter definition of the "illegal strike" is not valueless. On the contrary, its teeth are very sharp, as the workers will find—especially in the struggles of the immediate future, on such issues as unemployment; war etc. Every strike—even the smallest, local, spontaneous strike like the "Jolly George"—that goes beyond the most limited immediate trade object, becomes illegal, and punishable with prison. On the effect of this going beyond the Baldwin Act, the Liberal lawyer, Cyril Asquith, writes in the "Times" (23. 1. 31), apparently with surprise as if he finds it very "odd":

"The effect of this is, oddly enough, to make illegal some strikes which under the 1927 Act would be lawful—e.g. a strike of a seamen's union to prevent the Governor of the Bank of England from sailing to America."

Translate this deliberately valueless example chosen by the Liberal lawyer for some more actual situation: suppose a war of the border states on the Soviet Union, and a supply of munitions to them from this country; and suppose the dockers, faithful to their international duty, prevent these—the Labour Government will clamp them into prison. The application of this to the sending of munitions to India, or to any home struggle, is no less obvious. This is the Labour Government's Trade Union Bill—a direct move in the present capitalist offensive.

**With this Bill wage-slavery is for the first time attempted to be directly written into the Statute Book as a legal, binding, permanent status, against which even passive revolt, the mere withdrawal of labour, is illegal.** It has been left for a Labour Government to attempt this crowning achievement. The slave is "free to strike"—but only within the framework of his slavery, about his rations or the amount of his labour, but not against his slavery. Thus far, and no further, says the Labour Government. To raise his eyes above his chains, to strike on any wider issue, to question his slavery, to strike on behalf of the oppressed, or for his comrades in other countries—this the Labour Government makes a crime.

In the Council of Action these hypocrites, under the pressure of the masses, proclaimed the threat of the strike action of the workers, if imperialism should make war on the Soviet Union. To-day, not ten years later, they would make this same action a crime. In their international congresses, even in their rotten Second International and Yellow Trade Union Inter-

national, they have passed solemn resolutions pledging international general strike action against war. And the gentlemen who pass these resolutions, who orate about peace and the brotherhood of the workers and the common action of the workers against war, are in practice busy preparing legislation to make such action a police offence. They are preparing war, and they are preparing to throttle the workers in readiness for war.

Let every trade unionist, let every worker beware. Fight this MacDonal Trade Union Bill, no less than the Baldwin Trade Union Act—both must be swept away as a menace to the whole future of the working class struggle.

## HANDS OFF THE CHINESE SOVIETS

### Chiang Kai-shek's "Campaign of Annihilation" and the Counter-Offensive of the Red Army.

By Chie-Hua.

Already after the capture of Changsha by the Red Army in August last, the imperialists demanded that there should be a truce in the war of the Generals in order to be able to concentrate all forces against the rapidly growing Soviet movement. In compliance with the wishes of the imperialists, the Nanking government began immediately after the armistice, four months ago, to carry out "the campaign to exterminate the Communists in the five provinces of Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Fukien and Anhwei", for which purpose it mobilised over 20 divisions of its troops. At the 4th Plenary meeting of the Kuomintang and at the Nanchang Conference the anti-Communist fight was once again concretely dealt with. Out of fear that the troops who are so "faithfully devoted" to the Nanking government would mutiny under the influence of the revolutionary propaganda, as has already frequently happened, more attention is being paid to making sure of the reliability of the troops. In order to free the masses from the ideology of Communism, 100,000 leaflets were scattered from aeroplanes over the Soviet districts. A price of 50,000 dollars has been placed on the head of every single leader of the Red Army. Over 30 military aircraft bombarded Soviet districts with bombs weighing 150 pounds.

In spite of some losses, as for instance the fall of the town of Chi-An, one of the centres of the Soviet districts, the Red Army in its determined fights against the serious attacks of the counter-revolution succeeded in the middle of December in capturing the town of Kiañg, the central point of South Kiangsi. The further achievements of this month indicate the continued advance of the Red Army. Thus, the town of Tunku and the neighbouring districts in North-West Kiangsi were taken. Also Tsan-Ting and Yun Ding in West Fukien, and Nan Schun, Si-Shen and Ho-Ping in North Kwantung, and the towns of King-Sain and San Saing in West Chekiang have been either surrounded or captured by the Red Army. The helplessness of the big landowners in these districts is shown by the regular flood of telegrams to the Government calling for the sending of reinforcements. The towns of Dsing, Funchen, Hua-Yung, Nanchain, Sisau and Dien-Li on the frontier of Hupeh and Hunan have likewise been surrounded and partly occupied in the last few weeks. Further, the Red Army is engaged in fights for the towns of Zalin, Yi-Chen and Hsü-Zuan on the frontier between Hunan and Kiangsi. Out of the 13 districts of the isle of Hainan, to the South of Kwantung, four are in the possession of the Red Army and six districts are in the sphere of influence of the insurgents.

The mass fights for the Soviet Power in the rural districts are creating a firm front against the military attacks of the counter-revolution. Thus, the hangmen of the Kuomintang, Lo-Ti-Ping the chairman of the province of Kiangsi, has to admit:

"The province of Kiangsi is almost entirely bolshevised. Among the incited population there are many forms of organisation. Quite young people between the age of 16 and 23 belong to the young red guard. The women and girls are organised in transport, supply and ambulance corps: there exist so-called pioneer groups even for the children of 8 to 13 years. One even sees girls of 7 or 8

years with red kerchiefs on their heads, uniforms and short hair as well as boys, carrying spears. The red bands often entice forward the government troops, who are then surrounded by the insurgent masses and disarmed. Wherever our troops appear the population flees, carrying with it all the stores of food. When our soldiers are then forced to withdraw for lack of food they are pursued and attacked by the red bands."

Stirred by the example of the heroic defensive fights of the Soviet peasants who in their district have divided up the land and done away with the heavy taxes, the peasants in the white districts, for whom the last relatively better harvest only meant increased exploitation by the grasping land-owners are increasing their general fights to refuse payment of rent, taxes and debts and for the establishment of the Soviet Power.

This general agrarian revolutionary movement is hardly calculated to increase Chiang-kai-shek's warlike ardour and to give him any hope of realising his dream of "quickly exterminating the Communists". Therefore, one of the chief aims of the Conference in Kulin-mountain in Kiangsi was to discuss how best and most effectively to combat the Communists. It was decided to reinforce the government troops by increased concentration of forces in the provinces of Kiangsi, Hunan and Hupeh, and for this purpose to take up a loan of 3 million dollars from the Hankow banks.

With the growth of the Soviet movement the sphere of power of the Kuomintang reaction is reduced, and thereby also its sources of revenue. The ever increasing financial bankruptcy of the Nanking government renders it more and more difficult for it to carry out its plans "to combat the Communists". The costs are again being placed on the shoulders of the working masses in the form of fresh taxes and loans. In the province of Kiangsi alone new tax and levies have been specially imposed for this purpose: a loan of 3 million dollars has been borrowed from the provincial government, for which the revenue from the land tax has been given as security, and a second short-term loan of 800,000 dollars, secured on the revenue from the land tax for the first half year of 1931. An extra tax has been raised for permission to export 90,000 pikuls of rice. The salt tax has been increased from 4.40 dollars per pikul to 5.90 dollars per pikul, and the coal tax has been raised a further 5 cents per pikul. The Yo-Ming Bank has issued new banknotes for 3 million dollars. The house and shop tax has likewise been increased, and in the capital town of Nanchang was forcibly collected three months in advance by armed police.

But even this monstrous plundering of the working masses will not enable the Nanking government to emerge from the severe financial crisis, especially now when money is urgently needed to combat the Communists. As is always the case when it is a question of bloodily crushing a revolutionary mass movement, the imperialists are now hastening to the aid of the Kuomintang reaction. Under the flimsy pretext of "helping to restore China", America and England are attempting to support China by means of huge loans. Thus, the object of the visit of the British Economic Commission was obviously to negotiate with the Nanking government over a loan of 50 million dollars. As the Japanese press in Dairen reports, the American and English capitalists in Shanghai are planning to found an International Investment Trust in China with a capital of 200 million dollars. There is no doubt that as a result China will come more and more under the yoke of international finance capital.

The imperialists, however, are not confining themselves to rendering financial aid and supplying weapons for combating the Communists; they are also sending their military advisers to the Kuomintang government. In addition to the German, English, American, Japanese and French advisers, who have already long been at work a "British Naval Advisory Commission" is also to be sent shortly. It is also reported that the Mayor Pabst, the notorious Austrian fascist leader and the murderer of Rosa Luxemburg, will find a place worthy of him in the military council of the Nanking government in order to do something on his part for the fascisation of the Kuomintang troops and for the slaughter of the Chinese revolutionary workers and peasants.

As Chiang Kai-Shek has not succeeded in choking the Chinese revolution in blood, the imperialists are actively intervening in the fight with their own gunboats. Even the foreign cargo and passenger steamers are armed and during their voyages fire on the Red Army on both sides of the Yangtse-river.

We will quote only one instance out of many: In the middle of December the English steamer Fuh-Wo fired with its guns on the Red Army not far from the town of Sha-Shi on the Yangtse and wounded some red soldiers. The reply of the Red Army must however, have been very effective, for the English had to "complain" of the loss of an officer.

The imperialist press in China made use of this firing on the Red Army by the foreign steamers as an occasion for demanding the reinforcement of foreign gunboats in the Chinese waters as a protection against the raids of the red bandits and for the peaceful maintenance of river traffic". The English "North-China Daily News" writes:

"The fight against the Red Army is of international interest. All the fleets are acting together. The British and the Japanese, who have the greatest responsibility, have the greatest number of gunboats, then come the Americans, the French and the Italians".

Whilst the fighters for the Soviets, the Red Army in China, are conducting a heroic fight against the whole counter-revolutionary front, it is the serious duty of the international proletariat, by increased activity, to defend the Chinese Soviet revolution and to bring to naught the imperialist intervention plans.

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### The Activity of the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers.

The following is from a statement issued to the press by the Secretariat of the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers.

Only three months old the I. S. H. has an active record. Needless to say we are yet organisationally weak, but we are getting to grips with the coordination of our activity and organisations.

The I. S. H. was plunged into the work of assisting the Rhine boatmen in their fight against reductions in wages, the very first week of its existence. It assisted the militant section in formulating counter demands. Its representative visited all the important centres on the Rhine, held mass meetings, gave advice, etc., to mobilise support for the German river boatmen, from Basle to Rotterdam. But the united front of the German Government and social fascists, the shipowners, the I. T. F. — the latter who objectively at least supported the social democrats by its silence — proved too much for the disorganised river boatmen, who were forced to accept reduced wages.

A visit to England was made where we assisted our national officials to formulate a definite resolution that for the first time sets out the correct approach to form a seamen's union in Great Britain. It has resulted in a marked change in the approach of our British comrades to this urgent and vital task, for the I.S.H. will not attain its full role without a good position in Great Britain.

Special visits have been made to Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Antwerp, where steps have been taken to strengthen our position. Work among the Antwerp dockers has commenced in earnest and among the Indian, Chinese and West African seamen in other ports as well, with special attention to the Chinese Seamen's Congress. Concrete steps taken to broaden the work among Indian seamen in England, developing the work in additional ports will result in strengthening the revolutionary Indian seamen's union which is at present very weak.

In our preparations to fight the danger of war on the U. S. S. R., instructions have been sent to all sections, with practical proposals for a press campaign, suggestions for activity on the docks and ships, in the trade unions, etc. Vigilance and Action Committees are being organised to prevent shipment of war materials to be used directly or ultimately against the U. S. S. R. General mass meetings, meetings at dock gates, on board ships, etc. will be held to develop the defence of the Workers and Peasants Fatherland.

While the I. T. F. is publicly silent, actively supporting its sections to accomplish wage cuts for the shipowners, the most

important task the I.S.H. has undertaken is preparation to resist the shipowners' offensive now opening up along a wide front. The German shipowners demand a 14% wage reduction, the demand for reductions of the British dockers is made, wage cuts for Japanese are demanded, while the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish shipowners are formulating demands for lower wages; all three present collective agreements expiring in the next few weeks. The dockers in the ports of Palestine are in the midst of a fight for better conditions. The I. S. H. has sent out publicity and appeals for assistance.

Therefore the I.S.H. has held a joint conference with the German R.G.O. of harbour workers and seamen. The Secretariat will cooperate closely to obtain a victory for the Ger-

### Austrian Reformists Betray Alpine-Montan Workers.

Vienna, 2nd February 1931.

Left in the lurch by the reformist, fascist and christian unions, the workers of the Alpine-Montan works in Upper Styria had no alternative but to accept the terms of the employers and agree to wage-cuts ranging from 12 to 18 percent. A demonstration organised by the fascist union which has 3000 members in the Alpine-Montan works was a complete fiasco, about 60 workers attended it. A meeting organised by the reformists was not much better attended. Communist workers who tried to speak at this meeting were brutally flung out by members of the social democratic Republican Defence League who had been mobilised for the purpose. A mass demonstration was held the same day by the revolutionary trade union opposition in Fohnsdorf. The betrayal has greatly strengthened the influence of the revolutionary trade union movement amongst the Alpine-Montan workers. A delegate conference took place in Seegraben and an appeal was issued to the workers to rally to the R. T. U. movement in order to avoid further treachery. The existing committee of action for Upper Styria was extended by co-opting other workers on to it.

man harbour workers. Already the latter have been dealt a severe blow. The social democrats have postponed a settlement until February 15th.

This is a treasonable delay. It enables merchants and manufacturers to clear all shipments arising beyond that date and to tide over the seasonal rush. These traitors represent this as a victory: it is an attempt to destroy solidarity by driving a wedge in between the politically backward workers who still trust these shipowners' agents, and the militant supporters of the R.G.O. This is a tactic to retard the independent leadership of the R.G.O. in developing strike action, and to give the bosses a tactical advantage over the men. But the I.S.H. urges immediate struggle.

Instructions have been sent out to form Action Committees in all harbours, especially on the North and Baltic seas. These will endeavour to prevent the discharging of vessels diverted from German ports or loaded by blackleg labour. The same condition applies to all forthcoming disputes, including miners' disputes pending in England and Germany, and the attack upon the British railwaymen.

A wide publicity and agitational campaign has been carried on to popularise the Hamburg Conference decisions. Pamphlets, manifestoes leaflets, a special "Call to British Seamen", etc. have been published. Joint mass meetings of seamen, harbour and river workers are being organised in German and foreign ports, to assist the German harbour workers and a fighting fund is being launched, etc.

Organisationally a wide range of proposals have been made to link up the affiliated and adherent organisations. Plans are under consideration for organising the work at reformist Congresses and instructions sent out to strengthen and expand the work of the International Clubs. Plans for bringing the colonial seamen into closer contact with the workers of imperialist countries are being developed. The central organ of the I.S.H. will appear shortly.

## International Fighting Day Against Unemployment

# The Preparation of the International Day Against Unemployment in Germany.

By Heinz Evers.

According to a report of the economic journal, "Wirtschaft und Statistik" Germany tops the list for unemployment in the capitalist countries. The percentage of unemployment in comparison with the total population was as follows:

Germany .....	5.7 %
Great Britain .....	5.2 %
United States of America ..	4.9 %

These figures refer to the beginning of December. The absolute figures at the time were 3,683,000 for Germany, 2,390,000 for Great Britain, and 6 millions for the United States of America.

In the meantime the German figures have risen to 5 million unemployed workers plus a further 3 million short-time workers. There is not a working class family in Germany but what at least one member is directly affected by unemployment.

The following table shows the development of unemployment in Germany. The figures represent an average monthly total based on the official reports:

1920: 722,500;	1921: 622,500;	1922: 155,400;
1923: 951,000;	1924: 1,351,000;	1925: 772,000;
1926: 2,278,000;	1927: 1,500,000;	1928: 1,545,000;
1929: 2,121,000;	1930: 3,192,000.	

For years the German bourgeoisie has been striving to shift the burdens of its economic system onto the shoulders of the workers. In 1927 the unemployment insurance law was passed with the assistance of the social democratic parliamentarians. This law did away with the State unemployment welfare system which had existed up to then. With the introduction of this law the number of persons entitled to unemployment support immediately sank, as also did the length for which full support was paid, and the rates paid. Further, various grades of support were introduced in accordance with the various grades of earnings.

In the course of the subsequent years the terms of the unemployment insurance act were repeatedly worsened. A good example of this is the amendment worked out by the former Minister of Labour for the Reich, the social democrat Wissell. This amendment was adopted by the Reichstag with the votes of the coalition parties, including the Social Democratic Party, and became law on the 3rd October 1929.

The general rise in recent years in the number of those unemployed workers who for various reasons receive neither full unemployment support nor the subsequent "crisis" support, is shown by the following figures which have also been taken from official reports and which represent a monthly average of those receiving unemployment support of one kind or another during the years in question:

1920: 380,500;	1921: 311,000;	1922: 80,000;
1923: 477,000;	1924: 679,000;	1925: 464,000;
1926: 1,693,000;	1927: 1,012,000;	1928: 1,021,000;
1929: 1,450,000;	1930: 2,181,000.	

The table shows that in 1930 there was an average of one million unemployed workers who received no unemployment support. In December 1930 the number was even 1.6 million unemployed workers without State support.

All the grants for the Unemployment Insurance Fund have been struck out of the Reich's Budget for 1931 which, as is known, was adopted on the basis of Paragraph 48 of the Weimar Constitution. Further, the government issued a special emergency decree increasing contributions under the unemployment insurance act as a result of which the employed workers have to carry a double burden. Despite these measures, the finance crisis in the Unemployment Insurance Fund remains.

The Reich's grants etc., to the municipalities have also been cut no less than 500 million Marks for 1931. As a result the municipalities are financially very hard pressed and they are trying to avoid threatening bankruptcy by cutting down the support granted by them to relieve the general poverty. According to official figures there were 542,000 unemployed workers at the end of December 1930 in towns having a population of over 25,000 inhabitants who received no unemployment benefit from the State and who were on the relief of the Boards of Guardians. 55,000 of these workers were performing task-work. In the smaller municipalities the support granted is very little. The greatest number of persons in the Reich in receipt of support from the Boards of Guardians will therefore not be more than 650,000 in the best case. Taking the total unemployment figures given above and subtracting the total in receipt of State unemployment benefit and the total in receipt of support from the Boards of Guardians, there still remain about one million persons who receive no support of any kind!

And in addition, all sorts of new plans are being considered in order to further reduce the number of unemployed workers in receipt of unemployment support, and to reduce the rates of support. There is for instance, the plan of the Reich's Finance Minister Dietrich who has openly declared himself in favour of granting the milliards of Marks now expended in unemployment support to the employers in the form of extra wage grants.

The new schemes are directed in particular against the working women and the working youth. Recently there have been frequent cases where the authorities of the labour exchanges have refused to grant unemployment support to married women, even where such women have previously paid their unemployment insurance contributions regularly. A proposal of the employers brought into the Reichstag by the German People's Party demands that on principle no unemployment benefit should be granted to married women.

Young workers receive unemployment support under the unemployment insurance act only after they have passed the age of 16. They receive "crisis" support only after the age of 21. This "crisis" support is a lower rate of support paid to unemployed workers out of government funds after the support under the unemployment insurance act has been exhausted. There are plans to tighten up the provisions for young workers, and efforts are also being made to introduce a period of compulsory labour service for young workers.

The repeated worsening of the unemployment insurance scheme, the rapid growth of unemployment, the general worsening of the conditions of life of the working class as a result of wage-cuts, the increase of taxation on articles of mass consumption, the increase of rents, the increase of bus, tramway and omnibus fares, the increase of gas and electricity rates, etc., have created a favourable basis for the extension and consolidation of the organised unemployed workers movement. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade union movement there has been a steady increase from year to year in the number of unemployed workers committees, in the number of unemployed workers journals produced, in the circulation of these journals, in the number of revolutionary trade union groups and unemployed workers defence groups formed. These organs have repeatedly organised mass demonstrations, hunger-marches, etc., in order to lead ideologically and organise the struggle of the unemployed masses for bread and work. The influence of the Communist Party on the unemployed masses has risen considerably recently as shown by the Reichstag elections on the 14th September 1930. However, it must not be forgotten that the fascists, and even in part the social democrats, have succeeded in winning temporary influence on the unemployed.

However, the intensive work at present being conducted by the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition amongst the unemployed will undoubtedly dispose of this influence.

Daily meetings of the unemployed workers groups of the revolutionary trade union opposition take place in the large towns. Public meetings are also held to deal with the political significance of the International Day against Unemployment, and with the methods and forms necessary to organise the unemployed, and thus to create the preliminary conditions for carrying out powerful mass actions. At the same time lively propaganda is being conducted in the factories in support of the International Day against Unemployment.

The bourgeois and social democratic press is striving to discredit the International Day against Unemployment. As soon as the appeal of the European Communist Parties for the Day became known, the press wrote, "Moscow orders the World Revolution for the 25th February!" However, the unemployed and the factory workers in Germany will not let themselves be intimidated by this open appeal to the "Guardians of Law and Order" to break up the demonstrations on the 25th February with violence. On the International Day against Unemployment the millions of unemployed workers will march shoulder to shoulder with their employed fellow workers to lend weight to their demands.

## Unemployment in Great Britain.

By R. R. Bishop (London).

Since March 6th last year the Unemployment situation in Great Britain, as in most other capitalist countries, has grown much more acute. The number has increased from 1,583,000 to 2,636,168. In addition the Labour Government has been pursuing its plans for worsening the conditions of the unemployed and by means of the Royal Commission on Unemployment it hopes before the end of this year to be able to deprive at least a million workers of the benefit they have previously drawn.

These circumstances mean that in the first instance February 25th will be a day of struggle against the **Royal Commission**. At the same time it will be linked up with all the existing campaigns of the Communist Party, the Minority Movement, the National Unemployed Workers Movement etc.. In particular, the Charter Convention and the N.U.W.M. Conference will receive a big stimulus from the success of February 25th.

The leading body in every area to develop the agitation and conduct the demonstrations will be the **Charter Committee**, thus affording the widest possible united front character. In those areas where there is no Charter Committee in existence, the M.M. Group, the C.P. Local and the N.U.W.M. Branch are taking steps to form a united front committee for the development of the campaign.

The Campaign Committees are working out details with regard to factories, pits, labour exchanges etc. for concentration and are also arranging for the publication of special leaflets and papers, the holding of poster parades, etc. in order to widen the agitation.

Central Demonstrations are being arranged for in each area and fixed for the time when it will be possible to get the largest number of employed and unemployed workers together. Marches are also being arranged, through the industrial areas in orders to get the employed workers into the central demonstration.

In London, the Central demonstration will take place at noon on Tower Hill, a spot historic in the British Working Class Movement as the mobilising centre of the London Dockers in their gigantic struggles of twenty years ago. Four demonstrations are being arranged for the evening in the North, South, East and West of London.

The main points in the agitation, in addition to the fight against the Royal Commission, are:

For the immediate abolition of task and test work. (A scheme by which the workers are compelled to do 32 hours stone breaking or other arduous work in return for a few shillings relief.)

Free vocational training for all young workers.

No compulsory domestic service.

Immediate increase of scales of benefit.

Against the speed up and mass dismissals.

For the 7 hour day without wage reductions.

Exemption of the unemployed from the payment of rent and taxes.

Requisition of available housing and the provision of houses for the workers at working-class rents.

Instructions have been sent out to all committees reminding them that the agitation developed around this programme must be linked up with the fight against the war danger and specific attention should be paid to popularising the achievements of the Soviet Union through the Five-Year Plan, particularly the elimination of unemployment.

Preliminary demonstrations are being organised for the purpose of sending deputations to local councils and public assistance committees, demanding the granting of the points raised in the slogans. In addition the N.U.W.M. and the M.M. are issuing a pamphlet, at 1/2d. explaining the programme and the need for unity between the employed and the unemployed workers.

Provincial demonstrations are being held in Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Bradford, Leeds, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Cardiff and Liverpool and in central towns in each mining district, such as Porth and Ammanford in South Wales; Cowdenbeath and Methil in Fife, Wigan in Lancashire, Barnsley in Yorkshire etc.

The local committees in every area are doing their utmost to draw in sympathetic trade union organisations. And in London, four area conferences of all organisations participating plus delegates from sympathetic trade union branches will be held on February 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th respectively.

The leading industrial committees of the various Minority Movement sections are preparing material linking up the situation in each industry with February 25th, which material will be issued as specialised leaflets, in factory papers, and in articles in the "Daily Worker" and the "Worker".

As far as the Press campaign is concerned, it is proposed that the Daily Worker shall run a series of articles showing the effects of unemployment on the lives of the workers in the leading industrial centres.

In addition other articles will be run exposing the conditions at the test work colonies and at the various labour exchanges. Arrangements are in hand to ensure adequate **Workers Defence Force** contingents marching with all the main demonstrations. The Workers International Relief are arranging to cater for the workless in a number of the bigger demonstrations. In conclusion, whilst the campaign is hardly under way yet plans have been drawn up which if carried out should ensure a much more successful day of struggle than March 6th in 1930, which itself was a great advance on anything previously attempted in Great Britain.

## Masses Fight against Hunger in America.

By Earl Browder (New York).

\*\* More than 10,000,000 workers walk the streets of the United States unemployed, looking for work. The vast majority of them have no means of livelihood whatever. For them there is not even the miserable pittance of the governmental "dole" of some European countries. Those who are literally starving, number, with their families, somewhat approximately 30,000,000 people. This is the situation in the land of "glorious capitalist prosperity", the land of Hoover and Ford, of Dawes and Young.

Bourgeois staticians have calculated that in 1930 the workingclass of the U.S. lost more than \$ 8,000,000,000 in its collective income below that of 1929. In one year the standard of living for the workingclass as a whole declined about one-third, due to wage-cuts and unemployment, without considering the effects of speed-up and longer hours of labour.

The million-masses are still confused, but full of sullen, growing discontent and anger. In 1928 they hurraed for "Hoover and Prosperity", and elected as President the "great engineer" who promised "a Ford for every worker and a chicken in every pot" with the greatest vote ever cast in the U.S. In 1930 elections they were already disillusioned of the theories of "organized capitalism", but blindly turned to the ready demagogues of the Democratic party. In November, 1930, the signs of radicalization of the masses (so far as shown in

the elections) were still to be found only in the doubling of the Communist vote, but the smallest fraction of the total.

With the winter months, however, the crisis has plunged to new low depths. Freezing weather, hundreds of thousands of families evicted from their homes for non-payment of rent, the enormous growth of "bread lines", the insolent and brutal "charity" of the bourgeoisie, the wave of suicides of the weaker and hopeless elements, the extension of mass starvation to the countryside among millions of farmers, all have combined to create a new situation. From it is arising a new spirit among the masses, a spirit of struggle, of fight against hunger. This fighting spirit has arisen under the leadership and inspiration of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions of the Trade Union Unity League.

In the last days of December and first half of January, a wave of struggle has arisen, expressed in "hunger marches" demanding relief from local and state governments, which has extended all over the country. From New York to California, and from Minnesota to Louisiana, hunger marches took place in more than 20 cities, with a participation of about 80,000 workers organized in Unemployed Councils, affiliated to the revolutionary unions.

These hunger marches were foreseen, planned, and led by the Communists. The slogan for their organization was issued by the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of U.S.A., on November 22nd, when 180 Party workers met in New York City. Within a few weeks the movement had spread all over the country.

Already in October, the C.P. had noted the new wave of militancy, when the masses responded in thousands in Cleveland, to demonstrate outside the hall where Hoover was speaking to the American Bankers Association; in Detroit, where thousands demonstrated under C.P. leadership against the demagogue Mayor Murphy, elected on the platform of "relief for the unemployed"; in Boston, where thousands followed the Communists to protest against the convention of the American Federation of Labor which declared against unemployment insurance; and in New York, where thousands supported the Communist committee which invaded the City Hall to demand relief from the city budget commission. The movement which began in these October actions has now become general, and is passing on to a new high stage of struggle.

Central demands of the unemployed everywhere are, first, unemployment insurance at the cost of the capitalists and administered by the workers, and second, immediate relief from governmental treasuries. These general demands are further concretized on the basis of local conditions everywhere; in every town the Unemployed Councils have formulated the local and sectional demands upon the basis of the most immediate and keenly-felt needs of the workers and with their mass participation. They range all the way up from demands for better food in bread lines and more decent conditions in the "flop houses", free water, gas, and electricity for the unemployed, free milk and food for the children, abolition of eviction from homes, etc.

With the wave of hunger marches in support of these demands, has begun mass actions to seize food and shelter. In Youngstown, Toledo, Cleveland, and Chicago, masses of unemployed have invaded markets and restaurants and helped themselves to what they needed, under the slogan "Charge it to the city government". Public buildings and "charity" headquarters have been seized for shelter. Evicted workers have had their belongings forcibly returned in their houses by mass gatherings of the Unemployed Councils.

In the midst of the mass movement in the cities, began the movement among the starving farmers to seize the food needed to prevent starvation. In wide agrarian areas, especially in South and West, broad masses of farmers, sometimes a majority of whole districts, are literally starving. Pellagra, the starvation disease, is appearing in hundreds of thousands of cases. The bourgeois relief agency, the Red Cross, has boasted that it was "caring for all the needy", but even in the few areas where it has made any distribution, this has only averaged a few cents per person each week.

On January 4th occurred an incident which threw a bombshell into the bourgeois camp. In the town of England, state of Arkansas, where the bourgeoisie thought it had the starving population well in hand through the Red Cross activities, occurred an armed demonstration of 500 farmers, under the slogans:

"Our children are crying for food and we are going to get it! We are not going to let our children starve! We want food and want it now!"

This farmers' demonstration was denounced in Congress, by Hamilton Fish, head of the anti-Communist Committee, as another plot of the Reds. As a matter of fact, as it later was learned, it was actually the influence of a few stray copies of the Daily Worker, organ of the C.P., which had taught these farmers how to frighten the bourgeoisie into more adequate relief measures. The Arkansas events have enormously stimulated the entire movement of the starving millions of city and country.

To bring together all these rising local struggles into one great national demand for relief and unemployment insurance, the Unemployed Council, through its National Committee, is carrying on a mass signature collection for the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill, proposed by the Communist Party and T.U.U.L., and mass elections for a delegation to Washington on February 10th to present the demands to Congress. On that day, mass demonstrations will be held on the streets of every city in support of the delegation in Washington.

Present indications point to an outpouring of hundreds of thousands of workers, employed and unemployed, in the streets of America on February 10th.

The bourgeoisie is meeting this movement with two weapons—demagogy of the vilest sort, and violence against the vanguard of the movement unprecedented in American history. Daily arrests and clubbing of workers, torture of worker-prisoners, deportation of foreign-born workers running into the tens of thousands—all these have already become commonplace events. In Los Angeles, California, Buffalo, N.Y., and Chicago, Illinois: the police raid communist headquarters, breaking up furniture and typewriters, completely destroying everything. Meanwhile, the Fish Committee, appointed by Congress to "investigate Communist activities", held a meeting in New York of 2,000 delegates of "patriotic societies", including the leading bankers, churchmen, and American Federation of Labor, to which it reported that it will propose to Congress to outlaw the Communist Party, imprison its native-born members and deport all those born in other countries.

The capitalist programme to find a way out of the crisis, the only programme now being mentioned on all sides, was most sharply expressed before a congress of the Association for Advancement of Science, by Dr. L. W. White, of the University of Michigan, who declared:

"Capitalism needs a war now, for it would solve the two most pressing problems of the day—it would consume our excess production of commodities and it would slaughter the unemployed."

The Communist Party and T.U.U.L. is leading the workers in struggle against capitalist starvation and war. In a manifesto published in the Daily Worker and broadcasted in leaflets, the workingclass is called upon to fight. It says:

"We must fight to live, and mobilize the widest masses of unemployed and employed workers for battle at once. We must know how to fight for bread, for immediate relief in every city, and simultaneously enlist all workers and workers' organizations in a mass attack upon Congress and the bosses that own it, for permanent sustenance, for Unemployment Insurance." "Workers—into action! Into action along a front so broad and powerful as to make it possible for the starving unemployed to obtain all they need. Into the ranks of the starving jobless for steady day-to-day struggle for food, clothing, and shelter!"

Capitalism can no longer feed the masses in the United States. The masses are learning this bitter fact. They begin to struggle. They are rallying around the Communist Party. The forces of revolution are maturing in the heart of world capitalism.

"We are determined to reduce as quickly as possible the present roll of unemployment until it has come down to that margin of temporarily unemployed men, the outs and ins, which is essential to the capitalist system"

J. Ramsay MacDonald at Swansea, Friday 15. 3. 29.

## Unemployment in Belgium and the Unemployed Movement.

By F. Coenen (Brussels).

The economic crisis in Belgium is steadily increasing in extent and severity. On January 1st the stocks of coal at the pit-heads, in spite of the reduction of the number of miners and the lessening of the number of working days, reached the record figure of 2,485,190 tons, representing an increase of 90,000 tons as compared with the previous month. Within a year the number of furnaces at work has declined from 58 to 44. The production of cast iron, which in December 1929 amounted to 340,150 tons, in December 1930 amounted to only 270,520 tons. In the same months the production of crude steel sank from 312,540 tons, to 264,730 tons, that of finished steel from 283,780 tons to 221,166 tons. The crisis in the textile industry has resulted in nearly all workers in this industry being placed on short time or rendered completely unemployed. The diamond industry in Antwerp is completely at a standstill. The brick works, stone quarries, the building industry, the footwear industry and the docks etc. are suffering from an ever increasing crisis.

For the rest, the official figures of registered unemployed, which include only those workers who are insured against unemployment, show for November 1930 not only a great increase in the number of unemployed but also in the number of lost working days. In August 1930, out of 630,000 members of unemployment insurance organisations, 19,242 were completely unemployed and 51,710 were on short time. In November these figures were 38,973 and 76,043 respectively, with 492 lost days every week per 1000 insured worker as compared with 310 in August. The provisional figures for December indicate a further increase of 60 per cent. compared with November. The number of completely unemployed workers has increased to 63,585 and that of the short time workers to 117,167. Thus, the number of completely unemployed amounts to about 9.3 per cent. of the insured workers and the number of short time workers to 17 per cent. In December the number of lost working days amounted to 2,168,813, and has increased from 8.2 per cent. in November to 11.25 per cent. in December per week per 1000 insured. If we add to this number the uninsured workers we arrive at a total number of over 350,000 unemployed.

The government, the provincial and municipal authorities refuse to grant any support whatever to the unorganised workers. The reformist leaders make it their boast that share the same "opinion". As regards the organised workers, the reformist leaders are endeavouring with all means, including the weapon of starvation, to prevent them from taking part in the fights for increased unemployment benefit organised by the revolutionary trade union opposition and the Communist Party of Belgium. The employers are taking advantage of this crisis in order to put through numerous wage cuts, and the reformist trade union leaders are offering no resistance to these wage reductions.

There is no compulsory unemployment insurance in Belgium. An unemployed worker is entitled to unemployment benefit only if he is a member of a trade union or professional unemployment insurance fund and even then he can claim unemployment benefit only if he has been insured for at least six months. Formerly the qualifying period was one year, but this has just been reduced to six months as a result of an agreement between the government and the social democratic and christian-democratic trade unions. This measure was carried out in order to allay the indignation of the unemployed in the labour organisations, whose leaders are in the service of the capitalist regime. In face of the economic crisis which is throwing hundreds of fresh proletarians on to the street every day, this measure is of little or no effect.

In view of the great extent of the unemployment and the deepening of the crisis the fight of the unemployed in connection with the fight of the workers in the factories against wage reductions is becoming the most urgent of all the workers' fights in the country.

This fight is bound to encounter the fierce resistance of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys in the labour movement. In Antwerp and Brussels the unemployed demonstrations organised by the red trade union opposition and the Communist Party have developed into street fights against the

police, who have proceeded in the most brutal manner. But in the course of these fights the unemployed defended themselves with so much energy that the police were compelled to retreat, and it was only with drawn revolvers and after having received reinforcements that they were able to recapture the streets. Both in Antwerp and Brussels the social democratic leaders are conducting a campaign of incitement against the Communist "provocateurs".

The action undertaken by the R.T.U.O. in support of the demands of the unemployed is in accordance with their immediate needs and requirements. The R.T.U.O. is demanding unemployment benefit equivalent to the amount of wages for all unemployed at the cost of the public bodies and the employers and under the administration of the workers, and has also put forward the following programme of **immediate demands**:

- 1) Unemployment benefit amounting to 10 Francs per day with an additional 5 Francs for the wife and 3 Francs for every child, this sum to be paid by the State to every unemployed worker without any waiting period or any deduction, whether the unemployed worker is organised in a trade union or not or whether he is a Belgian or foreigner.
- 2) 8 Francs per day to be paid by the provincial authorities.
- 3) 8 Francs per day to be paid by the municipality; payment of rent and light and supply of 10 kilogrammes of coal per day.
- 4) The unemployed to be exempt from all taxes.
- 5) Payment of 3/4ths of the benefit paid to adults to the young people under 18.

On the basis of this programme **Unemployed Committees** have been set up in **Brussels, Antwerp and Verviers**. Numerous meetings were held at the Labour Exchanges, whereupon meetings have been prohibited at the instigation of the trade union leaders.

The results of the activity of the red trade union opposition and the Communist Party among the unemployed are, however, inadequate. In preparation for International Fighting Day against Unemployment on February 25 considerable efforts have been made in order to prepare the fight in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges by creating the necessary and suitable organisations for this fight. District conferences of various branches of industry are in course of preparation in order to unite the action of the unemployed and of the workers in the factories. One of the means for the success of this conference is the sending of delegations of unemployed to the workers in the factories. The programmatic basis for this mobilisation of workers is the "**National List of Workers Demands**", which has been drawn up by the R.T.U.O. and is to be supplemented by a list of demands of all workers organisations.

Street demonstrations are to be held in **Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Lutich, Verviers, Saraing, Charleroi and South Flanders**.

The Draft of an Unemployment Bill, which is directed against the whole policy of the bourgeoisie and of the social democrats, is to be submitted to Parliament. The 25th of February must mark a decided turn of the C. P. and of the R.T.U.O. to the masses and their transformation into fighting organisations of the working class.

## Unemployment Demonstrations in Poland.

Warsaw, 2nd February 1931.

Violent unemployment demonstrations, collisions and even loss of life are becoming daily events in fascist Poland. 800 workers demonstrated in Radion yesterday. Foodstuffs were taken from several bakeries etc. The police dispersed the demonstrators and a number of workers were injured.

The Metal works in Bielsk have introduced short-time work. Only two full days a week are being worked. Dismissals are taking place in a series of industrial districts. Lively meetings have taken place in Lodz where mass dismissals have been carried out by the textile employers. Strikes are proceeding in a number of factories and wild collisions have occurred. Repeated demonstrations of unemployed workers have taken place in Cracow. The police broke up a demonstration in front of the Town Hall. Many workers were injured. The police made mass arrests.

## Germany

# The Tasks of the C. P. of Germany in the Fight against National and Social Fascism.

By Ernst Thälmann.

(From the Speech Delivered at the last Meeting of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany.)

### The Problem of the Fascist Dictatorship.

The diverse roles played by social fascism on the hand and fascism on the other and their relations to one another are of the very greatest importance for the fascist development in Germany.

We see in the first place the alternative employment of these two forces by finance capital as is shown on the one side in the Prussian government of the S.P. of Germany, and on the other side in the Thuringian and Braunschweig governments of the Nazis. Not only has the policy of the social democrats prepared the way for the Nazis, but the present role of social fascism is formally that of auxiliary police of fascism. When "for instance, the social democracy forms the Parliamentary buttress of the Brüning government, by this support, which is alleged to prevent a Hitler Government from coming into power, social democracy in reality gives the Nazis a certain amount of manoeuvring room, so that the latter is able by means of a sham opposition to acquire a broad mass basis. The most important feature of the present role of social fascism is its extra-parliamentary support of the Brüning dictatorship with the aid of the reformist trade unions in the carrying out of wage-cuts and cutting down of social services. On the other hand, the Nazis in all questions of foreign policy, but partly also in home policy, represent the most important extra-Parliamentary mass basis for the bourgeoisie in carrying out the fascist policy. The best example of this is the role played by Göbbels in bringing about the prohibition of the Remarque film "All quiet on the Western Front!"

With the growing revolutionary situation there also increases the importance of the armed counter-revolution as a mass movement of the bourgeoisie; but only the Nazis and not the social democracy can perform this role. Even during the Noske period the armed counter-revolution, although politically set up and led by the majority social democrats, was in fact carried out not by the social democratic organisations, but by the volunteer corps, the germ cells of the present day Nazi Party. Thus, with the aggravation of the class struggle and, on the other hand, the constant decline of the mass influence of the S.P. of Germany, the role of the Nazis increases.

Without doubt the above facts regarding the fascisation constitute a new, higher phase compared with that state of development which existed in the first period of the Brüning government after the S.P. had been kicked out.

What is the class significance of the term, fascist dictatorship? There is no doubt that, just as under bourgeois democracy, it is the dictatorship of finance capital, thus not the class content changes, but the methods of rule, so far as bourgeois democracy is replaced by fascist dictatorship . . .

The Programme of the Communist International does not envisage a state of affairs in which the bourgeoisie is already ruling with fascist methods while the fascist mass party is still outside the government, and in fact carries on a sham opposition. Finally, it is obvious that in industrial Germany, with its huge working class and strong Communist Party, there are serious obstacles to the full development of the fascist rule.

Therefore, in Germany we have a state of affairs of a ripening, even if not yet fully ripened, fascist dictatorship. The Brüning government in its present stage of development is the government for the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship. Against this government and all its auxiliary forces we must conduct the fiercest fight of the masses.

### The Slogan of the People's Revolution and of the Mass Fight against Fascism.

The mass fight against the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship is today the central slogan of action. Here we must contest every step, every inch of ground which fascism wishes

to capture, and defend the economic and political rights of the working class.

In the present situation, when we see tendencies arising of a revolutionary crisis in Germany, but all the conditions of this revolutionary crisis are not yet to hand, the slogan of the people's revolution cannot be employed as an immediate slogan of action. Today the slogan of the people's revolution is a **central, rallying propaganda slogan**, the main **strategic goal** to which we are leading and rallying the masses on the line of our emancipation programme. It is obvious that, with the revolutionary development a propaganda slogan can become an immediate political task.

The slogan of the people's revolution is exclusively a synonym of the proletarian revolution, a popular formulation which includes the teachings of Lenin that the proletariat, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, must win over the toilers in town and country as its allies. What does Lenin say regarding the people's revolution? In his article, written in 1905, "Two Tactics of the Social Democracy in a democratic Revolution", we read:

"Whoever limits the proletarian tasks during the democratic-bourgeois revolution, converts the social democrats from leaders of the people's revolution into leaders of a free trade union. Yes, the people's revolution. The social democracy fought and fights with full right against the bourgeois abuse of the term people... It does not divide the people into classes so that the progressive class isolates itself, but in order that the progressive class, without suffering from the half-heartedness, the flabbiness and irresolution of the intermediate classes, fights with all the greater energy, with all the greater enthusiasm at the head of the whole people for the cause of the whole people."

Thus, the people's revolution, as the main strategic slogan, brings with it the obligation to draw the toiling middle classes into the revolutionary front with determined initiative. This applies to the small middle peasants, to the town middle class and not least to work among the employees and officials.

### Our Policy and the Tasks of the Party.

In the present situation the main danger of deviations is of course **Right opportunism**. Any weakening of our mass struggle, any lack of tempo with regard to the revolutionary development, any underestimation of the revolutionary perspectives would be a most serious political mistake. But there are also other mistakes which become dangerous to the Party. If for example, the Party should permit exaggerations in the setting of tasks this could lead to our falling into the provocative plans of the bourgeoisie and the social democracy and allowing ourselves to be provoked into a premature fight. Such exaggerations are to be seen in the article by Comrade Sepp in the "Internationale", which at the conclusion contains serious exaggerations regarding the organisational forms of our fight. In this connection there are expressed certain views demanding already now the creation of a political delegate movement, to a certain extent in the sense of embryonic Soviets.

What is the real aim of our new **united front organs** against fascism? We have a great wave of anti-fascist fighting determination far beyond the confines of the Party. Here there exist the most favourable prerequisites for the proletarian united front. We have as the most important united front organs in the factories the factory defence units of the Fighting League Against Fascism. Further we have the Youth Defence Corps and the unemployed workers' defence corps at the Labour Exchanges. In order to push beyond the confines of the Fighting League against Fascism in mobilising the masses for the anti-fascist front, and also in undermining the fascist front, we are raising the question of election of

delegates to anti-fascist delegate conferences and the task of forming at these conferences local and district committees of action against fascism. Instead of really developing and extending these organs, there are comrades who wish to set up new organs. It is clear that the Party cannot pursue this course. Another question is the necessity of carrying out a decisive **change to offensive tactics** in mobilising the masses against the terrorist acts of the national socialists. There must now be no act of terror of the national socialist murderers without the working class replying everywhere and at once with the offensive mass struggle.

#### United Front Policy and the Fight for Winning the Workers.

When we consider the **united front policy** as a most important means of winning the majority of the working class, we must remember the various vacillations and deviations which have existed in our ranks with regard to this question. Following the Ruth Fischer period, great progress was made as a result of the Open Letter from the E.C.C.I. in 1925. Later the conciliators attempted to shift the main weight of the united front policy from below and to revise the line of the Essen Party Congress. **Ewert's** way of putting the question "Compel the bureaucrats" — is on the same line. Later, in the Spring of last year, in our discussions with Comrade **Merker**, it was necessary to combat the opposite error, namely, failure to understand the methods of winning the social democratic workers. Even in our own circle differences of opinion arose at that time regarding the passage of the resolution of our March Plenum 1930, according to which we must distinguish "between the counter-revolutionary leadership of the social democratic party of Germany, the lower factory functionaries and the rank and file social democratic factory and unemployed workers." Today this is a matter of course to everybody. But also in regard to the united front policy with the social democratic workers we perceive the complete crisis of the reformist theory. On the other hand, among the membership of the S.P.G. and the social democratic youth there are numerous signs of an **inner ferment, disintegration and rebellion**. Therefore, today we set up a bold task: **liquidation of the mass influence of the social democratic party of Germany and liquidation of the Socialist Working Youth altogether.**

With the accentuation of the class situation, with the existence of elements of a revolutionary crisis we must consider what we must do in order to drive forward the revolutionary development. It is clear that the main enemy of the proletariat in the class struggle is fascism, but at the same time the chief obstacle to the proletarian revolution in the camp of the working class is the social democratic party of Germany. The great importance of the election victory on 14th September was that at that time we managed to penetrate into the camp of reformism and to win about a million votes from the S.P. of Germany. The social democracy today is losing more and more its political prestige. With the shrinkage of the labour aristocratic basis of reformism there is taking place the **constant historical decline of the social democratic party of Germany**. Here we must continue the offensive already successfully begun and win over further millions of social democratic workers.

The best prerequisite for our fight of principle against the social democratic party is the theoretical crisis of the social democracy and the II. International.

Whilst Marx laid down the "general law of capitalist accumulation", according to which "accumulation of capital coincides with the accumulation of misery", the social democratic theoreticians have pronounced this Marxist law to be untenable. They declared that capitalist rationalisation must be supported with all the forces of the working class: in fact that it is one of the central tasks of the trade unions, as rationalisation would bring benefit to the workers. In addition, there was substituted for the Marxist theory of wages the so-called Tarnow wage theory of the alleged advantage to capitalism of high wages, and finally the famous economic democracy as the "way to Socialism".

At the last Party Conference of the S.P. of Germany at Magdeburg, Hilferding designated Parliamentarism as "the only way to the realisation of Socialism", and therefore demanded sacrifices, "no matter how great they might be", for the retention of Parliamentarism. Naturally, along with this theory there was given the justification for the coalition policy, in as much as coalition governments represented the necessary transition to Socialism.

What is there left of this entire theoretical structure? Rationalisation, instead of well-being and prosperity, has brought mass misery and millions of unemployed. Finally, in regard to coalition policy, the social democratic workers can no longer shut their eyes to the fact that the coalition governments simply prepare the way for fascism.

The whole theoretical crisis of the II. International, its ideological rottenness and counter-revolutionary corruption is expressed most clearly in its attitude to the Soviet Union. Let us take **Herr Kautsky** for example. In spite of the fact that he is no longer taken seriously even by his own friends, he ventured a few months ago to publish a book, "Bolshevism in a Blind alley". This book is a unique document of anti-Bolshevist war incitement in the service of imperialism. Herr Kautsky calls so openly for the violent overthrow of the Soviet Power, that even such sworn enemies of the proletariat, such counter-revolutionaries as the Menshevik leader **Abramovitch**, repudiate him, for demagogic reasons. In the January number of the "Gesellschaft" (Hilferding's monthly organ), in an article, "Social democracy and Bolshevism", Kautsky replies to the criticism of Abramovitch and Dan. He states:

"Is it possible for anything worse to come in place of the hell which present-day Soviet Russia represents? Can an overthrow of the dictatorship bring anything else than an alleviation of the hell, or at least increased freedom of movement? I at least am incapable of imagining anything more frightful than the present state of affairs in Russia. I find it very painful when the vehemence of our attack against the unbearable horrors of the dictatorship is weakened by the fear that something worse could follow if the dictatorship were overthrown..."

As against this counter-revolutionary degeneration of the leaders there is proceeding the radicalisation of the masses. What are the main symptoms to be recorded in this respect? There is the participation of the social democratic workers and also of the lower functionaries in the economic fights side by side with the Red Trade union Opposition. Secondly, we have to record the antifascist fighting will among the social democratic workers. In small localities and also in the big towns whole branches of the social democratic party, and sometimes even of the Reichsbanner, approach our comrades and the comrades of the League against Fascism with a view to conducting a common fight against the Nazis.

Of course in this connection our **strategic turn** has served to arouse the masses. A third decisive factor is the first organisational forms of group formations in the social democratic party of Germany. In Breslau, we have the Socialist Fighting League, whole groups, in which Comrade **Müller**, who has now come over to us, plays a role. In the Ruhr district we have the newspaper "Roter Kämpfer", which appears illegally and round which various groups in the country have been formed. Finally, we have in Berlin the affair with the Young Stewards, which the socialist working youth have organised, in which it came to a severe conflict with the Reichsbanner and the district committee of the Socialist party. In general the situation in the Socialist Working Youth is so far advanced that in many cases whole branches have come over to us. From the standpoint of the proletarian revolution the chief danger now would be the formation of a new independent social democratic party, upon which the Brandler people are speculating.

The chief thing is that we must no longer leave the oppositionally minded social democratic workers to themselves. We must carry out a turn to mass discussion. The slogans: no S.P.G. meeting without Communist Party speakers!, and no meeting of members of the S.P.G. without its being influenced by the Communists! must in all circumstances be carried out.

#### The Fight Against the Hitler Party.

Let us make a brief survey of the policy of the Hitler Party in the last few months: their betrayal in the matter of the Young Plan, their approval of the League of Nations policy, their servility to Mussolini, their anti-Soviet incitement (which is tantamount to supporting Pilsudski's Poland and rendering mercenary service to world finance capital!) their support of capitalism and private property, their incitement against the strikes of the workers, and finally their fight against Bolshevism.

On the basis of this policy it must be possible for us to force a huge breach in the front of national socialism. It is

our task to prevent any penetration of the national socialists into the working class, and to wrest from them the anti-capitalist workers, employees and middle classes who at present support them. Here it is necessary to carry out a determined turn.

We must show that we are the party which is able to realise the national emancipation of the German people without a war of conquest, without the oppression of foreign peoples, by the proletarian revolution. They, the national socialists, are the party of revenge, while we are the party of peace! We are carrying on the fight against the imperialist oppression of the minorities, be it in Pilsudski's Poland, Mussolini's Italy or in France: but we are conducting it together with the Polish, Italian and French workers. We need only call to mind the example of the courageous action of our Comrade **Tunkel**, who, as a German Communist member of the Prussian Diet, went to Polish Upper Silesia and there addressed the workers in dozen of pits. On the line of this policy, with the weapon of our programme of freedom which we must popularise again and again, we will beat the fascists and wrest hundreds of thousands of supporters from them.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### In the Footsteps of Lenin.

(Taken from the "Pravda" 21. 1. 31.)

"We need new parties, other parties. We need parties which are in constant and practical touch with the masses, parties which are capable of leading these masses . . ."

This was the general historical contention of Lenin at the second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 when he spoke in favour of the 21 points which were to become the conditions for admission into the Communist International. At that time the Communist International was in process of formation. The Communist Parties were essentially nothing more than organisations for the conduct of agitation. They had not yet become bolshevist organisations. More than a year later Lenin wrote in his well-known, "Letter to the German Comrades" the following:

"In most countries our parties are far away from being what real Communist Parties should be, what the real advance guard of a really revolutionary and unitedly revolutionary class should be, organisations in which every single member takes a part in the struggle, in the movement, in the daily life of the masses."

In order that these parties should develop into real Communist Parties it is necessary that they should free themselves from all extraneous, petty-bourgeois, vacillating and opportunist elements; it is necessary that they should find direct paths of approach to the proletarian masses, in order that when the movement of the masses grows they shall be able to organise it and to place themselves at its head. This is the fundamental preliminary condition for the winning of the majority of the working class.

A year of world economic crisis and the development of the crisis in a number of countries into a political crisis, have caused great alterations in the situation of the capitalist world. The "third period", the period of the collapse of the capitalist stabilisation and the development of a new revolutionary wave, has entered into a new phase.

1931 began under the conditions of gigantic, developing economic struggles after a year of comparative calm. The third period began with mass struggles (the lock-out in the Ruhr district, the General Strike in Lodz, the General Strike of the textile workers in Northern France, etc.) and in these struggles the first tendencies showed themselves towards a new revolutionary wave and a counter-attack on the part of the proletariat. The beginning of world economic crisis made the workers more or less cautious in their economic struggles on account of the mass dismissals and the first impression which the offensive of capitalism made upon the working class. The present economic struggles, however, are a direct struggle for the initiative between attacking capitalism and the proletariat which is rallying for an active counter-attack. A clear example of such a struggle is offered by the strike of the miners in the

Ruhr district. In this instance the working class, under the exclusive leadership of the revolutionary trade union opposition, adopted a preventive general attack for the first time during the last six or seven years, by declaring the strike before the expiry of the term set by the employers for the beginning of the lock-out. During the next two months wage agreements affecting 3,5 million workers will expire. The whole of the workers employed by the metallurgical industry in the Lower Rhine-land district, 200,000 metal workers in Saxony, 500,000 textile workers are face to face with wage struggles (sections of these workers are already out). 150,000 railwaymen are threatened with dismissal. Wage agreements affecting 350,000 chemical workers are about to expire. And finally there is the struggle of the miners in the Ruhr district and in Upper Silesia, which is by no means at an end.

150,000 miners are conducting an obstinate strike struggle in South Wales. A section of the textile workers in Lancashire is already on strike. 250,000 textile workers are locked out in Great Britain. The railway companies have made such oppressive demands for wage-cuts that severe economic struggles must occur.

In Czechoslovakia great economic struggles in the metallurgical and the coalmining industries are developing. The same is true of Poland; in the Dombrova Basin and in Upper Silesia.

The special characteristic of the new stage in the forward development of the activity of the working class is the increasing unification of the two streams of the movement, the movement of the employed workers and the unemployed workers movement. This fact has received too little consideration from the Communist Parties up to the present. However, it is one of the most important happenings in the class struggle in the present historical stage.

It is a completely new phenomenon that in times of economic struggles the unemployed workers fight shoulder to shoulder with their employed fellow workers. It is an indisputable historical phenomenon that in Germany there were no unemployed strikebreakers in the recent important economic struggles. However, it must not be forgotten that the situation is not so favourable with regard to the mobilisation of the employed workers for a struggle on behalf of the demands of the unemployed. The campaign for the International Day against Unemployment on the 6th March last year showed this very clearly. The fact must be registered that the Communist Parties are not yet clear enough concerning the significance of this problem and the necessity of enlarging the united front basis from below.

The process of a strike movement in the present period has a qualitatively different character from that in the previous period. The active participation of the unemployed workers and of the working class women, and the active sympathy expressed by the petty-bourgeois elements in town and country (the shopkeepers, tradesmen and poor peasants, etc.) gives the strike struggle in the present period — as for instance in the strike of the 140,000 metal workers in Berlin — the character of a "general people's movement which transfers to the proletariat the whole force of its opposition to the regime" (Lenin).

Therefore the problem of the political mass strike becomes the central tactical question, which according to Lenin, is simultaneously the expression of and the condition for the development of the proletarian struggle into a "general people's movement".

An abstract and purely schematic interpretation of the process of development of a mass strike would be very dangerous. The denial of the fact that the economic crisis is developing into a political crisis inevitably leads to a failure to understand the place of the political mass strike in the system of the class struggle in the present stage. On the other hand, the overestimation of the rate of development by the Communist Parties brings with it another danger, namely that the political mass strike is regarded as the only and chief form of the class struggle in general. Such errors have already been made in a number of Communist Parties. The danger is that both the significance of the armed insurrection, which is the natural and chief stage of the revolutionary class struggle, and the commencing point of the development of the political mass strike itself are ignored. These are the errors pointed out by Lenin in his struggle against the mensheviks and also in his polemic against Rosa Luxemburg.

From all this can be seen what place the partial demands must take in the present stage of the class struggle. The role of these partial demands varies of course according to the varied development of the crisis in the various countries. The struggle for partial demands is the most important tactical question in those countries in which the economic crisis has not yet developed into a political crisis. The experiences of the last two years have shown that despite the radicalisation of the masses everywhere, a number of the Communist Parties in the most important capitalist countries have not yet succeeded in their practical work in changing their course decidedly towards the masses. In **Great Britain**, for instance, the Communist Party had not succeeded by the middle of 1930 in coming out of its isolation, despite the political progress made by the party since its last congress in Leeds in December 1929 which seriously took up for the first time the problem of carrying out the policy of the ninth plenary session of the Executive Committee of the C.I. (Tactic: class against class). This was shown in particular by the economic struggles of last year (Bradford). It is also shown in the continuous fall in the membership figures of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League, in Great Britain. It was in order to alter this situation that the C.P.G.B. opened up the campaign for the Workers Charter in the second half of 1930. This campaign has already brought the party a number of positive successes with regard to the change of course towards the masses. The party succeeded in improving the bad situation with regard to the trade union work; special committees of action for the Workers Charter were formed; and a considerable number (although by no means sufficient) of signatures of workers in favour of the Workers Charter were collected.

Up to the middle of 1930 the work of the Communist Party of **Czechoslovakia** was of a propagandist character. The party, which was experiencing a crisis at the time of the Hais putsch in the red trade unions and the struggle against the right-wing renegades under Jilek, was unable, although it emerged quickly and successfully from the crisis, to recover quickly its former, rather broad, connection with the masses, on a new bolshevist basis. As a result of a number of sectarian slogans, such as, a refusal "on principle" to carry out the Ghent system, the ignoring of the qualified workers as a thoroughly reactionary mass, etc., the party was even threatened with a certain severance from the masses. Under the leadership of the C.I. the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took up a decided policy in the second half of 1930 in favour of the struggle for partial demands. The party is already able to register a number of successes in this connection, for instance in the numerous shop council elections recently, in the unprecedented vigour of the unemployed workers movement, which is organised and led by the party, in the great victory won by the party in the Prague co-operative society election, etc.

The revolutionary character of the partial demands consists in freeing the struggle for the demands of the masses from a series of reformist illusions and from the reformist hangers-on. In his well-known article entitled, "The English Ten Hour Day Bill", **Engels** wrote that this Bill not only satisfied certain physical necessities of the workers, because to a certain extent it protected their health against the merciless exploitation at the hands of the factory owners, but that it also freed them from the company of sentimental dreamers and from solidarity with all the reactionary classes in England.

**Lenin** stressed frequently and systematically the general character of the struggle for partial demands, and the necessity for a close connection between this struggle and the struggle for the main revolutionary demands and slogans. ("Left-wing Communism, an infantile sickness", "The Economic and the Political Strike", etc.)

"To neglect the daily demands and daily struggles of the workers is just as impermissible as to limit the activity of the party to these alone. It is the task of the party to lead the working class in the revolutionary struggle for power, beginning with the daily needs of the workers." (Programme of the Communist International.)

In the struggle for the Workers Charter in Great Britain a tendency made itself felt to separate this struggle artificially from the revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party as a whole and even (what is particularly important at the present moment) from the economic struggles of the C.P.G.B. For instance, in October 1930 the Workers Charter conference took place in South Wales at a time when a great and acute econo-

mic struggle was developing there. However, the conference completely ignored this question as though the Workers Charter was something quite isolated from the struggle of the proletariat of Great Britain as a whole.

All these factors put the problem of the methods and forms of the organisation of the **united front from below** in a new light for us. All the tactical questions mentioned serve this main aim, the winning of broad masses of the workers from below as the immediate preliminary to the conquest of power by the working class. The objective preliminary conditions for this are present. We have a symptomatic phenomenon of great historical importance taking place within German social-fascism: the elementary resistance of the working class youth and in part even of the adult workers of the lower strata of the German social democracy, a resistance which reflects the wish of the working masses for an active revolutionary struggle against fascism. It was not without reason that Otto Wels was compelled to declare that it would be better to expel 3,000 members from the Social Democratic Party now than 30,000 in the near future. Such phenomena occur not only in the German social democracy, although elsewhere their form is not so clearly defined. In Czechoslovakia a demonstration organised by the National Fascists against the Soviet Union developed unexpectedly for its organisers into a powerful demonstration for the defence of the Soviet Union. Even in Great Britain the Communist Party is succeeding in establishing new connections with the youth guilds of the Independent Labour Party.

Under these circumstances the Communist Parties must rid themselves of all remnants of the supercilious attitude towards social democratic workers as "little Zoergiebels" (Such cases even occurred during the recent strike of the Berlin metal workers). Still further, the Communist Parties must make energetic efforts to win also the christian and even the fascist workers. The workers who support the fascists have been deceived by the social demagogy of the fascist movement and have not yet succeeded in finding the way to the communist advance guard of the working class. The Communist Parties must themselves find the way to these workers.

In this respect the Communist Party of Germany gave a good example of a correct united front tactic in connection with the burial of two workers murdered by the fascists in Berlin when the party succeeded in giving the funeral procession a revolutionary character and demonstrating to the Berlin proletariat that the Communist Party alone is the organiser of the struggle against fascism. In the struggle for command of the street, this action was very important in view of the fact a few weeks ago the fascists succeeded in taking command of the street for a while when they demonstrated against the film, "All quiet on the Western Front".

These are the most important tactical problems of the Communist Parties in the present historical stage. The task of the change from propaganda to organisation, which was laid down by the 10th plenary session of the E. C. of the C. I. and mentioned also in the report of the delegation of the C. P. of the Soviet Union in the E. C. of the C. I. to the sixteenth party congress, has entered into a new stage. The development into a higher stage of the class struggle of the proletariat, and the acute intensification of class contradictions in the whole of the capitalist world dictate not only propaganda, but also a speedy practical carrying out of this transformation.

"In order to support and extend the movement of the masses", wrote Lenin in his article, "The Revolutionary Advance" published at the beginning of the new revolutionary wave in Czarist Russia in 1912, "organisation and again organisation is necessary. In our work to support and extend the action of the masses we must seriously consider the experiences of 1905 and explain the necessity and inevitability of the insurrection. At the same time, however, we must warn the masses against precipitate attempts of this kind and hold them back from such attempts. The growth of the mass strikes, the drawing of other classes into the struggle, the situation of the organisation, the spirit of the masses—all these things point to the moment when all forces must be mobilised for a joint, decisive, offensive and recklessly heroic attack of the revolution against the Czarist monarchy."

The Communist International is preparing the world proletariat for the decisive struggle under these slogans of Lenin and along the path laid down by him for the building up and the bolshevisation of the Communist Parties.

## Comrade Voroshilov 50 Years Old.

Moscow, 30th January 1931.

On the 5th February 1931 Comrade Voroshilov, the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, will be fifty years old. Comrade Voroshilov was a mechanic and knew nothing of military affairs, knew nothing of military strategy and tactics, but he rose to be the leader of the victorious workers and peasants army of the Soviet Union.

One of the workers who fought under Voroshilov during the darkest days of the civil war, Comrade Strokatenko tells how he arrived in Pyatichatki and was received by Comrade Voroshilov. "Comrade Voroshilov ordered me to take over the command of a detachment and attack the cossack Ataman Grigoriev and his troops. I was in a quandary and objected to his orders. 'How on earth shall I take command of a detachment,' I asked. 'I do not know anything about it.' Whereupon Voroshilov shouted at me: 'Am I a General because I'm commanding an army? Go and do it, it's enough that you come from the Don Basin.'"

It was this invincible confidence in the power of the revolutionary proletariat that replaced for Voroshilov the Military Academy and made him the leader of the Red Army of workers and peasants. He comes from a purely proletarian family and at the age of 7 years he went out to earn his living. He became a mechanic. The factories of Altchevo, Yuryevo and Lugansk were his schools. Intense exploitation was the order of the day. It was not long before Comrade Voroshilov came into the working class movement and as a young man he was the leader of a series of strikes. In 1899 he organised a strike of the cranes and mechanics in the Yuryevo foundries, and from that time on he was constantly under police supervision.

In 1903 Comrade Klim Voroshilov joined the Bolshevik Party and the second schooling began and turned him into an iron revolutionary, trustworthy in all situations. During the 1905 revolution Voroshilov was in Lugansk. The 24 year old worker became one of the recognised leaders of his class. He was elected chairman of the delegate meeting of the workshops which then developed into the first Soviet of Lugansk. The strike movement swept through the Lugansk district. Voroshilov was its leader.

In 1906 Voroshilov met Lenin at the Stockholm Party Congress. In the years of the reaction following on the 1905 revolution Voroshilov experienced banishment, flight and illegal revolutionary work in Baku and Petersburg. He was imprisoned and again banished. This was the career which steered him for the greater tasks he was called upon to perform as leader of the proletarian and peasant bataillons. When he took command of the revolutionary detachments in the Don district he had had 20 years of revolutionary struggle and experience. His army occupied Zaritsin (Stalingrad) and defended it against the white attacks for a whole year. Voroshilov and Comrade Stalin organised the defence.

He was always to be found at the most dangerous posts. He gave up his position as People's Commissar for the Interior in Ukraina in order to take charge of a handful of brilliant soldiers and wipe out the bands of the Ataman Grigoriev. At the head of the XIV Red Army he dealt the counter-revolution in the south one heavy blow after the other.

Voroshilov himself was constantly in the firing line. His personal courage and steadfastness fired on the men and strengthened hesitating detachments. An old comrade Rakiitin describes the taking of Novograd-Volynsk:

"The Poles had fortified Novograd-Volynsk strongly. For four days the red cavalry division battered their heads against its walls. Exhaustion and disheartenment was the result. The detachments began to waver and lose confidence. And then Comrade Voroshilov arrived and took over the V. division. His firm, clear voice, his fire and conviction gave new life to the tired soldiers. He went from detachment to detachment, from squadron to squadron, Voroshilov led the attack. The exhausted men took on a new lease of life; the hungry ones pulled in their belts, the pessimists received new courage. The charge of the V. division swept all before it and drove the Poles helter-skelter out of the town."

The civil war came to an end. The organised white armies were wiped out or driven out of the country, but banditry and revolt still delivered severe blows at the revolution. On the way from Northern Caucasia to the Polish front the red cavalry under Budionny and Voroshilov rounded up the Machnov bands

in Ukraina. After the close of the civil war the red cavalry made its headquarters in Ekaterinoslav.

In the days of the Kronstadt revolt Comrade Voroshilov crossed the frozen bosom of the Gulf of Finland with the most daring fighters. He practically led this most complicated operation. In the streets of Kronstadt he took part in the fighting as a simple fighter.

When the death of Comrade Frunze left the post of People's Commissar for the Red Army and Navy free, there was only one name mentioned—Klim Voroshilov. The victorious leader of the Red Army, the steadfast bolshevist, the unbending fighter for the Party policy became the leader of the Red Army and Navy. Under his leadership the imperialist mercenaries in the Far East have received a taste of the fighting qualities of the Red Army. Under Voroshilov's leadership the Red Army is concentrating on technical and mechanical efficiency. On the fiftieth birthday of their leader the soldiers of the workers and peasants Red Army will declare: "Should the imperialists attack us, We shall fight against them with the fierce passion of a free people. We know that we are fighting for the whole of humanity, and we know that we shall be victorious!"

## Twelfth Anniversary of Franz Mehring's Death.

Franz Mehring, the great Marxist literary critic and historian, has now been dead 12 years. Franz Mehring was not only an intellectual giant, but a man of revolutionary action. In the dark days at the beginning of the world war when the international social democracy shamefully collapsed and went over to the side of capitalism, Franz Mehring was a prominent member of that little group around Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht which held aloft the red banner of proletarian revolt whilst so many others had dragged it into the mire. In the first terrible days of 1914 he wrote together with Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Klara Zetkin, the letter to the war opponents in the Independent Labour Party. In December 1914 Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg again wrote to "The Labour Leader", the organ of the I.L.P. The letters of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are well known and have often been reprinted. Mehring's letter, a copy of which was found in his literary remains, reads as follows:

"Dear Comrades,

For a member of the German social democracy it is a difficult task to write about the solidarity of the international proletariat at the moment. It would be hypocrisy to deny that the majority of the social democratic Reichstag fraction have struck this solidarity the first and deepest, if not the only blow. The foolish excuse that the International is a weapon of peace, ineffective in war, does not help us in the least. That would be the same as saying that the most important part of a sword is the handle and not the blade.

"However, the unfavourable light in which the German social democracy now appears to the brother parties is deceptive. What is now happening is a repetition of what happened in the first year of Bismarck's anti-socialist law when the social democratic leaders lost their heads, but the masses rallied under the slogan: With our leaders if they will; without them if they remain inactive; and against them if they resist! There is already a ferment in all the great centres of the social democracy: in Berlin, in Hamburg, Leipzig and Stuttgart, and the day is not far off when the German working class will demand peace and a return to the old principles of the International. Not with empty phrases, but with the overpowering force of a will which has been steeled in the struggles of half a century.

Franz Mehring.

Berlin-Steglitz, December 1914."

Franz Mehring was one of the most persecuted socialists in Germany during the war and despite his seventy years he wandered from prison to prison. He never ceased the struggle against social imperialism and his pen was driven tirelessly in the service of the revolutionary proletariat. His prison treatment finally broke his fine constitution and he died shortly after the failure of the Spartakus struggles in Berlin in January 1919 and after the murder of his closest friends and co-operators in the revolutionary movement Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. On the 29th January 1919 his powerful voice was silenced for ever.

## India

# Resolution of the All-India Anti-Imperialist League on the General Political Situation and the Tasks of the League.

(Conclusion).

10. The Congress debacle led to a renewed offensive on the part of British imperialism which was forced to increase its pressure on the toiling masses of India on account of the post war crisis of world capitalism, characterised by tremendous shrinkage of markets, intensified inter-imperialist rivalry, growth of unemployment in capitalist countries and attacks on the standard of life of the workers in their country and consequent impetus given to the revolutionary proletarian movement. A new revolutionary force now arose in India itself, the Indian proletariat, and a great wave of mass strikes, directed both against native capitalists and British imperialism, began to sweep over the country. The most strenuous efforts of the Indian bourgeoisie to put itself at the head of the workers, organisations (foundation of the Indian Trade Union Congress under the leadership of Lajpat Rai, Chaman Lal, Baptista, etc.) could not prevent these historic mass struggles. Reformism had no social basis in India, and therefore these revolutionary struggles broke out in spite of and over the heads of the reformist bourgeois nationalist trade union leadership. Steeled by the experience of these struggles, the class conscious Indian proletariat qualified itself for the leadership of the revolution of the toiling masses of India for the overthrow of the existing predatory social system.

11. In the meanwhile on the "battlefield" of the Legislative Assembly the bourgeoisie „fought" hard for its political slogan, viz., "Summon a Round Table Conference immediately" and for its economic demands, viz., readjustment of the Rupee ratio, protection for textile, steel and other industries, monopoly of coastal traffic, etc. The weapons of this "Oppositional" bourgeoisie were walk-outs, boycott of dinner parties (not without convenient exceptions), etc. The insolent reply of British imperialism was the "all-white" Simon Commission Report on the fitness of the Indian people (i. e., those sections that stood for the maintenance of the Imperialist system), for further "doles of reforms". It was not the appointment of the Simon Commission in itself, nor the scope of its investigations, but only its "all-white" composition which galled the Indian bourgeoisie.

12. As the proletarian movement gathered momentum (political strikes against Simon Commission, Bombay Textile Strikes) British imperialism forged new weapons with the help of the bourgeois nationalists (Swarajist bloc in the Assembly) to suppress it (Trades Disputes Act). A new imperialist commission (Whitley) to put further shackles on the workers' movement was appointed, and a leading member of the Swaraj Party (Chamanlal, who is now being glorified for boycotting the Round Table Conference) not only sat (and continues to sit) on this Commission without the slightest protest from his Party, but also brought about a split in the Indian Trade Union Congress on the issue of this commission (Nagpur). The leaders of the militant workers' movement were rounded up and sent up to an obscure place under the shadow of the large military camp in India for a protracted trial (which still shows no signs of ending, though it is nearly eighteen months since it was started) on the very serious charge of conspiracy to wage against the King. The Congress Nationalists organised a sham Defence Committee which, however, they lost no time in dissolving as soon as they discovered that they could not sabotage the propaganda on behalf of the militant working class leaders. In the midst of the "law-breaking" campaign of the Congress, Motilal Nehru found it convenient and possible to defend a rich zamindar in a civil suit, but he had no time or energy to waste on the Meerut prisoners. The Congress leaders began to step forth openly as conscious strike-breakers. While Gandhi deliberately isolated the Ahmedabad textile workers from the great struggles of their Bombay comrades (1928-29), and from the movement for National Trade Union solidarity (Trade Union Congress), Jamnadas Mehta organised or put himself at the head of rival and blackleg organisations (Congress Labour Office, G.I.P. Staff Union) to break the struggles that were being fought under the leadership of the militant unions.

13. In face of the rising mass movement, the Indian bour-

geoisie had to consolidate its ranks, and the result was the All-Party Conference and the Nehru-Sapru Constitution at Calcutta. The radical petty bourgeois rank and file of the Congress was silenced with a promise that the leadership would begin the revolutionary struggle for independence, if Dominion Status was not granted within a year. The petty bourgeois masses, lacking a scientific social outlook, failed to understand that Dominion Status was only consolidation of British imperialism on a basis of co-partnership with the Indian bourgeoisie, and further that objective conditions made it impossible for British imperialism to grant and for the Indian bourgeoisie to extort even this "Dominion Status". A section of the petty bourgeoisie, however, was disillusioned about the role of the Congress leadership even at this stage, but further lacking in a scientific appreciation of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution, it broke out into futile activities of individual terrorism (Lahore trial, in which the Congress bourgeoisie objectively played the infamous role of abettors of the imperialist hangmen, refusal of Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru to demand unconditional withdrawal of trial on the plea that the accused were charged with "violence").

14. It was, therefore, only in consonance with the whole class strategy of the Indian bourgeoisie, that they should welcome the announcement of the Viceroy (November 1929) about the calling of the Round Table Conference. The subsequent tactics of the Congress bourgeoisie were decided by the rival considerations of a keen desire to negotiate with British imperialism and an equal anxiety to keep the mass movement in check (Delhi Manifesto, wrangle over the conditions of the Conference). Eleventh hour attempts to find a solution reconciling both these considerations failed, and so the Congress bourgeoisie postponed the crisis by accepting the slogan of "Complete Independence" as the "immediate goal" at Lahore.

15. The Lahore decision was a great triumph for the Congress bourgeoisie. It provided a revolutionary mask for the bourgeois leadership which ensured the loyal support of the petty bourgeois rank and file. The history of the last few months subsequent to the Lahore decision is proof of the treacherous attempts of the Congress bourgeoisie to use this mask as a cover for its negotiations to compromise with British imperialism. The Lahore decision was immediately followed by the institution of a system of dictatorship to guarantee the monopoly control of the bourgeoisie over the Congress machine. While the demonstrations of January 26, 1930, proved the eagerness of the masses for a genuine revolutionary struggle, the actual campaign was postponed till Gandhi had completed his long and slow march to the salt marshes at Dandi, and even when the campaign was instituted, the objective was only the eleven bourgeois demands of compromise and surrender which Gandhi made "on bended knees" in the letter to his "friend" the Viceroy. The methods were suited to this objective and there was on the one hand an intensification of the khaddar and swadeshi campaign (Takli processions, ladies brigade to picket bourgeois clothing depots) and on the other hand, a mad "non-violent" rush to the jails.

16. In the meanwhile, the rapidly developing economic crisis had already brought the real driving forces of the revolutionary struggle to the foreground. The G.I.P. workers came out on a General Strike against the imperialist administration in defence of their wages, and called upon all the transport workers to come out on a gigantic political strike in defence of their common interests. The nationalist Congress bourgeoisie immediately put itself at the head of this glorious struggle in order to sabotage it. In the right orthodox Gandhian manner it went on bended knees before the imperialist administration to plead for conciliation (Chamalal, Giri, Ruikar deputation to Delhi; Resolution of the Congress Working Committee at Ahmedabad supporting conciliation). But the workers repudiated and counteracted these treacherous manoeuvres. The bourgeois president of the Indian National Congress (who happened to be also an ex-president of the Trade Union Congress) was

too busy manufacturing illicit salt to give active support to the G.I.P. workers' struggle. (Jawaharlal Nehru's reply to the Open Letter of the Workers' and Peasants' Party). He refused to organise the General Strike of all transport workers. The bourgeois nationalist majority in the Trade Union Congress Executive sabotaged the preparations for a general political strike. There was a simultaneous wave of big strike struggles all over the country (jute strike in Calcutta, Kolar Gold Mines strike etc.) but they were isolated and defeated.

17. About the same time broke out the armed struggle of the peasant tribes on the North-West Frontier against the ruthless military regime of British imperialism, which they have succeeded in keeping at bay for the last several months inspite of their isolation and inspite of the rivers of blood that have flowed as the result of incessant bombing and shooting and mass massacres. At the other extreme end of the land, the youths of Chittagong carried out a successful mass raid on the British armory to secure the weapons with which alone they could fight the British imperialist monster. In every part of the land, shouting Congress slogans, yet objectively repudiating the Gandhian philosophy and tactics of the Congress, the masses rose and came into armed clash with the agents of imperialist violence. (Sholapur, Bilashi, Panvel, Junnar, etc.) While the Congress carried on a sham campaign for the non-violent confiscation of the State property (salt depots) and failed to strike even a single blow in defence of its own property (confiscation by the Government of the Congress House, etc.), the workers of Sholapur and the peasants of Kshoreganj confiscated and burnt the documents which were the symbols of their slavery and resisted their enemies with arms.

18. All these developments clearly demonstrate that while the masses are ready for a genuine revolutionary struggle against the imperialist domination it is the ideological and organisational influence of the bourgeois Congress leadership which forms the one serious obstacle in their way. As the revolutionary crisis develops on account of the growing economic pressure on the toiling masses (unemployment, standardisation scheme, mill merger, fall in agricultural prices), the bourgeois Congress leadership intensifies its campaign to strengthen its ideological hold over the masses (Congress drive among the workers, Labour Weeks in Bombay and Ahmedabad).

19. But the disillusionment of the masses is progressing rapidly. They are rapidly realising that whatever shamfight the Congress is putting up is only to serve the class interests of the capitalists and the landlords. They are realising that the bourgeois leadership of the Congress is only manoeuvring for a compromise. They know full well that no compromise with British imperialism can bring the slightest improvement in their conditions. They now understand that they cannot overthrow the system of British imperialism with the weapons of Gandhism, which are the special weapons of the Indian bourgeoisie. The workers everywhere, in Bardoli, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, etc. cannot but know this. The middle class youth everywhere, in Lahore, Chittagong, etc., cannot but know this.

20. In order to coordinate and organise the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of the workers and peasants and revolutionary youths in all parts of India, it is necessary to establish the **All-India Anti-Imperialist League**. It is only through this organ of the independent united front of the toiling masses and revolutionary youths that the tasks of the national revolution can be carried through.

21. The following are the **main tasks** of the national revolution:

a) Complete overthrow of the rule of British imperialism and ousting it from the key positions which it holds in the economic life of the country.

b) Abolition of native States and landlordism.

c) Land to the peasants, through the forcible expropriation of all exploiting interests and repudiation of all rural debts.

d) Radical change in the condition of the working class: a maximum eight hour day as a transition to seven hour day; equal pay for equal work; protection to women and young workers, social insurance, unemployment pay, etc.

e) Establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

22. The immediate organisational measures to carry through this programme must include establishment of general strike committees in every factory and shop and revolutionary peasant committees in every village, together with preparation of the masses for active resistance to the forces of counter-revolution.

23. An essential condition for the successful working out

of this revolutionary united front programme is a ruthless fight against all treacherous attempts to confuse the issues and to create counter-revolutionary illusions among the masses, especially those carried on by the Congress, and more particularly by its left wing (Jawaharlal Nehru, Subash Bose). The latest slogan of Jawaharlal Nehru to elect a Constituent Assembly (following the lead given by the Indian "Communist" Renegade M. N. Roy) is fresh proof of such attempts and emphasizes the necessity for exposing and counteracting them without mercy.

24. Two years ago a statement like the following was possible:—

"Although the class differentiation that is fast growing among the Indian people must some day inevitably lead to a struggle, the common interests of otherwise socially different groups against the imperialist oppressors is so strong that they are able to unite in a common movement for the overthrow of foreign imperialism." (Willi Münzenberg, Secretary of the League Against Imperialism, in "Anti-Imperialist Review", Vol. 1, No. 1.) The common interests of the workers, peasants and lower middle class are certainly strong enough to unite them in such a common movement, but the Indian bourgeoisie has no common interests with these anti-imperialist social groups. Its interests are common with those of British imperialism, because both are equally anxious to prevent and defeat the revolution of the toiling masses. Taking this into consideration, the position of Jawaharlal Nehru as a member of the International Executive of the League Against Imperialism and the position of the Indian National Congress as its associate body (which, however, it refused to confirm at Lahore) is certainly very anomalous.

25. The All-India Anti-Imperialist League must of course seek organisational unity with the World League Against Imperialism, because imperialism is an international phenomenon and must be fought on an international scale. In spite of inter-imperialist rivalry, the united front to world imperialism against anti-imperialist forces is a fact. Our answer to this must be the international united front of all anti-imperialist elements.

The Soviet Union, which is organised outside and in antagonism to the world imperialist system, the proletariat in every capitalist country and the toiling masses of the colonies form the main world forces of the **anti-imperialist struggle**. It is a fundamental task of the All-India Anti-Imperialist League to fight for the unity and solidarity of all these forces.

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## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Indian Emancipation Movement and Pan-Islamism.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The miserable result of the "Round Table Conference" in London, together with the new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in India itself, makes it quite clear that the question of the great fight for freedom of the Indian masses will be decided neither in the magnificent halls of St. James Palace nor in the anti-rooms of the English Ministries, but in the streets of the big towns of India, and that the fate of the Indian revolution depends upon the result of the armed fight of the masses of Indian workers and peasants. The British imperialists themselves are quite aware of this. Hence the feverish preparations to crush the Indian revolution. Hence also the attempt to erect a dam against the Indian revolutionary flood in the shape of a part of the Indian masses, i.e., the Mohammedans, and by this means to isolate the Indian revolution both from the Mohammedan masses of Indonesia and from those of the Near East.

Although at one time Panislamism, when German imperialism with the aid of the Sultan of Turkey wished to make use of it against British imperialism, appeared as a danger to the British diplomacy, today numerous British politicians are striving to get Islam in their own hands as a tool to be used against the Indian Revolution and also against the Southern Republics of the Soviet Union. This game is exceedingly dangerous, but the British government is compelled to take the risk if it wishes to check the Indian revolution.

There are many indications of the connections existing between British imperialism and leading Mohammedan circles. The support of the Islamite 'reactionary' movement against Amanullah, the former ruler of Afghanistan, against Kemal Pasha, the participation of the brothers Mohammed and Schaukat Ali in the Round Table Conference; the recall of the aged ex-king Hussein from his exile in Cyprus, the support of hide-bound clericalism in Egypt—all this shows the direction of British policy. There can also be no doubt that British imperialism had an interest in making use of the funeral of Mohammed Ali, who died during the London Conference, in order to oppose the religious aspect of Mohammedan unity to the national unity of the emancipation struggle of India.

The funeral of Mohammed Ali in Jerusalem will be attended by representatives of Mohammedans from all countries: chiefly official dignitaries, delegations of religious bodies, representatives of foreign governments etc. The Mufti of Jerusalem is to see to it that the funeral acquires a religious character, and by this means divert the attention of the masses from the political tasks. Above all the fellahin in the Mohammedan countries are to be bound more closely to the religious leaders, who in turn are influenced and corrupted by the British.

Among the masses, however, British imperialism's game with Panislamism has evoked a rather strange response. However much the religious leaders and sheiks may endeavour to push the religious question to the forefront, it is impossible to avoid the question of the national independence of India being raised, to prevent the attention of the Mohammedan masses from being turned to the fights for freedom of the Indian peoples and the cruelties of British oppression. For the masses, every demonstration is a demonstration against British imperialism. For the demonstrators who met Mohammed Ali's coffin at Port Said the event was a demonstration for Egypt's independence; while for the peasant delegations to Jerusalem the occasion was a demonstration for the emancipation of the Arab countries.

To unmask the Panislamitic intrigues and to make use of the mass demonstrations in order to convert them into demonstrations against imperialism is one of the most important solidarity tasks for the Indian revolution in those countries inhabited by Mohammedan masses and lying on the route to India. The accentuation of the economic crisis and the increasing acts of imperialist oppression against the working masses in the various Mohammedan countries facilitate this task and create the possibility of a united front of the oppressed masses in the Mohammedan countries with the Indian fight for freedom, which is a very important factor for the victorious issue of this fight.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### Max'm Gorky's Letter to the Editor of the Periodical „The Future Siberia“.

It is with great pleasure that I have learned that it is contemplated to publish in Irkutsk a periodical called, "The Future Siberia".

This is a very necessary and well-timed undertaking. In fact, I must say that it is even somewhat belated, as, generally speaking, with us provincial literature — the organiser of the cultural and revolutionary consciousness of the toiling masses — is rather late in coming into being and developing.

Such belatedness is particularly strange for Siberia, an enormous, monstrously rich region, whose soil seems to be eager to dazzle us with its untold underground wealth, with its colossal forests, and the immeasurable stores of energy of its mighty streams. There is probably no other country in the world, which, prior to the October Revolution, was studied so little as Siberia, especially its eastern part.

Now, when I follow — as much as this is possible for me — the work of the geologists, I cannot help feeling something very like gratitude for the short-sightedness of the old-time robbers who, seizing greedily everything near at hand, left untouched the wealth which was lying further and deeper.

Striking the imagination with their magnificence, fairy-like pictures are enrolled before our eyes of the future Siberia which will be created by the elemental force of Angara,

curbed and forced into service by human energy, and by the Great Northern Railway through Siberia, a railway which connect it with three oceans.

The industrialisation of west and east Siberia is one of the great economic tasks which lead us rapidly to the solution of the fundamental task: to the organisation of the whole economy of our country on a socialist basis, and subsequently and inevitably, to the full economic and spiritual emancipation of the whole mass of the workers of the world and of every individual.

We have entered an epoch which excludes entirely the old-fashioned division of the utilisation of human energy into great and small deeds. In the face of the fundamental task which history ordains us to solve, i. e., the sum total of the conditions brought into being by ourselves, in the face of such a task, there are no small deeds. What was glorified in our country, and is still glorified in Europe and America, as "a great deed"? War and profits, — cleverly organised, but senseless waste of labour power.

Who were and are considered great by the bourgeoisie? The general who was able to annihilate the largest number of soldiers and destroy the largest number of farms; the banker, capable of amassing the largest number of money tokens; the manufacturer, the merchant, the Croesus, and such-like organisers of the production of the means for the annihilation of mankind; the teacher of religion capable of cleverly befogging the minds of the people.

As small deeds were and are considered philanthropy, feeding the poor with the crumbs which fall from the tables of the rich; this feeding included also the "cultural and educational" activity of the bourgeoisie, an activity directed toward "curbing the passions", throttling the attempts of a critical mind to understand the contradictions of the shameful reality.

Our hero now is the worker, the "shock brigadier", the man who establishes "world records" in the domain of labour, as pointed out by Americans at the Dnieperstroy. Our hero is an "ordinary" man who, under difficult conditions, is constructing indefatigably and courageously his own workers' state of equals, frustrating all the intrigues of the enemies, and overcoming all obstacles.

In our reality, impregnated with struggle against the old, and construction of the new world, — in our reality, there are no small deeds; all deeds are equally great.

In order to realise this, we must look upon our routine work from the point of view of the fundamental task, and this task, as we have already said, is the establishment of a model, socialist society consisting of fully-emancipated people, outwardly and inwardly. The workers of Europe and America, when demonstrating their strength, are already shouting in the streets: "our country is the Soviet Union". This means that they know full well where one must go and what one must do so as to make the working mankind one united, comradely whole.

It is precisely from the point of view of this task that I look upon the publication of the periodical, "The Future Siberia"; to me this is a great cultural and revolutionary deed.

The editorial board is quite right in intending to give ethnographic an important place in its columns. This is essential in a country populated by about 30 different races, by people who, prior to the October Revolution, were not considered as human beings, and whose only right was the right gradually to die out. They must feel and understand that a new world is before them, not the world which rejected them, in which they lived dumb and blind, and this new world demands that they should do their share in the work of construction. Now, when they are beginning to learn to speak freely, their voices will reach more rapidly and clearly their neighbours who are still blind and dumb. In our reality, the term "equality" must have its full value, it must not be an emasculated conception such as in France and other bourgeois European states and America.

My hearty greetings to you, comrades. I wish you success in your work and I firmly believe in this success.

The Siberians are a sturdy people; they are accustomed to live with mosquitoes, and probably pay little attention to the mosquito bites of the every-day reality — to little things which create among people a frame of mind unworthy of the epoch, and frequently harmful to our cause; in any case, a frame of mind which impedes harmonious comradely work.

Greetings, M. GORKY.

Sorrento, Dec. 30, 1930.

## Proletarian Youth Movement

# The Home and Foreign Political Situation and the Tasks of the Y. C. L. of the Soviet Union.

By Kaganovitch.

From the Report Delivered at the IX. Congress of the Y. C. L. of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, the 2½ years which have elapsed since the VIII. Y. C. L. Congress were decisive for the cause of the October Revolution, for that cause for which for decades hundreds and thousands of the best of the working class fought and died.

No matter under what flag the agents of the bourgeoisie in our Party have attempted to spread their views—be it under the flag of counter-revolutionary Trotzkyism or under the flag of the Right deviation, or of the new formation in the shape of the Right-Left bloc—the Party succeeded, in a Marxist-Leninist manner, in exposing this masquerade. It has fought them successfully and defeated them.

In this fight the Y. C. L. with its C. C. stood at the head in the front ranks and showed that it knew how to fight for the line of the Party and its Leninist C. C. (Applause).

Permit me, comrades, in your name to convey to the C. C. of the Party the warmest Bolshevik greetings (Applause, cheers).

### I. ON THE PRESENT STAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORICAL STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION.

You are aware that after the death of Lenin differences of opinion arose in connection with the interpretation of the New Economic Policy. First the **Zinoviev** Opposition, and later the **Trotzkyist** bloc regarded it as a retreat, not however as a basis, as a way to a new offensive of the socialist elements against the capitalist elements, not as a way to new victories. As a result, there arose panic, disbelief in Socialism, a revival of Menshevist theories on the impossibility of building up Socialism in one country, and a cloaking of this panic with "Left" phrases. The C. C. viewed the economic policy in a Leninist manner, as only a detour for a further advance later, for a more obstinate, more tenacious fight against the capitalist elements, a fight leading to the victory of Socialism.

The Trotzkyist elements aroused unbelief in the forces of the proletariat. Unbelief that we shall understand how to concentrate our forces and push forward at the right time. The Rights wished, however, to represent the matter as if this detour-movement must be continued by us, that it was not aimed at the preparation of a new attack on the capitalist elements, but that it would go on until at last, according to the conception of Bukharin, the ideologist of Right opportunism, there would come the peaceful growing over of the kulak into Socialism. It was a way of reformism, of Liberalism. It was just in this period that there took place the fierce incitement of the Rights against the Party, against the C. C., an incitement which they conducted under the flag of an apparent defence of the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry; but in reality they defended the kulaks against the proletariat and the proletarian State.

The manoeuvre of the kulaks on the grain front was frustrated. The Party realised that grain is one of the most important factors of the further victorious advance of Socialism; it carried on indefatigable work, with the help of which it achieved decisive successes.

Lenin saw in the creation of the grain fund a basis for the development of Socialist economy. Realising the importance of the victory on the grain front, the C. C., the Party and the proletariat conducted a frontal attack against the kulaks. This frontal attack was crowned with victory. (Applause.) The clearest proof of this is the striking and exceedingly important fact that in the most difficult time, while employing extraordinary measures against the kulaks, and in spite of the resistance of the Rights, we procured 675 million poods of grain; in this year however on the basis of collective farms and Soviet estates, on the basis of the policy of the Party, we have obtained 1,263 million poods. (Loud applause.)

### The Importance of our Growth.

One of the most important and decisive signs of the growth of the socialist elements of the national economy is the relation between the socialised and the private sector of the capital fund of the country. According to the Five-Year Plan, in the year 1932/33 the socialised sector was to have amounted to 68.9 per cent. of the whole of the capital fund. The result of the first two years of the Five-Year Plan has been that the share of the socialised sector has increased from 52 per cent. in the year 1927/28 to 62 per cent. in the year 1929/30; in the year 1931 it will amount to nearly 70 per cent. (69.1 per cent.)

These figures show that the year 1931 will be the period in which we shall, in the main, fulfil the task set by Lenin—completion of the foundation of socialist economy.

We have developed an unprecedented fight for the tempo of socialist construction. In this fight the Y. C. L. was in the front ranks. The fight for the tempo means not only fight against those who attempted to retard it, i. e., not only fight against the Right deviation and the Trotzkyist elements. The fight for the tempo means also that we carry it out in practice in our daily life. The fight for the tempo has penetrated into the masses, into every factory, into every village, into every economic organisation.

The response which this work aroused in the proletarian masses assumed the form of the "counter-plan", which is an embodiment of the fight against those who wish to retard the development of the factories by pointing to the difficulties. The slogan, "Five-Year Plan in four years" set up by the masses is no empty phrase, but is the result of the experiences of the masses, of our Party, of the proletariat and of the peasantry; and we can say that we shall realise this slogan, that we shall actually realise the Five-Year Plan in four years. (Loud applause.)

### II. THE RELATION BETWEEN SOCIALISM, WHICH IS BEING BUILT UP, AND CAPITALISM; GENERAL PICTURE OF THE WORLD SITUATION.

Whilst in other countries unemployment is increasing, whilst there the misery of the masses is continually growing, with us we see an almost complete disappearance of unemployment and an increasing well-being of the masses.

In the face of our experiences, our tremendous demonstrations, our enemies are not a little astonished: we have to combat numerous difficulties; whence, then, this enthusiasm of the working class? This enthusiasm of the youth in our country? They do not realise that our workers see and know that the future belongs to them, that every day brings a new improvement with it. The workers know that all the young people who are capable of working, and whose number is growing every year, will have work; that they are not threatened by the terrible misery of the unemployed in Germany, England and America. They will have work, for they know that every month ever fresh socialist works and factories are set going.

### Improvement of the Material Situation of the Working Class.

We witness an increasing well-being of the workers families. There are numerous families in which three or four persons are working. More and more dwellings are being erected, and in the year 1931 house-building will demand an expenditure of 1,100 million roubles. The expenditure on social insurance is likewise increasing and in 1931 will amount to 2,100 million roubles. The general level of well-being of the workers, and especially of the young workers, is rising. I have endeavoured in connection with your Congress and with the help of a group of youth comrades to ascertain the budget of the income and expenditure of the working youth. Here are some typical data:

Factory "Moselectric" S. W., 18 years old, member of the Y. C. L., fitter's assistant. Has been in the factory for a year. A year ago he earned 72 Roubles a month, now 100 roubles. Attends evening technical school at the cost of the factory. Member of a family of four, three of whom are working; total monthly earning of all three, 380 roubles. (38 Pounds.) Dwelling, one middle sized room. The money goes into a common fund, with the exception of 30 roubles pocket money for contributions, cigarettes and visits to the cinematograph. Satisfied with work and earnings.

Printing Works No. 1 Book-Binding department. E. A. 18 years old, non-Party, Book-binder. Has been in the factory a year as apprentice. Six months ago his monthly salary was 30 roubles, now 75. He lives alone, pays 15 roubles for sleeping quarters. He is learning at the cost of the factory in trade training courses. Attends courses four times a week. He is a member of a building co-operative. Is able to live on his earnings as there is a good canteen in the factory and a co-operative store. His parents live in the country. Housing conditions are not particularly good at present, but he hopes soon to get a room of his own in the building co-operative.

Among the textile workers the standard of living is on a somewhat lower level. Here are a few cases from the "Treichornaya Manufacture".

Young Communist, working as stamper, on piece work. Monthly earning 90 roubles. Six months ago he was an unskilled worker. After entering the shock brigade his wages increased by 45 per cent. Gives his earnings to his mother and receives pocket money from her. Six people in his family. Besides him only the father is working, who earns 100 roubles a month. He spends his evenings in the club, in meetings, in the nucleus.

Girl pupil in the factory school for apprentices. Works in the dyeing department. Monthly pay 21 roubles. In addition receives allowances for municipal services and fares, making together 36 roubles. Has been learning for 3 months. 7 people in her family. Father working in the same factory and earning 80 roubles. She would very much like to learn textile engineering, but according to the agreement with the apprentices school must remain in the factory until the end of the Five-Year Plan, after which she will learn textile engineering. Her pay is not sufficient to keep her.

Further examples could be quoted ad lib, but these few suffice in order to show how the material well-being of our working youth is increasing. Compare these facts with the reports regarding the situation of the working youth in the West and you will see what a tremendous difference there is.

According to the reports of the E. C. of the Y. C. I., in Germany a young metal worker earns 12 to 16 marks a week; in Lodz young textile workers earn at most 16 marks a month. The French young workers earn 30 to 32 shillings a month.

In addition, one must bear in mind the wage-cuts (which in the first place affect the young) the long working day and the growing unemployment. Out of 25 million unemployed in December 1930, at least 6 million were young workers. At the same time it should be mentioned that in the United States the young workers receive no unemployment benefit whatever, and in the European countries they receive only a very meagre benefit.

According to the official figures of the German bourgeois youth League, 40 per cent. of the young workers are working ten hours a day, and 30 per cent. nine hours a day. The situation is the same in the other countries.

This comparison suffices to prove that the well-being of the workers, and especially of the youth, in our country is steadily increasing, whilst the situation of the workers in the West is becoming uninterruptedly worse. It is precisely because of our progress that the capitalists of the foreign States and the ideologists are so perturbed.

### The Growing Crisis of Capitalism.

The ten months which have elapsed since the XVI. Party Congress have completely confirmed the analysis given by the Congress of the world situation and the crisis of the capitalist countries.

Here are the figures for the first nine months of the year 1930.

The world production of pig iron (not including the U.S.S.R.) has declined by 16.1 per cent; in the United States by 21.4 per cent, and in Germany by 22.6 per cent. Steel production has

fallen off by 19.3 per cent, coal output by 8.1 per cent. In America, machine-building shows a decline of 24 per cent. and machine tools a decline of 49 per cent. The output of motor cars has decreased by 36.9 per cent in America and 38.8 per cent in Germany.

The world economic crisis has also spread to France. It is true, in that country the industrial decline is considerably less than in other countries, but the course of development of French national economy shows us that France will not escape the crisis.

We in Soviet Russia are buying new machines; we are building works and factories in order to set going new and more rapidly working machines. In America things have come to such a pass that they are prepared to place people at slower working machines, to lay idle hoisting cranes and other machines in order to employ as great a number of people as possible. We, on the other hand, want to erect new works for the construction of cranes and other means of transport. In America they no longer wish to have shorthand-typists but to have everything written by hand. We, however, are building type-writer factories and wish also to make setting machines. We are going forward to a new technique — in America, however, they are seeking to find a way out by means of technical retrogression.

You all know that the United States is a rich country, but perhaps you are not aware that in America there are people who are starving. The "Times" of 10th January writes:

"It is reported today from Arkansas that there are bread lines in seven towns in that State, including the town of England, where 500 starving farmers last Saturday threatened to loot food shops."

Conditions are particularly bad in the Eastern portion of the State of Arkansas where only cotton is cultivated and where the farmers and peasants always obtain their food on credit and pay for it later after they have sold their cotton crop. The disastrous drop in the price of cotton has plunged these people into misery, and also the shopkeepers who sold them food on credit.

That is the picture of the development of the crisis. It confirms the analysis given by the XVI. Party Congress. The social democratic prophecy, according to which capitalism will find its salvation in "organised capitalism", is thereby smashed to pieces. It has also clearly exposed the mistakes of Comrade Bukharin, who made the theory of organised capitalism his own and is only now, with great pains, taking the first steps towards shaking it off.

The bourgeoisie is seeking to find a way out of the crisis by means of the most brutal exploitation of the working class, in further fascisation, in preparation of a new imperialist war. As a result we see a further accentuation of the contradictions between the capitalist States. The events of recent times show us that the antagonism between America and England still forms the central point of these contradictions. At the same time, however, the relations between France and Italy have of late become very much strained.

### Sharpening of the Class Struggle in the Capitalist Countries.

The capitalists are seeking a way out in imperialist wars and intervention. The workers, however, are seeking "a way out in revolution" (Stalin); not in imperialist wars but in the revolutionary armed revolt. The class struggle is becoming more acute, the revolutionary movement is growing and our Communist brother Parties are growing.

The growth of the revolutionary movement gives the capitalists no rest, and increases their hatred against our country. We are convinced that the campaign against the Soviet Union is not declining, but on the contrary, is growing and is assuming the most varied forms.

Particularly ridiculous is the campaign against alleged compulsory labour. Just think, the capitalists, the exploiters, the slave-holders who have made the "free" workers into hungry unemployed slaves, roaming the streets of New-York, Berlin and London—these imperialists and robbers, protest against alleged compulsory labour in Soviet Russia. It is ridiculous and non-sensical, but it is a fact. The trial of the "Industrial Party" has shown how deep are the roots of intervention against us. It showed how the bourgeoisie, in the shape of the French General Staff, worked for a number of years at a conspiracy against the Soviet Union and prepared

an intervention connected with revolt in the interior of the country. This undertaking failed only because our strength, our power, prevented it from being realised.

The danger of intervention is not done away with; the trial of the Industrial Party has only postponed it for a time. Therefore, we must concentrate our attention on the question of national defence. Therefore, the Young Communist League, as well as the whole of the youth, must exert all their forces to strengthen the Red Army and to give military training to the youth. The Y. C. L. must not only supply excellent red soldiers and red sailors, but also thousands and tens of thousands of technically trained commanders, who in the event of a war can place themselves at the head of the fighters and lead them to victory over world capitalism.

It is our task to continue the peaceful policy of the Party and of the Soviet Power and not allow ourselves to be provoked. It is our task to consolidate our alliance with the world proletariat and to bear in mind that in the fight against our enemy, world imperialism, our army is not only the Red Army, not only the workers and peasants of our country, but also the proletariat of all countries which will rise in defence of the Soviet Republic, the fatherland of the world proletariat. (Applause.)

### III. CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT, DIFFICULTIES AND TASKS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION.

The capitalist countries, it is true, are richer than we, but the difficulties under which they suffer are those which are peculiar to an old man with one foot in the grave, whilst our difficulties are those of a young Communist, full of the joy of life, who is growing and flourishing and has made it his task to catch up to and pass the capitalist countries. (Loud applause.)

We must exert all our forces in order to overcome all our difficulties. We still have a great need of foreign imports. When we, however, concretely face the question of imports, we must consider, what we wish to import. Shall we import cotton for the textile industry, or shall we import machines in order to be in a position to build machines in our own country. In most cases we choose the latter course. Hence the difficulties with which the development in the textile industry and leather industry has to contend, for we still have not enough of our own leather, our own cotton, although this year we have acquired a greater supply of cotton than in the previous year.

But in addition to the objective difficulties, there are also a number of subjective reasons. These subjective reasons, these shortcomings in our work which we must combat with all our powers, have the result that the plan for reducing overhead charges is not kept to; that while the general figures of the Five-Year Plan are surpassed, they are not carried out in regard to coal and metal. This renders it necessary for us to mobilise all our forces and at all costs to keep to our production programme in coal mining and in the metal industry. Only by the joint efforts of the proletariat, the Party and the Y. C. L. shall we be able to surmount these difficulties. Also in transport we have to overcome many difficulties.

Therefore the Party and the Y. C. L. organisations must increase their class vigilance, must fight for workers' discipline, for careful treatment of locomotives etc. That is a necessary prerequisite for raising the transport service to the necessary level. The C. C. has already worked out a number of measures for this, and we assume that the Y. C. L. will actively support us, in carrying them out. (Applause.)

#### The Y. C. L. and Socialist Construction.

The Y. C. L. has considerable successes to record in regard to participation in socialist construction. It not only displayed initiative in the first period of the shock brigade movement, but also played a great role in its further development.

In Magnitstroy the Party organisations decided to have the coffer dam completed by the Winter. The Americans reckoned that the work would last for 156 days, it was completed however within 70 days, whereby numerous young shock-brigaders distinguished themselves.

In the Stalin metal works in Leningrad the carrying out of the second section of the Five-Year Plan was threatened. The young Communists then decided to organise a shock brigade in order to have the 11,000 steam turbines finished ten days before the specified time. They worked uninterruptedly day

and night, completed the turbines in the time fixed by themselves, and thus enabled the factory not only to fulfil but even to exceed the industrial and financial plan.

The Moscow Party committee mobilised 1,000 members of the Y. C. L. for the Moscow coal area. 1,150 however reported voluntarily. The young Communists, town-dwellers, who had never even seen a coal-pit before, behaved like heroes. They organised shock brigades. Among the young Communists there are no slackers. As they were sent into the pit so they remained, and there did successful work on the coal front, on the most important front in the present period. (Applause.)

Experience shows that in overcoming our difficulties a great deal depends upon how the matter is organised. Whilst, however, the Y. C. L. has displayed heroism in the organising of shock brigades, it is still lacking a good deal in regard to expert knowledge and quality of work. Therefore, Comrades; I think that your Congress must raise to a new, higher plane the question of the increased participation of the Y. C. L. in the economic construction in the factories, in the trusts, in the economic organisations and in the brigades. The young communists must study technique, carry out rationalisation measures, not confine themselves to mere criticism, but know how to realise their own proposals, to work not only by heroic efforts but also through expert knowledge. A number of facts prove that the Y. C. L. is able to do this.

It has been ascertained that 25 to 30 per cent of the youths who have passed through the apprentice schools in the factories are still continuing to learn, mainly in the evening schools. This has caused a thorough transformation of the whole nature of the qualified young workers. The young worker stands with one foot in the factory and the other in the high school. In him there is developing an engineer. This section of the young workers, of the future engineers, has become a mass phenomenon.

The conditions today in the Djershinsky factory are exceedingly interesting. A few years ago, in 1926, the first young Communist engineer was sent there. In the so-called smelting departments the old engineers have been almost completely replaced by the younger ones. Of the 350 engineers in this factory, only one worked already before the revolution in the smelting departments. All the others are young engineers; among them being about 50 young Communists.

Of course, at the same time the young Communists must not become estranged from politics. A young Communist must take part in the meetings, in the practical work. But he must be given the possibility to learn and again to learn. Only then will our young Communists grow up into real collaborators in socialist society and Communism. You, young communists and pioneers, will certainly live to see Communism and you must be most active in building it up. (Loud applause.)

In our fight on the village front the Y. C. L. was, in the main, up to its tasks and did everything that the Party demanded of it.

The Y. C. L. was in fact a support, an aid in our construction. In those villages where there were no Party nuclei, the Y. C. L. was even more; it was the initiator of the fight for collective farms and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class. Of course, the Y. C. L. in the country still has many faults, the greatest of which is the inadequate cultural level, the insufficient ability to participate in the work of the Soviet estates and collective farms. Nevertheless it is already playing a big role on the Soviet estates and collective farms.

#### On the Difficulties and on Organising the Work.

Organisational questions have the greatest importance for the overcoming of the difficulties of our work of construction. Let us consider the most immediate and pressing questions — Provision of food and work of the consumers' co-operatives. We see that the directions of the Party are being carried out rather badly. The existing goods are not used by us as they ought to be. The role of the Y. C. L. nuclei in the consumers' co-operatives and supply organs is very great. The Y. C. L. must penetrate all pores and crevices; must be the eye, the right hand of the Party; must ascertain all the existing shortcomings and inform the Party in good time regarding them.

The question of cadres is one of the central tasks. The C. C. of the Party has paid great attention to it. Hundreds of thousands of young comrades are now learning. It is a question here of the tempo and the quality of learning. The

engineer who has passed through the high school must be a real engineer and not a mere possessor of a diploma. Here the Y.C.L. has to play a great role. For the Y.C.L. the problem of cadres, their training and education in every field of work, is a very important task. With us the Soviet elections are now taking place. The Party has set itself the task so to carry out the elections that they will be an impetus to interesting the Soviets more in the work of the collective farms and factories, that the Soviets place themselves at the head of the socialist competition and of the shock brigade movement. In the whole of this election campaign the Y.C.L. must not only be a force helping the Party in organising the masses, but also an organisation from whose ranks hundreds and thousands of gifted young workers and peasants from the collective farms can be drawn into the Soviets. The Y.C.L. with its three million members, and the pioneer organisation with its four million members, that is the army which is building Communism, which can and will help the Party to catch up to and pass the capitalist countries. (Applause.)

#### IV. MASS YORK, THE Y.C.L. AND THE PARTY.

At the Third Congress of the Y.C.L. Comrade Lenin submitted a comprehensive programme of youth education. In the year 1920 he said:

"We should not believe in learning, or in education or training, if they were merely confined to the schools and were separated from the busy stream of life. So long as the workers and peasants are oppressed by the capitalists and landowners, so long as the schools are in the hands of these oppressors, the young generation will remain blind and ignorant.

"Our schools must teach the youth the foundations of knowledge; must teach it to find its way to Communist views; must convert the youth into cultured people. In the course of the years in which the young people are learning, the schools must educate them to be participators in the fight for emancipation from the exploiters.

"The Young Communist League will only justify its name when it connects every step of its training and education with participation in the general fight of all workers against the exploiters."

In the past ten years the Y.C.L. has fulfilled Lenin's testament; it has learned while fighting and fought while learning. It has become an organisation numbering millions, and has grown not only quantitatively but also qualitatively.

Comrade Stalin, already in the year 1925, described the task of youth education as the task of training fighters in our country for socialism.

"The Young communists are working in all the spheres of construction: in industry, agriculture, co-operatives, Soviets, cultural-educational institutions etc. Every active Young Communist, however, must connect his current work in all spheres of socialist construction with the perspective of the building up of socialist society. He must know how to perform his daily work in the spirit of this perspective, in the direction of its development." (Stalin: Questions of Leninism.)

These tasks of developing the mass work, of increasing the ideological-political influence over the masses, including the youth, not only remain in the new period of socialist construction, but on the contrary, are thereby further broadened and deepened.

The fight against petty bourgeois tendencies is no less important. A tremendous number of new people are streaming into our factories. In the year 1929, 25 per cent of the workers in our factories were under 22 years of age. 50 per cent were 30 years of age and under (in the Donetz basin the percentage is 65). In a number of factories, especially in Stalingrad and Kharkov, the staffs were recruited almost entirely from the youth. In the factory and apprentices' schools there were in 1929 163,000 pupils, in 1930 582,000, and in 1931 the number of pupils will be 1,206,000. It is a tremendous army and the task of re-educating these young workers coming from the towns and villages confronts us in all its greatness. We must bring ever larger masses under our ideological influence. In particular the Y.C.L. must increase the number of its members in the factories, apprentices' schools and collective farms.

The national question and international education of the youth are of the greatest importance. The bourgeoisie sought to make use of this question and with its help to split the youth.

Comrade Stalin designated international education of the Y.C.L. as one of the most important tasks.

The fight for the youth, for the pioneer, for the ideological influence is of the greatest importance in the present period. This obliges us to raise once again the question of our ideological educational work among the members of the Y.C.L. in the spirit of Leninism.

We must penetrate with our ideological education more deeply into the schools and pioneer detachments. We must transform the schools into real polytechnics; for that has not been done by a long way.

#### The Y.C.L. in the Fight on Two Fronts.

In the fight for the leadership, for the ideological purity of our line, the Y.C.L., as already said, has proved to be a consistent Bolshevik Leninist organisation. The deviations which appeared in the Party are also expressed in the Y.C.L. This was shown especially in the course of the last few years.

The Y.C.L. must combat the Right danger with the same force and energy as it did the Trotzkyist danger.

There have been more attempts to propagate Left deviations in the Y.C.L. than in the Party. That is quite understandable. For the youth has less experience of life, less experience in the class struggle, and the opportunist is more easily able to approach the youth under a left mask and attempt to inoculate it with opportunist views.

You know that Trotzky commenced his fight by contrasting the Y. C. L. with the Party. Schatzkin and his friend Lominadse, as well as the "theoretician" Sten, who in actual fact has little to do with the Y.C.L., have at bottom attempted to do the same thing. But nothing came of it, for the Y.C.L. showed that there is no place in its ranks for "Left" manoeuvres. (Loud applause.)

In the fight against the "Left" attempts to acquire influence, to carry confusion into the ranks of the young Communists, the Y.C.L., with its C.C. at the head, behaved in the main as a consistent Leninist organisation, fighting for the line of the Party, for its C.C. (Applause.)

The Party will continue to conduct a fight on two fronts, and the Y.C.L. will continue to stand in the front ranks of the fighters for the line of the Party.

The Party and its line has been victorious, because the C.C. firmly pursued the Leninist way and because our leader Comrade Stalin is the best upholder of the ideas of Lenin (Prolonged applause, cries of: "Long live Comrade Stalin, the leader of world Communism! Long live the leader of the Communist Party, Comrade Stalin!" Loud applause, cheers. The delegates rise and give Comrade Stalin an ovation).

We review our forces on the front of the fight against the inner and outer enemies, and say to the masses: We have firm faith in our victory, our army is growing every day. Our army — that is the working class, the peasants organised on the collective farms, the landworkers, the middle peasants who follow us, the revolutionary workers of all countries.

Our organised forces are: 11 million trade union members, 9 million members of only two volunteer organisations — Osoviachim and International Red Aid — over one million Soviet delegates elected in the whole country, the millions of shock-brigaders and workers who are taking part in socialist competition, 3 million members of the Y.C.L., 4 million pioneers, the brave, young rising generation of builders of Communist society and the leader of the whole — the best and most organised proletarian party in the world, with two million members, our Communist Bolshevik Party.

This whole army, with its Leninist Central Committee at the head, gives us the guarantee that Socialism will prevail. (Applause.)

Young comrades, pioneers! You are marching shoulder to shoulder with the Party! Side by side with the Party you are winning one victory after the other. Not a step backwards! Forwards, round the Bolshevik Party and its C.C.! Thus will you become masters of the world! (Loud and prolonged applause, the delegates rise and give cheers for the International. Cries of hurrah for the Leninist Central Committee of the Party!)

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Session of the Executive Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance.

By Heinrich Oswald.

The recently held session of the Executive of the International Co-operative Alliance furnished further proof that the Alliance is incapable of „reviving“ its work not even to the extent proposed by the French reformist co-operators.

The degeneration of the Co-operative movement in the West is taking place before our very eyes. The consumers' co-operatives are being converted into petty bourgeois organisations. Broad masses, who in their class struggles do not receive the least support from the co-operatives, are becoming completely indifferent to the consumers co-operatives and ceasing to take part in their work. The leadership and the control of the consumers' co-operatives are getting completely into the hands of the reformist leaders.

The brutal attack of the Central Union of the German Co-operatives on the red consumers' co-operatives of Halle, Merseburg etc. assumes such forms that even the fascists could learn something from the reformists in regard to destroying revolutionary organisations of the German working class. The Alliance is silent regarding these events. At the same time Mr. May, the General Secretary of the Alliance, is launching a new campaign against the Soviet co-operatives under the slogan, „Defence of the Soviet Russian Consumers' Co-operatives against the Workers' and Peasants Inspection and the workers brigades“, in order to bring the „Russian question“ again on the agenda of the session of the Alliance. This fresh intensified campaign against the Soviet co-operatives is fully and completely in accordance with the intensified attacks of the II. International on the Soviet Union and the determined preparations for a new intervention on the part of the imperialists.

The platform of the Alliance, the press of the Co-operative federations is being made use of for the attacks on the Soviet Union, for the anti-Soviet campaign.

The meeting of the Alliance which was recently held in Hamburg dealt with the following questions: Free trade and customs barriers; trusts and cartels; trade in the consumers' co-operatives only against cash payment; mutual relations between consumers' co-operatives and the agricultural co-operatives.

The decisions of the Vienna Congress of the Alliance were taken as a basis for the analysis of these problems. At the Vienna Congress the proposal of Dr. Karl Renner (Austria) regarding free trade was accepted on 26th August 1930. Four days later, this same Dr. Renner wrote an article in the Vienna „Arbeiterzeitung“ advocating the introduction of a grain monopoly in Austria. At the Vienna Congress of the Alliance the reformists pronounced unanimously in favour of a customs union. How do they intend to achieve this aim? Their hypocrisy becomes obvious when it is remembered that the Alliance leaves to the bourgeois governments and to the League of Nations the realisation of the customs union, the reduction of the customs etc. But in recent times the customs duties have been raised enormously by those very governments to whom the Alliance appealed to reduce customs duties.

It is interesting to note that the Alliance, this alleged defender of the interests of the consumers, did not consider it necessary to mention even a word at its Hamburg session regarding the embargo placed on Soviet goods by various governments. The reformist leaders of the West European co-operatives do not protest against their governments who, by boycotting Soviet goods, are delivering over the masses organised in the co-operatives to unbridled exploitation by monopolist capital.

The „struggle“ of the Alliance „against the danger of the trusts and cartels“ is limited to the demand for the introduction of control by the bourgeois governments and the League of Nations of the activity of the trusts and cartels. But these governments and the League of Nations are nothing else but tools of the trust capitalists.

The Hamburg meeting of the Alliance adopted a report

on the negotiations of the representatives of the Alliance with the agricultural co-operators. The reformist leaders of the co-operatives are eager to set up a bloc with the agricultural co-operatives which are controlled by finance capital. This alliance is to be concluded in the next few months.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Fundamental Organisational Principles of Delegate Meetings of Working Women and Workers Wives.

(Conclusion.)

b) If a delegate meeting is organised in connection with the preparations of a conference or as a result of a conference, its activities revolve around the questions on the agenda of the conference all of which are in the interests of the women of the given factory, they are illustrated by concrete examples known by the women, and practical organisational tasks are assigned depending upon the conditions in the given factory.

The work of delegate meetings is thus adapted to the conditions which give rise to the delegate meetings.

#### VIII.

a) A delegate must take active part in the economic and political struggle led by the Communist Party, in the Communist campaigns, demonstrations, strikes, protests, etc.

b) A delegate must transmit our ideas to the masses of working women, she must periodically report to the constituents and try to gain their support in the struggle and the work she is engaged in.

c) Each delegate must regularly attend delegate meetings and be responsible for some practical revolutionary work or other.

d) Delegates should cooperate in the distribution of the Communist press, in the securing of subscribers for our papers and magazines, describe their working and living conditions, as well as the daily struggle in the factories in the press.

e) Delegate meetings should bring the delegates as close to the Communist Party as possible. As the delegate meeting develops the most active revolutionary elements should join the Communist Party and the others become members of organisations under the Party's influence. The motto should be: **No working woman who has been a member of a delegate meeting should fail to belong to one of the Revolutionary Organisations of the proletariat.**

f) Women delegates who have joined the C.P. and are doing some good practical work in revolutionary organisations should as a rule be assigned for constant work in those organisations and thereupon released from the delegate meetings. They should immediately be replaced by newly elected delegates. If necessary some of them still continue to work for a while in the delegate meeting as assistant leaders.

#### IX.

a) Each delegate meeting and each group of delegates of a district delegate meeting has its organiser (the organiser of a group of delegates of such and such a factory, the organiser of a group of delegates of worker's wives of such and such a neighbourhood, the organiser of a group of delegates of the unemployed of such and such an industry).

b) The organisers are so selected as to make sure that they will know the people who elect them, their living and working conditions, their needs and interests. Their social relationship with the women concerned is to be taken into account as well as their qualifications, their ability to induce women to undertake some tasks, their ability to divide the work, to see whether it is carried out, and to assist whenever necessary.

It is most practical to select Communist women in the given factory as organisers, or to train the most loyal Communist sympathisers for this work in the course of performance of practical tasks. Similarly it is most expedient to select an organiser of the worker's wives, a woman who is herself a Communist or whose husband is a Communist, living in the given neighbourhood or working in the given factory. The organiser of the unemployed women is to be either a Communist or a sympathiser of the same trade.

c) The women's department must give the necessary instructions to each organiser of a delegate meeting (whether a Communist or not) before she begins to work. The women's department must also later call frequent meetings of the organisers of delegate meetings and of the groups of delegates, give them instructions and leadership. Systematic work among the organisers of the working women will greatly contribute to the success of the work of the delegate meetings and to the development of cadres of Communist working women.

#### X.

a) Strict control is necessary to secure regular attendance of delegate meetings by all delegates. Upon this depends the organisational attachment of delegates to the Party. The delegates themselves should control the general activities of the delegate meetings and the carrying out of tasks by means of comradely criticism and by assistance to those who fall behind.

b) If some of the delegates withdraw, which very often demoralises the whole meeting and may result in its collapse, measures should immediately be taken to find out the reasons of non-attendance, to urge the delegates to attend or at least to see that new delegates are elected. The women's departments and organisers of delegate meetings should carefully study the causes of withdrawals, they should often check up the work of the delegate meetings and see whether they deal with questions of interest, whether they manage to interest all the delegates in the discussion on these questions and whether practical measures with regard to questions arising from the debates are taken.

c) The organiser of each group of delegates of a district delegate meeting or of a factory delegate meeting is responsible for the attendance of all delegates of her factory, neighbourhood, etc. and immediately sees to the election of a sufficient number of delegates in this or that factory, in this or that neighbourhood, and draws the delegates into the practical work arising from the questions raised at the delegate meeting.

d) As far as possible the women's departments draw up a plan together with the organisers for each delegate meeting, they fix the date of elections, the number of delegates to be elected and for how long. The women's departments likewise work out together with the organisers of the delegate meetings the current questions which have to be discussed at the next delegate meetings and the practical tasks to be assigned to the delegates.

#### XI.

All the preliminary work in the organisation of delegate meetings, all the subsequent work in their organisation, should be under the constant supervision of the whole Party, beginning with the central organs down to the factory nuclei.

Each nucleus in the factories where delegate meetings exist takes periodical reports from the corresponding delegate meeting and reports in turn on the work of the delegate meeting to the corresponding Party committee, the latter in turn reports to the higher committee; the women's departments issue periodical reports and are instructed by the Party committees in the matter of organisation and activity of the delegate meetings.

## The Revolutionary Role of the Women in the Mass Strikes in Germany.

By Lene Overlach (Berlin).

In the ever-expanding strike wave in Germany the masses of women are actively coming forward, are even playing a politically leading role in the big fights against wage-cuts and the fascist dictatorship.

The fighting will of great masses of hitherto indifferent proletarian women is growing with the changed role of women in industry as well as with the growing misery of the workers' families. The miners' wives, who with the miserable starvation wages of the miners can hardly provide their husbands with enough to eat, not to speak of their children, are confronted with further wage-cuts. The women workers in the Metal and textile industries, whose wages are far below those of their male colleagues and whose piece-rate wages

are constantly being reduced by every sort of chicanery, can hardly continue to work under the worsened wage conditions, which do not suffice to maintain their already enfeebled labour power.

These toiling women are at the limit of what is humanly endurable. But the Communist Party and the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition see to it that they do not silently fall into despair.

The miners' wives of the Ruhr district, for instance, entered the fight with extraordinary political clarity. In the women's delegate conference in the last two years, in the big miners' struggle in 1929, the miners' wives were again and again told: The question of the husbands wages is the bread and butter question of the family; you miners' wife, you have to fight with your husband for higher wages and shorter working hours.

These slogans were everywhere followed in the miners' struggle. At every workers meeting which discussed the strike, miners' wives came forward and energetically advocated the strike. On every strike committee women performed good work. At every pit-gate hundreds of women stood in the picket line. The miners' wives were day and night in the fighting front, enlightening the vacillating miners, dealing with strike breakers, organising women's meetings, setting up solidarity committees, supporting and conducting the work of the W.I.R.

In the days of the heroic Ruhr strike the whole of the bourgeois press was full of reports on the „fanatical women“ who were to be seen everywhere.

The following report of the „Ruhr-Echo“, the workers' organ of the Ruhr district, on the launching of the strike in the pit Emscher I/II. shows the leading role of the women in the miners' struggle:

„To the horror of the reformist and christian pit councillors, who right from the first minute wished to play the part of strike breakers, the wives of the striking miners made their appearance in the wash-sheds, where they expressed themselves in very forcible terms. How did they manage to get there? Very simple. They dressed themselves in men's clothes and thus managed to pass the porters without detection, and there they were!

The misguided proletarians were put to shame by the brave attitude of the women. The traitors are shouted down. The ranks of the fighting battalions have been rendered firm by the good example of the proletarian women. There is no longer vacillation. The staff marches through the pit gates to the headquarters of the strike committee singing the „Internationale“.

The women are fighting courageously and undaunted against the monstrous police terror. The brutal behaviour of the police, who even went so far to force the miners to return to work at the mouth of the revolver, has opened the eyes of the women as to the fascist fighting methods of the Brüning government. The so-called emergency order by means of which the 6 per cent wage cut has to be put through, is a further dread political lesson for the miners' wives. Whilst already at the commencement of the fight they stood courageously beside their menfolk and even went over to the attack against the police, now, at the end of the fight, they have become perfectly clear as to the necessity of conducting the fight upon the broadest possible mass basis.

Thus the wives of the Ruhr miners, with the help of delegate Conferences of working women, are now proceeding to create new cadres in addition to those which been already tried and tested in the struggle. The women's delegate movement in the Ruhr district is beginning to become a mass movement. By means of revolutionary competition the women delegates in the Ruhr intend to measure their forces with the revolutionary women in other districts, and particularly with those of red Berlin. They intend by revolutionary competition to win thousands of new women delegates, to create hundreds of local committees of working women and to obtain a mass circulation for the „Die Kämpferin“, the women's newspaper.

The prize which is to be won in the competition is to be three red flags which the delegates of the II. National Conference of Working Women brought with them from the Soviet Union.