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# The Advance of Communism in Germany as Reflected in the Reichstag Election Results.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The Reichstag elections which took place in Germany on Sunday resulted as follows:

	Votes cast on 6. 11. 32	Votes cast on 31. 7. 32	Seats 6. 11. 31. 7. 32
Communist Party . . . . .	5,975,538	( 5,282,626)	100 ( 89)
Nat. Soc. (Fascist) Party . . . . .	11,729,201	(13,745,781)	195 (230)
Social Democratic Party . . . . .	7,266,873	( 7,959,712)	121 (133)
Centre (Catholic) Party . . . . .	4,191,717	( 4,589,335)	70 ( 75)
Bav. (Cath.) People's Party . . . . .	1,080,124	( 1,192,684)	18 ( 22)
German Nationalist Party . . . . .	2,950,659	( 2,177,414)	50 ( 37)
German People's Party . . . . .	660,392	( 436,012)	11 ( 7)
Christian Social Party . . . . .	395,707	( 364,542)	4 ( 3)
State (Democratic) Party . . . . .	327,358	( 371,792)	2 ( 4)
Economic Party . . . . .	106,550	( 146,876)	1 ( 2)
SAP. (German I.L.P.) . . . . .	45,036	( 72,569)	nil

"To destroy Bolshevism root and branch"—this is what the Reich Chancellor von Papen, two days before the elections, proclaimed to be the special task which divine providence had entrusted to his Cabinet. "Destruction of Communism"—that was Hitler's battle cry as well as Hugenberg's first slogan. "War to the knife against the C.P. of Germany"—that was also the chief slogan of the social fascists. All capitalist parties from the German nationalists to the social fascists were perfectly united in the fight against Communism.

"100 Bolsheviks in the Reichstag!" is what they are now all crying with dismay, and each party is casting the "blame" on the other for the growth of the Communist vote. 100 Communists in the Reichstag—this is only the expression of the further great increase in the influence of the Communist Party among the working masses of Germany. 6 million people, in spite of all the persecution, calumnies and incitement against the C.P. of Germany, cast their votes on

November 6 for Communism—it is this that fills the bourgeoisie and their lackeys with horror and dismay.

Although the total number of votes recorded in the election declined this time by 1,783,000 votes, or from 84 to 79.3 per cent compared with the Reichstag elections of July 31 last, the number of votes polled by the Communist Party has increased by 688,000. Whilst, owing to the decreased participation in the election the number of seats has fallen from 608 to 582, the strength of the Communist Reichstag fraction has increased from 89 to 100.

A fact which gives added importance to the increase in the Communist vote is that it is strongest in the industrial centres, that it has been cast by the most advanced proletarian population of the highly industrialised areas. The leading position is again occupied by the capital town, by **red Berlin**. With its vote of 860,579 in Berlin, the Communist Party is 140,000 votes ahead of the Hitler party and 214,000 ahead of the social democracy. The following change has taken place since the Prussian Diet elections of April 24 last in the relative strength of the Communists, the social democrats and the national socialists in greater Berlin:

C.P.G. S.P.G. Hitler

Diet Elections 24. 4. 1932 . . . . .	649,215	798,214	765,909
Reichstag Elections 31. 7. 1932 . . . . .	721,252	721,097	754,668
Reichstag Elections 6. 11. 1932 . . . . .	860,579	646,266	719,745

In the industrial districts of West-Germany the Communist Party was able to increase still further the lead it already had of the social democracy: In the electoral district of East Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf, Wuppertal, Essen) from 177,000 to 202,000 votes; in Düsseldorf-West (Gladbach, Krefeld, Duisburg-Hamborn) from 101,000 to 131,000 votes; in South-Westphalia (Dortmund, Hagen) from 28,000 to 93,000; in Cologne-Aix-la-Chapelle from 37,000 to 53,000 votes. In East Düsseldorf where it polled 340,903 votes, the Communist Party is again the strongest Party.

It is also to be seen that in those places where big strikes took place in the past few weeks under the leadership of the Communists, the increase in the Communist vote is particularly good. This applies before all to Berlin, where the great strike of the traffic workers stirred up the masses; to Hamburg, where the C.P.G. gained 33,000 votes, and to East-Düsseldorf and West and South Westphalia.

The Communist Party increased its vote mainly at the expense of the social democracy, and to a lesser extent at the expense of the national socialists; the fact that the total increase in the Communist vote was 688,000, whilst the social democratic vote shows a decline of 729,000 indicates that a considerable number of former social democratic voters abstained from voting this time.

The heavy losses sustained by the social democratic party are the fruit of its coalition and toleration policy, culminating in the shameful capitulation of July 20 and the dastardly strike-breaking policy of the last few weeks. In Berlin in particular the treacherous policy of the social democratic party and trade union leaders towards the striking traffic workers has had a profound effect.

The national socialists have lost 2,041,000 votes. About one million of these have gone to the German Nationalists and the German People's Party. Of the remainder, a smaller part went to the C.P.G. whilst the greater part is due to abstentions from the poll. It is true, the national socialists with their 11,700,000 votes and 195 seats are still the strongest party. But it is probable that the reverse of November 6 will have a very serious effect on their mass structure. Of particular importance, however, is the decline in the national socialist vote precisely in those States in which Nazi governments are in power. In Mecklinburg-Schwerin the national socialist vote dropped from 181,000 to 138,000, in Oldenburg from 145,000 to 114,000, in Thuringia from 424,000 to 344,000, in Brunswick from 156,000 to 136,000, and in Anhalt from 89,000 to 80,000.

The national socialists, as they had to reckon with a considerable loss of votes to the German Nationalists, exerted all their forces in order to make up for this loss by winning worker's votes. That they have not succeeded in this is to the credit of the Communist Party. This is shown most clearly in the highly industrialised districts where the National socialist vote dropped as follows: East-Düsseldorf by 75,000, West-Düsseldorf by 40,000, South Westphalia by 47,000, Cologne by 50,000, Hamburg by 47,000.

The result of the elections of November 6 is not the conclusion but only an expression of a still advancing movement among the masses of the working people. This fact increases tremendously the importance of the magnificent election victory won by the C.P. of Germany. The Communist Party has succeeded in holding up the advance of fascism, and in addition going over to the counter-attack. It therefore now has exceedingly favourable possibilities, by taking advantage of the increased disintegration in the Hitler camp resulting from their election defeat, to push ahead still further its anti-fascist counter-offensive. The breach which the Communist Party has forced in the ranks of the social democratic masses can now be extended under more favourable conditions, as with the further intensification of the class antagonisms the social fascist policy of supporting the fascist bourgeoisie will be exposed still more.

The election victory of the Communists is of all the greater importance because it was achieved under clear revolutionary slogans and in a fierce fight against all the deceitful illusions of bourgeois democracy. The C.P.G. conducted the election campaign openly as a mobilisation of the masses for the extra-Parliamentary fight against capitalism and the fascist class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the strike against wage cuts, for mass actions against reduction of unemployment benefit and cutting down of social services.

During the whole of its election campaign the C.P.G. specially stressed **proletarian internationalism**, and conducted the **fight against the danger of imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Power**. The Party succeeded in repelling the chauvinistic incitement of the bourgeoisie and its social fascist lackeys. This is a fact of extra-ordinary importance in view of the imperialist war policy of the bourgeoisie.

Whilst this Reichstag election is itself an expression of the further sharpening of the inner class antagonisms, it also in turn, by its result, contributes to a further aggravation of the situation. The position of the Papen-Schleicher Cabinet is again severely shaken. It is in vain that the Reichs Government tries to make out that the election does not mean any change for it and its policy. The only thing which the Reichs Government can book as a "success" is the fact that in the new Reichstag the national socialists and the Centre will not be able to form a majority against the Government, and that the German nationalists must be included in any majority of the "Right".

It is obvious that the Papen Cabinet and the men who are behind it are now aiming at bringing about a broad "national concentration", which shall include the Centre, the German People's Party, the German nationalists and the national socialists. According to the official communique, it will be the endeavour of the government to extend its basis without changing the fundamental character of its policy, and to receive with open arms those who are prepared to work with it. In the meantime, Hitler has proclaimed that he will ruthlessly continue the fight. He is compelled to do this in order to prevent the process of disintegration extending to his shock troops. He probably also believes that he can improve his chances in the coalition negotiations if he adopts a "strong tone". But who accepts the declarations of the „Brown House“ at their face value?

The social democracy, it is true, has no prospects of officially taking part in the approaching coalition negotiations. Nevertheless it will play a great role owing to its policy of tolerating the Papen Government. If in the election campaign it concentrated its fiercest fire on the Communist Party, after the loss of 700,000 workers votes it will still more shamelessly support the fascist fight against Communism and still more openly express its social fascist character.

The result of this election clearly expresses the growing sharpening of the class antagonisms. The increasing resistance of the working class to the wage-cutting campaign of capital, which reached its highest point so far in the strike of the Berlin traffic workers, will undoubtedly be further strengthened by the magnificent victory of the Communist Party. The outlook for the bourgeoisie, which intended to go over to an intensified offensive against wages immediately after the elections, is by no means bright.

The situation in Germany is characterised by the maturing of the revolutionary crisis. This analysis of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is confirmed by the election results of November 6. The election result itself and its consequences are calculated to accelerate still further this development in Germany.

## POLITICS

### The "Solution" of the Government Crisis in Czechoslovakia.

By Gustav Beuer (Reichenberg).

Nothing serves to characterise the situation of Czechoslovakia in the 14th year of its existence so well as the recent government crisis and the manner of its solution, which was only finally achieved with the greatest difficulties. In order to some extent to cover the nauseating bargaining which was carried on for weeks over the reforming of the government, it was intended that the President of the Chamber, Malypetr, who had been entrusted with the task of forming a new government, should appear before the public with the new Cabinet on October 28, the 14th anniversary of the Czechoslovakian Republic. The press hirelings of the government parties had already got their pens ready to write adulatory articles welcoming the "Cabinet of October 28", when fresh difficulties arose which almost rendered Malypetr's mission abortive. The national celebrations had to be held without the new government, which could not be formed until some days after.

When, after the elections in 1920, the agrarian Udrzal included the Czech and German social democrats in the government the social fascists hailed this with joy as "the dawn of a new era". The rule of the bourgeois bloc, they declared, was at an end and now the social democracy, by participating in the government, would obtain for the masses an improvement in their position. What, however, is the actual result of these three years of bourgeois-socialist coalition government? The position of the working population has become rapidly worse. With the active assistance of the social democracy and the Czech national socialists, wages were reduced, unemployment benefit cut down, social achievements abolished, taxes paid by the masses increased, political and national oppression intensified. The fascisation of the State apparatus was carried on at full speed, and at no time were so many bloodbaths carried out among the militant workers and peasants and so many workers' organisations dissolved (W.I.R., I.R.A., Young Communist League, Red trade unions, Workers' Gymnastic and Choral Associations) as during the time of the Udrzal coalition government.

The Udrzal government fell as victim of the intensified antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie resulting from the increased economic and financial crisis. Agrarian and industrial capital are engaged in a struggle over which shall have the largest share of power. That part of the bourgeoisie which is represented by the national democracy have long been complaining against the excessive privileges and favours granted to the big agrarians, who on their part, under the pressure of the increased agrarian crisis, are putting forward ever increasing demands. To this there is to be added the fact that a serious crisis has broken out within the agrarian party itself. The masses of small peasants, whose situation is becoming more and more desperate, are dissatisfied with the big agrarian policy of the agrarian party, whilst the fascist wing led by Stanek reproached Udrzal with giving way too much to the President, i. e., not energetically putting forward the demands of the big agrarians. The government crisis which thus arose was further aggravated by the difficult situation in which the social democracy had landed owing to its coalition policy. The bourgeoisie were compelled to recognise that ever broader masses of the social democratic workers were rebelling against the policy of their leaders and coming under the influence of the Communist Party, whose bold united front offensive has already achieved considerable successes. After the powerful action of the Prague metal workers, which was entirely under the leadership of the Communists, it became plainly obvious to the bourgeoisie that the social democracy no longer has the working masses in hand.

The bankruptcy of the State finances brought the latent government crisis to a head. In order to cover the budget deficit the national socialist finance Minister Dr. Trappé proposed a reduction of the salaries of all civil servants by 15 per cent. This brought about the overthrow of Udrzal. The national democrats, who have large numbers of civil servants

among their followers, for demagogic reasons declared Trappé's proposal to be unacceptable. The national socialists and the social democrats approved in principle of the cuts in salaries, but for the same demagogic reasons haggled over the amounts of the cut. At the same time, however, they frantically clung to the possibility of a new coalition, as on the one hand, out of fear of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, they wished to avoid at all costs the new election threatened by the agrarians, and on the other hand feared that the setting up of a government of officials, which was likewise proposed, would weaken their position still further. From this tangle of contradictions there finally emerged the Malypetr Government by the formation of which the government crisis, it is true, is formally ended, but the antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie are by no means overcome.

Before the conclusion of negotiations Malypetr compelled the socialist parties to accept a clear government programme, which they had to swallow if they did not wish to be thrown aside. It is a programme of further impoverishment of the masses and at the same time of further intensification of the political and national oppression. Trappé again has the post of Finance Minister. His demand for the reduction of the salaries of civil servants will be carried out even if in a somewhat modified form. Unemployment benefit is to be considerably worsened, and the mall taxes increased. The President of the province of Moravia, Dr. Cerny, has been given the post of Minister of the Interior. It is the same Dr. Cerny who, as Minister of the Interior in 1920, bloodily crushed the December strike. His appointment signalises a tremendous increase of terror and persecution, and a definite continuation of the fascist course of the former coalition Cabinet. The reappointment of the social democrat Dr. Meissner as Minister of Justice guarantees that the apparatus of justice will be used against the revolutionary movement. Thus the Malypetr Cabinet, in spite of the fact that it is formed of the same parties as the preceding Cabinet, means the introduction of a new stage of increased plundering and oppression of the toiling masses, of fascisation and preparation for imperialist war.

In spite of this the social democracy is of course trying to persuade the masses that the new coalition government constitutes a "lesser evil" compared with a government of officials. But this argument has very little convincing power. The radicalisation of the socialist workers will rapidly develop further as a result of the economic crisis and the government policy on the one hand and the offensive fighting policy of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia on the other hand. Thus the criticism of the coalition policy by the "Left" opposition at the recently held party congress of the German social democracy, miserable and demagogic as it was, nevertheless reflects the profound ferment among the social democratic workers, who are becoming more and more accessible to the slogans of the united front.

There are already to be seen the contours of powerful economic struggles to which the Communist Party and the red trade unions are summoning the workers. The powerful fighting movement of the Prague metal workers, the strike preparations in the coal fields, the increasing resistance of the North-Bohemian textile workers to wage reductions and dismissals and the increased mobilisation of the unemployed are plain indications that the programme of the new government will encounter fierce resistance.

### The Communist Election Campaign in the U.S.A.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The C.P. of the United States is on the ballot in 38 states this year, as compared with only 33 in the 1928 presidential elections. In two other states its candidates qualified but were ruled off by special legislation put through for that purpose. In a number of other states it was virtually impossible for the Communist election ticket to get on the ballot—since in some not even the Republicans were able to achieve that height of democracy.

Revolutionaries in other countries must realise that each of the 48 states has its own election laws, which may be different from those of all other states; in effect there are

virtually 48 different countries involved. To take some states where it was impossible for the Party to get its candidates on the ballot: in **Louisiana**, a southern agrarian state where Negroes may be sent into peonage or murdered for demanding wages due to them, it is necessary to get state electors from every Congressional district, hold Party district conventions and a state convention, and get 3,000 voters to sign a petition. Since there are few industrial centres and the C.P. has practically no organisation in this state, it was impossible to get the signatures—especially inasmuch as each signer must publicly declare, in the midst of this terror, that he is changing his registration to Communist. Unless he does this his name is taken off the petition.

In Democratic **South Carolina** it is impossible for any minority party to get on the ballot. Not even the Republican Party is on the state ballot, but must print its own ballots. The election authorities will not distribute these private ballots to the 800 election booths, but each minority party must do so itself. In this predominantly agrarian state the C. P. has only a few members, and those in the industrial sections, and was unable to pass the legal impediments. In **Florida**, another southern agrarian Democratic state, only parties getting at least 30 per cent. of the votes in the 1928 elections can be on the ballot. This obviously excludes the S.P., C.P. and others—all but the Republican Party. In Florida the C.P. fulfilled all other requirements and made a fight against this law, but without success.

To take some states where the Party was able to get by the legal difficulties placed in its way: in Missouri 30,000 signatures were required, but there are only about 100 members of the C.P. in the entire state and the Party was never on the ballot before. In Oregon 14,000 signatures were needed and the C.P. membership is only 26. In the Ohio steel district (35,000 signatures required) the corporations called in all signers who worked for them and threatened their dismissal unless they repudiated their signatures.

During the campaign meetings the Communist presidential and vice-presidential candidates, **W. Z. Foster** (white railway worker) and **James W. Ford** (Negro postal clerk) have been arrested a number of times and their meetings broken up. This at a time when American democracy is on exhibition before the country and the world. C. A. Hathaway, national campaign manager, spoke at a meeting of white and Negro workers in Atlanta, Georgia, where of 60 workers questioned only 2 were qualified to vote. The rest were eliminated by one device or another though they were adults and citizens: poll tax, literacy test, property requirements, residence qualifications, etc. In **Pennsylvania** alone over half a million poverty-stricken workers are being cut off the voting lists because they are unable to pay the poll tax. In **Maine** the unemployed are being discriminated against in similar fashion, under the state pauper laws. Millions of Negroes throughout the country, especially in the South, are also disqualified, as well as millions of foreign-born workers. In **Kentucky** Silas Burge, militant miner and election campaign worker for the Communist candidates, was arrested and framed up on a murder charge when C.P. election literature was found in a raid on his home.

Until he took ill a few weeks ago Foster spoke at 70 meetings before 200,000 persons, Ford at over 100 attended by 250-300,000 workers. These are large figures as compared with the 1928 presidential campaign, when Foster spoke at a total of about 50 meetings before some 50,000. The calls for speakers and literature sent in by college and university groups, by Y.M.C.A.'s and various organisations of intellectuals exceeds those in any previous campaign in the history of the Party and reflects the intensity of the crisis and the increasing radicalisation of the masses of workers and petty bourgeois. A League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford has been organised by leading writers, artists, professors, and other technical and professional groups, which issued a pamphlet ("Culture and the Crisis") in 50,000 copies.

The campaign, following as it does on the Scottsboro campaign, has brought the Negro masses close to the Party as never before, and considerable gains have been made there. Inroads have also been made among the **Negro intellectuals**. For example, the Baltimore (Maryland) "Afro-American" is openly supporting the Party campaign and the Norfolk (Virginia) "Journal & Guide" is also giving it much publicity. A committee of Negro intellectuals has been formed (the Foster-Ford Committee for Equal Negro Rights), which in-

cludes among its members William M. Jones, editor of the Afro-American, Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen, well-known writers, Prof. Dorsey of Howard University, etc.

Some of the achievements of the campaign may be exemplified by the extent of literature distribution. To date (Oct. 20-25) some 825,000 pamphlets in English on the election campaign were sold. If to these are added the Communist election platforms in Polish, Jewish, Italian, Spanish, etc. the number reaches 1¼ million, and it is expected 2 million will have been sold by election day. Some 4 million leaflets have been issued by the national campaign committee of the Party, in addition to those distributed locally. The organisational results of this agitation cannot be expected to be commensurate with it in actual votes, since so many millions of alien, Negro and foreign-born workers are virtually disfranchised.

It is expected that Roosevelt will win the elections, and that the S.P. will increase its vote greatly. The C.P. will also probably show a considerable gain. The Democrats are giving **Thomas**, the S.P. candidate, much publicity in the South, due to his position on the Negro question, which is no more friendly to the Negro than theirs. Whatever the reason, Thomas is getting tremendous publicity in the press and on the radio throughout the country. Thomas is one with Hoover and Roosevelt in opposing the soldiers' bonus, in favouring segregation and discrimination against Negroes, in opposing violently all militant action by the workers, in a tacit attitude on the deportation of militant and other aliens (Doak deported 30,000 in the past year and a half without any protest or campaign against it by the S.P.). In Los Angeles, where Foster's and Ford's meetings were smashed and the speakers arrested, Thomas was escorted around by the same police and his speeches broadcast in the press.

In Norfolk, Virginia, Thomas practically endorsed segregation of Negroes at a meeting where he spoke, saying that he "could not remake the laws of the state". Later the C.P. held a meeting in the same hall, defying the state Jim-Crow assembly law and the police, though in a frenzy, were afraid to attack the militant workers.

## The Municipal Elections in Great Britain.

By R. B. (London).

Polling took place in the Boroughs of England, Scotland and Wales on November 1, with the exception of London, where elections take place only once in three years.

The results show that the **Labour Party** made a net gain of 30 seats in England and Wales and 28 in Scotland, 58 in all. Whilst an effort is being made to represent this as a great victory the fact remains that last year the Labour Party had a net loss of 195 seats and the previous year a loss of nearly as many. In Sheffield and Leyton the Labour Party have lost their majorities on the Council and in Jarrow and Neath they have gained majorities for the first time. The biggest Labour loss was in **Plymouth** where they lost 8 seats. By the side of these figures this year's gains are insignificant. In **Sheffield**, where there has been a Labour majority for six years, they are now in a minority. One of the seats lost in Sheffield was by a majority of 200. A Communist candidate polled 1,071 votes. In **Liverpool**, a Labour Councillor who recently got six months for participation in the unemployed demonstrations (the only Labour Councillor in Britain to be so sentenced), was returned with a majority of over 2,000 votes. In Liverpool, also, an I.L.P. candidate created a low record for the city, polling only 7 votes.

The **Communist Party** vote swelled enormously. Last year in Scotland the Communist municipal vote was 11,600. This year it was 27,000, and counting the N.U.W.M. candidates, 32,500. Typical increases in Scotland are to be seen in the Cowlairs ward of Glasgow, where the vote increased from 232 a year ago to 1,206 this year, Gorbals where it rose from 989 to 1,615, Springburn; 383 to 1,239, etc.

In **West Ham**, where the unemployed have been very active recently, the Communist vote in one ward rose from 400 to 1,088. The figures in the other Boroughs just outside London also showed big increases. In **Wigan** (Lancashire) there was a particularly close fight. The Conservative won the seat in the ward contested by the C.P. with a vote of 525, the Labour candidate was second with 481 and the Communist candidate got 478.

The weakest places for the Communist candidates were the very large towns—Birmingham, Cardiff, Manchester etc.



## INTERNATIONAL STRIKE WAVE

### The Strike of the British Cotton Spinners.

By R. Bishop.

London, November 6, 1932.

The strike of the cotton spinners in Lancashire has been notable for the complete repudiation of the bureaucracy by the rank and file and the forcing of a stoppage after the bureaucracy had signed an agreement for wage-cuts and worsened conditions with the employers and Mr. Leggett, the official negotiator of the Ministry of Labour.

In the beginning the wage-cut demanded by the employers was 2/9 in the £, and in the middle of the weaving strike there came the result of the ballot vote taken of the two unions on the spinning side of the industry.

**The Operative Spinners declared against any wage-cuts by 30,991 votes to 1,518. The Card-Room Operatives returned a similar verdict by 37,759 votes to 2,563.** Never was there a clearer verdict returned by any body of workers, yet its only effect upon the officials was to cause them immediately to open negotiations with the employers on the basis of a wage-cut, albeit they announced it must be "a smaller one than that proposed by the employers". But there were only a few days before the employers' notices expired, on September 17, and the weavers were already on strike.

A spinners' stoppage on the appointed date would have tied up the whole industry and put both weavers and spinners in the strongest possible strategic position.

So the spinning employers decided to postpone their notices for a month to allow time for negotiations, and, although this was not mentioned, to allow time for the weavers, to be driven back to work before the spinners came out, if the latter could not be avoided. This move was jumped at by the reformist officials of the Spinners and Card-Room Operatives, despite the most loudly-voiced protests of the rank and file. Their protests were ignored, they were not consulted, their requests for meetings of the membership to consider the situation were treated with contempt.

While the negotiations continued the spinners went on producing yarn so that when the weavers were betrayed back to work there should be plentiful supplies which would enable the weaving sheds to carry on even should there be a spinning strike in progress by then.

The ballot vote in the first instance showed how strongly the spinning workers felt on the question of wage-cuts. It would have shown this in an even more emphatic fashion were it not for a curious anomaly in the organisation of the spinning workers, which denies all right of expression to that section of the spinning trade workers who are numerically the largest, the **piecers**.

For every spinner there are three piecers. It has always been the ambition of every piecer ultimately to become a spinner. In pre-war days, about one piecer in six achieved this ambition, to-day not one in forty does so. A spinner working a full week may earn £3, £3.10, or even £4, although the percentage of unemployment is high and few mills are working more than 3 or 4 days per week. But an adult piecer often earns for a full week only £1-26/- is the official average wage for a full week's work—while one who draws 30/- is numbered among the exceptionally fortunate.

And the piecers are in the main, not youths or girls, but grown men with families, who in the past reconciled themselves to their miserable conditions by the hope that they might one day become fullblown spinners. But to-day there is no escape from piecing except by the path of unemployment or leaving the industry.

The Piecers are allowed to be members of the Spinners' Union but are not allowed to vote or to have a voice in any matters of policy. They pay their 6d a week to the union and are entitled to draw a low scale of sick benefit and strike pay, but there their privileges end. Had the votes of the piecers been included the majority against cuts would have been even more overwhelming.

There developed a few years ago among the piecers a body known as the **Piecers' Reform Movement**, which put forward the demand for equal rights with other workers in

the industry. This was strongly opposed by the reformist bureaucrats and by the older and more conservative elements among the workers. But among the younger spinners it was winning rapidly increasing support. Consciousness was increasing that the artificial barriers created between the spinners and the piecers merely helped the employers to intensify the exploitation of both sections.

In the middle of September when the Spinning employers' original notices expired there was complete unanimity on the part of the workers on both sides of the cotton industry—weavers, spinners, piecers, card-room operatives, all were united in a determination that the time had come to put up a determined resistance to any attack upon the already miserable standards of once prosperous Lancashire.

But while the workers were determined on resistance, they were facing a powerful and unscrupulous combination—employers, reformists and the National Government—prepared to go to any lengths to maintain "peace in industry" on the basis of intensified exploitation. On all hands was to be heard that the industry must "economise" or succumb before foreign competition.

The press from the "Daily Herald" to the "Times" shed crocodile tears over the plight of the cotton industry. Politicians from MacDonald to Lansbury spoke of the necessity of reaching a peaceful settlement. The leaders of the reformist unions while "deploring wage-cuts" were at one with the employers in declaring that a peaceful issue must be reached "for the sake of the industry as a whole".

The cotton industry has long been notorious as an extreme example of watering capital and disguising the big profits that had been made. According to so orthodox a capitalist source as the "Financial News", 142 cotton spinning mills, the pre-war capital of which was just over £6 millions, were sold in the post-war boom of 1919-20 for £49½ millions. At the same time £3,126,000—more than half the former capital—was paid out in promotion fees. The total capital on which interest had to be paid out of the exploitation of the workers became £52,000,000, more than nine times that of pre-war days.

Eventually the weaving strike was called off, the reformists agreeing to a wage-cut of 1/8 d, to a re-consideration of more-loom per weaver (against which a fierce guerilla struggle had been waging for three years) and to accept the word of the employers that an attempt would be made to reinstate those thousands of workers who had been victimised in the protracted struggle. Needless to say this latter promise has proved to be "just a scrap of paper". Since the official ending of the weavers' strike ferment has raged inside the weaving unions and the officials have been compelled to resort to many and devious manoeuvres. But the ending of the weaving strike gave the spinning reformists just the excuse they wanted. "How can we fight, after the weavers have gone back defeated?", they asked, oblivious of the fact that it was their own manoeuvres which had prevented a united struggle being waged by the two sections of workers involved.

But try as they might, the opposition of the spinners to any cut was such that when October 18 drew nigh, and with it the postponed date of operation of the employers' notices, the reformists had been unable to arrive at a formula which stood any chance of acceptance by the workers. So once again the employers' postponed their notices. It was only two hours after these, the third notices had legally expired, that a settlement was reached, and what a settlement! The spinners, who had voted 20-1 against any wage-cuts, were to have a cut of 1/6½ in the £, their conditions were to be worsened by having to do the cleaning and oiling of their machines after they had completed their 8 hours work, and a treacherous arbitration scheme was fastened upon the industry. This was the agreement. Quickly it was approved by the executives of the Card-Room Operatives and the Spinners, who then told their members that wage-cuts were a regrettable necessity, but that anyhow they were lucky in having got away with a smaller cut than had the weavers.

Once the executives had agreed to the terms, they felt they could regard the future with complacency, but they were mistaken. A storm developed in every spinning district. It started in **Oldham**, the largest of the cotton towns, where the local spinners condemned the terms in no half-hearted fashion, and called for a strike. Then similar reports came from **Rochdale** and from **Royton** and, on the eve of the delegate conference, which had been expected automatically to ratify the agreement, came the news that the **Bolton** spinners had also broken out in revolt. As Bolton and Oldham between

them have a complete majority of the votes at a spinners' conference, it was obvious that the agreement was going to be repudiated. And so it turned out. The reformists, under these circumstances, could do nothing but sanction the strike so vehemently called for, and do their utmost to make it as short-lived as possible.

So on Monday October 31, the spinning workers came out, except in those mills where the employers agreed to work on the old wage-rates. These latter were instructed by the reformists to remain at work. And on the Monday the strike started with complete solidarity. **160,000 workers on the spinning side of the cotton industry were on strike**, the bulk of the remainder were working on the old wages, and there was but a handful of scabs. What few there were were quickly brought into line by the mass action of the workers.

The revolt of the workers came as a surprise to the forces of capitalism. The spinning reformists who had ignored the previous ballot decision for strike against wage-cuts, became super-constitutionalists and demanded a new ballot, remembering that the rules of the union prescribe the necessity of an 80 per cent majority before a strike can be sanctioned.

From press and platform poured forth denunciations of the strike as a Communist plot. The "**Daily Dispatch**", the leading organ of the industrialists in Lancashire, published excerpts from a fantastic forgery, purporting to be C.P. instructions to their "emissaries in Lancashire". This document was alleged to say: "Act regardless of expense. Money is no object. We want war and we are prepared to pay for it".

Reformist officials visited every town and urged the men to vote for acceptance of the terms, laying the blame for the cut on the prior acceptance of a larger cut by the weavers, and saying "It's no use your voting for a continuance of the strike. However the ballot goes we shall have to call the strike off, as we have no money to pay out any more strike pay".

To some extent this propaganda met with success, the Card-Room vote being 28,148 for a settlement and 14,850 against. The spinners however still show a big majority, though not an 80 per cent one for strike action. Their voting resulted: For continued strike: 20,252. Against 13,553. So the spinning reformists have again called off the strike.

That such a heavy vote for strike action should have been cast in the face of the strongest official pressure and the most unscrupulous propaganda campaign, is indicative of the strength of the feeling of the workers. At the beginning of the attack upon the spinners, the **Communist Party** and the **Minority Movement** were terribly lacking in contacts in the mills, and despite the campaign of the **Cotton Workers Solidarity Movement** still remain so. But during the campaign much has been done to consolidate the militant elements on a permanent basis. The vote recorded shows the strength of the opposition to the reformists. Considerable support has been won for the policy of the Party and of the M.M.

To-morrow the workers are ordered back into the mills. It is probable that under the circumstances work will be resumed, but it is certain that the new experiences the spinning workers have had will make them more than ever wary of their treacherous reformist leaders. Under these circumstances there is a tremendous opportunity to build up in every mill a rank and file committee and to link these up around a militant policy ready to act in defence of the workers' standards at the first opportunity.

The time is ripe in Lancashire for the building of a strong and comprehensive rank and file movement under revolutionary leadership.

## The Strike of the Berlin Traffic Workers.

On Thursday November 3, the workers of the Berlin Traffic Trust went on strike against a wage cut of two Pfennigs an hour. The tramways, buses and underground railways were held up. On November 2 the leaders of the reformist Transport Workers' Union submitted the question of the cut to a ballot vote and recommended acceptance, but of the 18,537 workers who took part in the ballot 14,471 voted against the cut and in favour of a strike to resist it, whilst only 3,393 voted against a strike and for acceptance. The union rules require a majority of 75 per cent in order to sanction a strike; and in fact over 83 per cent of the workers voted in favour of a strike. On the same evening a delegate meeting of the rank and file traffic workers took place under the leadership of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition,

and an overwhelming vote was taken in favour of a strike despite the union leaders. A central strike committee was elected representing all shades of opinion amongst the workers and the strike was declared.

Late in the night of November 3rd the Berlin Traffic Trust secured an arbitration decision supporting its demand for a wage-cut. In view of the spirit of the men the union leaders were afraid to accept the decision, although they had themselves recommended its acceptance to the workers. The decision was then declared binding. The next morning yellow placards were pasted up all over Berlin by the company calling on the men to return to work by two o'clock in the afternoon under pain of instant dismissal and informing them that a continuation of the strike would be illegal.

In order to break the resistance of the workers the authorities declared the strike illegal and arrested more than 150 strike pickets. All the members of the Berlin district committee of the revolutionary trade union opposition were also arrested. A meeting of 500 delegates of the striking workers which took place on November 3rd was broken up by the police, who arrested the chairman and the speaker. A delegate meeting of 52 representatives of the revolutionary trade union opposition in the municipal gas water works and electrical power stations which took place on the same evening was raided by the police and everyone arrested. Another blow delivered at the strike was the suppression of the "**Rote Fahne**" and the left-wing daily newspaper "**Welt am Abend**" for seven days on account of their support of the strike.

Great crowds of strikers supported by sympathising workers gathered in front of the depots and at most of them the scabs were either unable to leave or were severely damaged immediately. The police received instructions to proceed with the utmost ruthlessness against the strikers in order to secure at least a partial resumption. As a result many fierce collisions occurred. The most serious occurred early in the morning of November 4, before the Belziger Strasse tramway depot in Schöneberg, when the police fired on the workers, killing one and wounding several others. On the same day the police also fired at Kottbuser Tor and shot down a scab driver by accident.

Fierce collisions also took place on Friday the 4th in all parts of Berlin owing to the attempt of the Traffic Trust to run a scab skeleton service at the point of the police revolvers. Further shooting took place in Schoeneberg and two workers were wounded. The police closed and cordoned the gates of Schoeneberg Park. In Treptow an omnibus on the No. 11 line tried to leave the depot. It was met with a shower of stones and other missiles by a crowd numbering over a thousand and compelled to return to the depot with all its windows smashed. The two police on the bus opened fire on the crowd and wounded two workers. A large force of police carried out a baton attack and made a number of arrests. Numerous cases of damage to the lines, points and current conductors were reported. On a number of tracks the strikers succeeded in damaging the live line and thus preventing any scabbing.

On Saturday the strike of the Berlin traffic workers was marked by a magnificent act of solidarity. The Berlin municipal dustmen, a very militant section of the Berlin workers amongst whom the revolutionary trade union opposition has great influence, took a ballot on a proposal to go on strike in sympathy with the traffic workers. The strike resolution was adopted with an enormous majority and before the reformist trade union leaders could interfere 1,400 workers of the municipal dust collecting system were on strike solidly and have remained out.

The attempts of the traffic trust to run a skeleton service were not very successful. A few buses appeared on the streets under heavy police escort, one police tender to each bus, but an hour or so later they were withdrawn owing on the one hand to attacks made on them and on the other hand to a general boycott which made it useless to run them. In the outlying districts it was not possible to organise even a skeleton service on the tramways, but in the centre of the town a number of cars were running under armed police escort. Further fierce collisions occurred in front of the tram and bus depots and three workers were killed by the police and many wounded. In all four workers were killed in the course of the strike and about 1,000 arrested.

The social democratic press, led by the "**Vorwaerts**" continued its strike-breaking activities, and the „Vorwaerts”

declared the strike to be a "communist putsch". There is bitter indignation and anger amongst the strikers and amongst the workers in general at the perfidious attitude of the trade union leaders and the Social Democratic Party, which has never before been exposed so clearly in the eyes of the masses as the agents of the employers against the workers.

On election day the strike situation remained on the whole unchanged. There were few buses, one line of underground service and a number of trams. However, at dusk the whole service was discontinued. On Sunday it became known that the tramway and elevated railway workers of Elberfeld-Barmen (Wuppertal) had held a mass meeting and unanimously adopted a resolution to be forwarded to von Papen calling for the immediate withdrawal of all the terror measures against the Berlin strike and threatening with a solidarity strike in Wuppertal.

On Monday the strike continued, but thanks to the systematic and persistent strike-breaking propaganda and activity of the trade union leaders and the social democratic press the traffic trust was able to run an extended service.

On Sunday night unknown persons interfered with the electric current system of the tramways in Berlin-Mariendorf. A short circuit resulted and a fierce fire broke out in the cable shaft. The fire burnt furiously for over half an hour. Owing to the high-tension current, 5,000 volts, the fire brigade was unable to do anything effective.

The government carried out its repressive measures against the strike. The police had received instructions to shoot to hit at the least attempt to interfere with the traffic. All persons arrested in connection with the numerous collisions which have occurred during the strike, and in particular those who were caught throwing stones, interfering with the lines, damaging the points, etc., are to be tried before the exceptional courts and charged with "endangering transport". The normal sentences imposed under this charge are severe hard labour terms, and the charge refers to attempts at train-wrecking etc.

The strike ended on Monday when the full service was resumed. With the assistance of the reformist trade union leaders and accompanied by a systematic and persistent strike-breaking propaganda on the part of the social democratic press, and in particular the "Vorwaerts", the company succeeded in extending its service on the Sunday, although at dusk all trams, buses, etc., were withdrawn and the underground railways were closed owing to lack of workers. In the afternoon more workers reported for service owing to the confusion and depression created amongst the ranks of the strikers by the reformist union leaders and the social democratic press. Further, most of the workers under fascist influence returned to work. These men had stood shoulder to shoulder with their fellow workers in the strike, but from the beginning the fascist leaders had intrigued behind the scenes to get their own men back separately and break the strike front. On the first and second day of the strike the Berlin storm detachments of the fascists had taken their share in supporting the strike and preventing the trams, etc., from running, but then they were withdrawn at the orders of their leaders.

On Monday night the Central Strike Committee met to consider the situation and it was decided to call off the strike for the morning. An appeal was issued to the strikers and to the workers of Berlin, in which the circumstances which led up to the strike are recapitulated and the infamous treachery of the reformist trade union leaders and the Social Democratic Party held up to the contempt of the masses. The appeal declares that neither the company nor the police terror would have broken the ranks of the strikers. The credit for breaking the strike rests completely with the social democratic trade union leaders. In conclusion the appeal thanks the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition in the name of the strikers as the only organisations which strenuously supported the traffic workers in their heavy struggle. The appeal earnestly warns the traffic workers not to let their disgust and anger at the treacherous attitude of the trade union leaders cause them to leave the union. It appeals to them to stay in the union and join the revolutionary opposition in its struggle against the strike-breaking leaders. Thanks to these strike-breakers the traffic workers had been defeated, but their fighting spirit had not been broken. The struggle must now be continued against wage-cuts, against the exceptional courts, against victimisation and for the release of all the arrested strikers.

The Traffic Trust announces that it has dismissed 2,500 of the strikers without notice and that it has no intention of

reinstating them. It declares that they have been dismissed for sabotage. Even the bourgeois press declares this charge of sabotage to be a pretext only and declares that the company is using the strike in order to cut down its staff and effect further savings at the expense of the men.

Not all of these workers are revolutionary by any means, many of them are members of the union and many of them are social democrats, but it is hardly too much to say that not one of them will ever again support the party of the strike-breakers. The positive side of the magnificent struggle consists in a new impulse which was given to the Berlin workers in their struggle against wage-cuts and a new big advance of the revolutionary front against capitalism and against the last social bulwark of capitalism, the Social Democratic Party.

## The Reformist Treachery in the Strike of the Norwegian Lumbermen.

By A. J. Sm.

In July last the leaders of the Lumbermen and Agricultural Workers' Union concluded an agreement with the federation of the forest owners in Omot, according to which the wages of about 1000 lumbermen were to be reduced by 6 per cent. Under the pressure of the workers, who had not been first consulted, a ballot vote was carried out which resulted in a great majority for the rejection of the agreement and for a strike.

The Central Committee of the Union falsified the results of the ballot, represented the minority as being a majority, and summoned two social democratic scrutineers by telegraph in order to check the result of the ballot. But the two social democratic scrutineers had to admit in the Communist press—the columns of the social democratic press were closed to them—that their comrades, the secretaries of the union, had falsified the results. The vice-chairman of the union, Kiste, a social democrat, also endorsed the findings of the scrutineers, whereupon he was expelled along with other members of the central committee.

The Trades Council of the Hamar district convened a "conference" which was participated in by only a few social democratic party and trade union leaders, two strike-breakers, as well as a forest owner and an army officer. And this "conference" decided to expel all the local groups in Omot from the union on account of "conduct prejudicial to the union". At the same time the social democratic press developed a monstrous incitement against the Communist strike leaders, whom they also denounced to the police by printing their full names and addresses. They also called upon their readers not to support the strike of the lumbermen, because "this would be detrimental to the working class". Although the strike decision was adopted unanimously in all the local groups in Omot, the social democratic press assert that there is no strike and are doing everything in order to obtain blacklegs from the ranks of the unemployed and thus bring about a defeat.

But up to now they have not succeeded in this, although the police, encouraged by the treachery of the social democrats, are exercising an unprecedented terror against the strikers. A detachment of the State police, 50 strong, has been sent into the strike area. They are provided not only with fire arms but also with machine guns, 25 bloodhounds and an armoured car. They have prohibited all meetings and demonstrations in the open air and arrested 10 of the most well-known leaders of the Red Trade Union Opposition.

In spite of these terrorist measures and in spite of the united front of the employers, the police and the social democracy, the front of the striking lumbermen has remained unbroken for three months. The Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. have launched a broad solidarity campaign on behalf of the heroic striking lumbermen; in numerous localities big demonstrations, at which reformist workers have announced their solidarity with the strikers and denounced the treachery of the social democrats, have been held. This campaign has achieved splendid successes; in spite of the tremendous unemployment over 7000 crowns have been collected up to the present for the strikers.

This strike furnishes evidence of the considerable intensification of the class struggle in Norway, whilst the social democratic leaders have exposed themselves before the broad masses of the workers as the open allies of the employers and of the capitalist State power.

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### Appeal of the VI Mendelejev Congress to the Chemists of the Whole World.

The VI Mendelejev Congress, attended by over 3,000 delegates from the chemists of the whole Soviet Union, addresses its brotherly appeal to the chemists of the whole world.

The danger of another world war hovers over the world like a dark cloud ready to burst. It arises out of irreconcilable differences, out of the gravest crisis the capitalist system has ever experienced.

Once more imperialism gets ready to plunge into war humanity, and first and foremost, the Soviet Union where a new socialist society is being successfully set up.

Scientists, accustomed to analysis, generalisation and foresight, have no right to ignore the numerous harbingers of the war that is brewing, which are more clear than was the case before the outbreak of the imperialist war of 1914-18. Is not the attack on China without a declaration of war an accomplished fact? War is raging in **Manchuria** which, as is common knowledge, is one of the main places d'armes for the invasion of the U.S.S.R. In the entangled mutual relations of the capitalist powers: Great Britain and America, America and Japan, Italy and France, France and Germany, Germany and Poland, in the South East and North West, in the Balkans and in South America, are not there enough powder-magazines ready to explode in the shape of war? Has not the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement been roughly broken off? Is not Rumania acting as a very obvious tool in the hands of dark anti-Soviet forces? And cannot everyone see that these forces are indefatigably forging blocs of interventionists, in preparation for an expedition against the Soviet country? One can truly say that **Europe lives already in an atmosphere of poison gas, chauvinism, and belligerent intoxication, so reminiscent to our generation of the slaughter of 1914-18, which exterminated tens of millions of human beings.**

Maybe that dates are already fixed in the general staffs. Chemical laboratories and works are feverishly active, preparing materials for gas and air warfare.

With the help of the powerful means of science and technique, the war Moloch prepares once more the extermination of millions of men and women, old people and children, destruction of cities, enslavement of peoples.

What has remained of the illusion of the "last" war of liberation which in 1914-18 reigned supreme in the minds of broad circles of intellectuals? Is there anyone who still harbours the illusion of the Geneva "disarmament" conference? Is there anyone who has still the least illusion with regard to the so-called "League of Nations" with its pacifist phraseology, which is meant to serve as a smoke-screen behind which war preparations go on full steam ahead?

Contrary to the capitalist world with its chaos and anarchy, with its destitution and starvation in the midst of great wealth, with its forty million unemployed, mass suicides, reaction, social and political, mental and cultural—with its suppression of individuality and human dignity, impediment to scientific and technical progress, fascist political banditism, barbarism and obscurantism—**the new world of Socialism is being built in the U.S.S.R.**

Here, constructive creative work is briskly going on. The Dnieprostroy has been built, and Magnitogorsk is being built. New gigantic chemical works have been and are being built. Though there is no unemployment, every available labour being used in the process of production, the rapid growth of the cadres of scientists and technicians cannot keep pace with the development of socialist industry, with the gigantic requirements of socialist agriculture.

The unprecedented growth of scientific research work and institutions shows that creativeness which knows no barriers of scientific theoretical thought, and full application of the forces of brain workers to the new, genuine human culture are possible only under socialism. **This explains the fact that everything that is best, ideological and creative among the scientific and technical intellectuals of the West is attracted by the Soviet Union.**

But it is precisely this glaring contrast between the two worlds which seems too dangerous to the kings of the Bourse and the banks, to the magnates of the heavy industry who rule the destinies of the capitalist countries. They dream of interfering by military intervention with the irrepressible growth of the country of socialism, and of trying to find by such means, at the expense of the Soviet Union, a way out of the crisis which has shaken the capitalist system to its very foundations, even if it be only a temporary one. They try hard to come to terms among themselves, if only for a time. The firm and steadfast peace policy pursued by the Soviet Government, a policy impervious to all provocations, is known to all, just as the sabotage of the Soviet proposals regarding real general disarmament by the Geneva "disarmament" conference. In its peace policy, in the inspiring successes of socialist construction, the U.S.S.R. will find irresistible strength for resistance, strength born out of hitherto unknown enthusiasm and spirit of self-sacrifice, when the time has come to defend from barbarous destruction everything that has been built up, with the heroic straining of every nerve, by the united efforts of physical and mental workers under the leadership of the Leninist Party. All the scientific circles of the Soviet Union welcomed enthusiastically the **Amsterdam Anti-War Congress**, convoked by the best people among the Western intelligentsia.

Today, in face of the growing menace of another world war, we, Soviet chemists, assembled at the **All-Union Mendelejev Congress**, appeal to the chemists of the whole world to fight energetically the danger of war and intervention.

In the criminal plans of the fomentors of war, chemistry is assigned the part of chief destructive force. Be on your guard, tear the mask off the faces of the fomentors of war. Expose everyone in his own country, their criminal designs and acts. While exposing the hypocrisy of the pacifist talk of the organisers of a new slaughter, of their agents and aiders and abettors, chemists all over the world must counteract the preparation of another crime against mankind—the conflagration of a world war.

But if, in spite of everything war breaks out, then the chemists of the whole world are in duty bound not to allow chemistry—the powerful lever of progress—to be converted into an instrument of savage destruction of lives, labour and all the gains of culture. War against war!

Chemists of the whole world, line up in the united front of science and labour, fight the impending war, defend the country which for the first time in the history of the world is successfully building up socialism!

### Against the Annexation of Danzig by Polish Imperialism.

Declaration of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Poland.

Warsaw, November 1, 1932.

The fascist Pilsudski Government has undertaken a fresh step towards the annexation of Danzig. It has decreed that the railways in the Danzig district shall introduce the Polish currency and that the whole of the Danzig railway personnel as well as the customs officials must use the Polish language as official language. Following the economic boycott against Danzig which has been recently carried out, and the repeated measures for the military control of Danzig harbour, this step openly and cynically reveals the imperialist robber plans of the Polish bourgeoisie against Danzig, which were denounced by the Communist Party of Poland. This fresh act of violence against the subjected German population of Danzig is at the same time a further measure of Polish imperialism in the preparations for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The C.P. of Poland stigmatises the lackey services which the social-fascist P.P.S. is rendering Polish imperialism in its annexation policy towards Danzig by openly declaring its approval of this policy of subjugation. The C.C. of the C.P. of Poland calls upon all toilers of Poland, of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia to conduct a decisive struggle against this new imperialist provocation on the part of Polish fascism, to continue the fight against robber Versailles Treaty and against the Polish occupation of Danzig.



## THE WHITE TERROR

### The European Scottsboro Tour — an Achievement.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

The European tour of the Scottsboro Negro Mother through sixteen countries in six months must be considered as an outstanding working class achievement in the period of mounting terror and growing war preparations. It has now been successfully ended on the eve of the **World Congress of the International Red Aid**, that organised and carried through the tour, and while the United States Supreme Court is still considering the appeal argued on October Tenth against the Alabama judicial lynching of the Scottsboro Negro children.

It was the roar of European and world protest that originally halted the judicial lynching decreed by the Scottsboro judge, Hawkins, of "death by the passage of a current of electricity through your bodies".

In an effort to stifle this protest the prosecuting attorney in Alabama threatened the telegraph agencies with contempt of court, which might mean several months in prison, if telegrams of protest were received and delivered.

But the waves of protest continued to lash against the whole judicial structure and the lynch system of Alabama so that, when the official lynch mob raided a meeting of Negro share croppers at **Camp Hill, Alabama**, murdered the leader, burned down the church in which the meeting was held, and made numerous arrests, immediately the International Red Aid took up the fight, all the prisoners were freed, because, said these official mobsters, "We do not want another Scottsboro case!"

When the Scottsboro Negro Mother left New York for Europe in April the Negro children, two of whom were her own sons, were condemned to die on June 23. At that moment the federal government at Washington stood ready, and still does, to give the lynch courts of Alabama every possible aid in carrying through the mass burnings in the electric chair.

President Hoover's department of state, at Washington, that did not dare, because of the mass proportions of the Scottsboro campaign, to stop **Mrs. Ada Wright**, mother of two of the Scottsboro Negro Boys, and **J. Louis Engdahl**, National Chairman of the American Section of the International Red Aid, leaving the United States, tried to bring pressure on various European governments to accomplish its purpose.

Thus the "New York Times", that speaks quite authoritatively of the activities of the Wall Street government in Europe, said at the very beginning of the European Scottsboro tour, that:

"The American Embassy (Berlin) is reported to have brought informally the proposed agitation to the attention of the Foreign-Office, which in turn has referred the matter to the local police at points where the woman (Mrs. Wright) is scheduled to appear."

The German government, like the government of the Dollar reaction, would not assume the responsibility of suppressing the Scottsboro tour. It left this task, for the most part, to socialdemocratic police presidents, who, nevertheless, failed in their task, for the German tour was ended successfully and on the heels of this triumph came the decision, June 1st, from the United States Supreme Court that it would hear the appeal demanded by the International Red Aid against the electric chair decisions of the Alabama lynch courts. The European Scottsboro campaign, that had smashed through all obstacles, had forced this favourable action from the highest court in the United States, that had refused to listen to the appeal in the Sacco-Vanzetti, the Mooney-Billings and numerous other major persecutions of workers.

But this in no way ended the activities of the dollar diplomats in Europe. They increased their efforts to gag the Scottsboro European campaign. These dollar diplomats are carefully chosen on the basis of their reactionary views. There

is the multi-millionaire, **Andrew Mellon**, Wall Street's ambassador in **London**, with John D. Rockefeller and Henry Ford, the three richest men in the United States. He has even refused to receive worker delegations bringing Scottsboro protests.

This is the pack of human bloodhounds that the Hoover government turned loose on the Scottsboro Negro Mother in Europe. They accomplished her arrest and expulsion twice in **Belgium**; organized the grand reception for Mayor Cermak of Chicago, and the arrest and three days' imprisonment of the Scottsboro Mother in **Czechoslovakia**; secured the prohibition of all her meetings and her expulsion from **Bulgaria**. This "influence" was openly admitted by Belgium's minister of justice and by Bulgaria's minister of the interior.

From high places in the Czechoslovakian government it was even learned that the American dollar diplomats in Europe not only had the ambition of blocking the Scottsboro tour, but urged a "secret agreement" or "gentlemen's understanding" for the barring of all international exchanges of speakers.

In spite of all obstacles, however, the Scottsboro tour pressed on through **sixteen countries in six months**, in nearly two hundred meetings and demonstrations that reached upwards of half a million listeners, while the press campaign found its way into hundreds of millions of copies of daily newspapers and magazines of all political tendencies.

Under the glare of this publicity the nine black-gowned judges of the United States Supreme Court listened in silence to the demands for a new trial made by the lawyers of the International Red Aid on October Tenth and then withheld decision. The court has adjourned until **November Seventh**, no doubt hoping that world protest will abate in the meantime. The very forces let loose by the Scottsboro European Tour and by the world protest, a better understanding of the savage and bloody oppression of the many millions of the Negro masses in the United States, provide the basis for the development of the campaign. The European Scottsboro tour was the first of its kind. The world-wide protest must reach broad proportions not yet achieved.

This effort will face new and greater obstacles since the Scottsboro protest joins well with the struggle against the growing white terror and fascism in the capitalist countries, and against the murderous terror regime that develops ever more fiendish attacks upon the worker and peasant masses in the colonies and semi-colonies. Of this, it is certain, the judicial lynchers and the raging mob thirsting for Negro workers' blood in Scottsboro, Alabama, on April 6, 1931, were not aware. It only knew its vicious mission to strive by every means "to keep the Negro in his place", and to maintain the boasted "white superiority". It is clear, that the dollar government in Washington now fully understands the implications of the Scottsboro campaign that today rocks some of the strongest pillars in its edifice. It is only when it is fully understood that the dollar reaction will do everything possible to put through to its bloody conclusion, the burning alive of the Scottsboro Negro Children, that the absolute need for the widest world-wide mobilisation of protest becomes crystal clear, and renewed effort is developed to secure this mobilisation. That is the immediate task now while the United States Supreme Court delays in making its decision.

## Supreme Court Grants Scottsboro Re-trial.

New York, 7th November 1932.

The United States Supreme Court has reversed the Scottsboro decision and granted a re-trial to the Scottsboro Negro boys. The American Labour Defence declares that this decision represents a great victory for the world proletariat which has roused public opinion everywhere to the crime in preparation in Scottsboro. The organisation declares that the proletariat will demand an early trial and a change of venue and warns against illusions concerning the fairness of the re-trial.

500 armed police were on duty in the neighbourhood of the court and attacked the mass pickets with tear-gas grenades. Twelve persons were arrested including several Negroes. A crowd of 1,500 persons took up a sympathetic attitude towards the pickets.



## **Documents of the International**

# **Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Occasion of the XV. Anniversary of the October Revolution.**

Moscow, November 4, 1932.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has published an appeal in connection with the XV. Anniversary of the October-Revolution, the contents of which are as follows:

Proletarians and oppressed of all countries, workers and collective peasants of the Soviet Union!

Fifteen years have passed since the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. Fifteen years ago a new epoch in the history of humanity was opened—the epoch of the proletarian world revolution.

Socialism, which was the dream of the best and noblest minds of humanity and to the fight for which the First International summoned the workers, for the victory of which thousands and thousands of the best representatives of the working class died—is being realised today on one-sixth of the globe.

The banner of the Soviets, the banner which summons the workers, the enslaved peoples of the colonies, and the oppressed of the whole world to the path of the proletarian world revolution and calls upon the peoples of the world to fraternise, to realise Socialism, has been waving for fifteen years.

Remember this, worker . . .

There was once a Russia of the tsars, the gendarme of Europe, the prison of the people. Brutal exploitation of the working class prevailed. That was the Russia of the most disinherited of all disinherited workers, of a poverty-stricken and illiterate village population, of incitement of national fanaticism and national massacres.

Remember this, worker . . .

There raged the bloodiest of all wars, organised by the bourgeoisie of all the belligerent countries, which destroyed millions and millions of human lives, the flower of the toiling population.

The workers and soldiers in a few days overthrew the hated monarchy.

In a few months the workers, peasants and soldiers got rid of the swindle of bourgeois democracy. Under the leadership of the Leninist Party of the Bolsheviks there was accomplished the greatest revolution, the October Revolution. From the abyss of suffering and from the savagery of the imperialist slaughter the most oppressed of all sections of the toiling masses who were oppressed by Tsarism and the bourgeoisie rose to freedom and independent life. They converted the war waged in the interests of the landowners and capitalists into a war of the oppressed against the oppressors, for the radiant future of Communism, for peace between the peoples, for the freedom and happiness of the toilers.

The workers, peasants and the heroic Red Army fought for three glorious years against the inner counter-revolution and against the outer intervention of the imperialists, who trembled and were filled with dismay lest the revolutionary conflagration should spread to their domains. Before the walls of the Kremlin in Moscow, in the Siberian steppes, on the fields of Ukraine, and in Perekop, the best sons of the working class fell for the cause of Socialism.

Bow your heads, proletarians, in memory of the courageous and brave champions who perished in civil war for the cause of Socialism.

Remember this, worker! . . .

There was a second enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat—ruin.

Under the conditions of preparation for armed intervention against the Soviet Union uninterruptedly carried on by the imperialists, there developed the great creative work of Socialism. In face of the savage resistance of the remnants of the perishing capitalist classes there is being realised, at a tempo unexampled in history, the socialist industrialisation

of the one-time most backward agrarian country of capitalist Europe. As a result of socialist planned economy, unemployment has been abolished in a country with a population of 160 millions. The creative and cultural forces of the masses set free by the revolution have in the course of 15 years transformed the most backward colonies of tsarist Russia beyond recognition.

Imperialism did not succeed in restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R. Imperialism has not succeeded in preventing decisive successes in socialist industrialisation and collectivisation. Imperialism has not succeeded in frustrating the Five-Year Plan, whose unvanquishable force consists in the fact that it has become the most treasured inner common cause of millions of the working masses. The lights of Dnieprostroy proclaim to the whole world the completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years, the final consolidation of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the going over of the vast land of the Soviets to the second Five-Year Plan for the building up of the classless socialist society.

The victorious completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years enormously promotes the cause of the emancipation of the working class in the whole world. The powerful Soviet Union stands like an impregnable fortress of peace against robber imperialism, as a shock-brigade of the proletarian world revolution against fascism, reaction and unbounded chauvinism in the capitalist countries.

Think, worker! . . .

What did the bourgeoisie and their social democracy promise you when you were driven as cannon-fodder into the trenches? . . . What did the social democracy say to you when, after the war, you demanded the fulfilment of their promises? . . . What did the leaders of the reformist trade unions promise you when they fastened on you the yoke of capitalist rationalisation? . . .

"This will be the last war" they told you when they were preparing to send you to the front to feed the vultures.

"The working class of the civilised countries will, by means of democracy, achieve Socialism without bloodshed and more cheaply than the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R." they told you when they helped the hangman Horthy silently to dispose of the corpses, which were not yet cold, of the hanged heroic fighters for Soviet Hungary. Remember, you workers in Germany, the day on which the bloodhound Noske, on behalf of the social democratic government, caused your never-to-be-forgotten leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to be foully murdered.

"Your sacrifices will not be for long and will be doubly repaid", said the leaders of the reformist trade unions when they agreed to the dismissal of millions of workers for the sake of capitalist rationalisation.

Think of this, worker, and compare! . . .

Compare the results of the fifteen years dictatorship of the working class in the Soviet Union with the fifteen years of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the policy of the social democracy!

Which path was the correct one? Which path was cheaper for the working class? That which the working class and the millions of peasant masses in Russia trod under the leadership of the Leninist Bolshevik Party, or that into which you in the capitalist countries let yourselves be enticed by the social democratic leaders?

Is life easier for the working class in the capitalist countries?

Have the millions of working peasants become richer?  
 Have the oppressed peoples become freer?  
 Have oppression and slavery in the colonies become less?  
 Can the soldier in the capitalist army breathe freely?  
 No, a thousand times no!

Working men and women of the capitalist countries!

You see from the example of the Soviet Union of what the working class which has taken power into its hands is capable. You realise to your own cost into what an abyss the rule of the bourgeoisie and the social democracy has led you.

What has become of the projects for "socialisation" which the social democracy dangled before you in the years 1919 and 1920?

What has become of "organised capitalism" of which the social democracy talked? What has become of the fairy tale of capitalism without crises, in face of the severest economic crisis known in history?

It is only under the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat that there are springing up giants of socialist industry, every stone, every brick of which testifies to the high enthusiasm inspiring socialist construction. Only under the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does work become a matter of fame and honour. Only under the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat has one-time Tsarist Russia, the Russia of drunkenness, the Russia of illiteracy, become the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which is liquidating its backwardness, caused by historical conditions, at an unparalleled rate.

It is true, the proletarians who are in power in the U.S.S.R., in pursuing their sublime aim, encounter a number of difficulties and sacrifices. But what a vast gulf there is between the temporary privations of the workers of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a more rapid material and cultural advance, and those innumerable sufferings and sacrifices which your capitalist masters, the capitalist State and the leaders of the social democracy demand of you in order to rescue capitalism, whereby they doom dozens of millions to unemployment and death from starvation.

Yes, it is true, the proletarians who are in power in the Soviet Union are paying dearly for the economic and cultural backwardness which they have inherited from the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

The cause of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. would advance still more rapidly if you would firmly follow the path of revolution by driving the social democratic leaders out of the ranks of the working class.

There is no treachery, no scoundrelly deception which the social democratic leaders have not deliberately committed against the working class in order to rescue capitalism.

Who elaborated and supported the idea of civil-peace during the imperialist slaughter?

The leaders of the social democracy.

Who, together with the imperialists, and the Industrial Party, prepared intervention against the Soviet Union, organised acts of sabotage in the land of the Soviets?

The leaders of the social democracy.

Who was the watchdog of capitalist rationalisation? Who expelled revolutionary workers from the trade unions for taking part in strikes against exploitation by the capitalists?

The leaders of the social democracy.

Who prepared the way for fascism?

The leaders of the social democracy.

Who made the way free for the fascist generals in Germany on July 20?

The leaders of the social democracy.

Worker, take note!...

The social democracy promised you peace. Together with the bourgeoisie they told the masses the fairy-tale that the League of Nations was an instrument of peace.

As a matter of fact the League of Nations has long ago been exposed as an instrument of war. As a matter of fact, in the Far East, the first conflagration of a new imperialist war is spreading. In actual fact the governments of the social democrats MacDonald and Boncour, with the active participation of the II. International, are throttling the Indian and Indo-Chinese workers and peasants. In actual fact the social democracy supports the bloody war in the colonies.

They promised you a new era of well-being of the workers as a result of capitalist stabilisation: raising of the material standard, higher wages, new social reforms, alleviation of unemployment.

In reality there is a brutal offensive of the capitalists, millions of unemployed. In reality the bony hand of starvation is throttling hundreds of millions of proletarians.

They promised to lead the workers via democracy to Socialism. In reality there is fascism, bourgeois reaction and monstrous terror against the working class.

They frightened you with the difficulties of socialist construction in "the Soviet Union. Capitalism, by means of the social democratic leaders, compelled you to go through all its difficulties in the period of its decay.

You, proletarian, must choose between capitalism and Socialism, between reaction and revolution, between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and dictatorship of your class. There is no other way out. There is only one way out for your class. That is the way of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, the way of revolutions and victory.

To-day, when the cup of sufferings of the masses is full to overflowing, when millions of workers are beginning to move, the social democratic leaders are thinking out new tricks. They are manoeuvring out of fear of the anger of the working masses. In order to save capitalism from the new wave of proletarian revolution, these faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie try to deceive you with talk of "nationalisation of industry", of "socialism", of the "power" of the working class. Who believes these fables? Who will give Socialism to the workers if they do not win it themselves by means of fierce class struggle and proletarian revolution?

The fight for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the only way leading to the victory of Socialism.

Workers, toiling peasants, oppressed peoples in the colonies!

The Communist International, on the XV. anniversary of the October Revolution, addresses you, the innumerable victims of capitalist slavery and imperialist robber-policy, with the summons to unite your forces for the irreconcilable fight against imperialism, against colonial slavery, against the bankrupt capitalist system, for the complete overthrow of the power of the exploiters, for the Soviet Power!

Rally your forces, organise your ranks in strikes and demonstrations, in economic and political fights against the offensive of capital, against unemployment, wage cuts, robbery of insurance, against the ruin of the village by finance capital, against the yoke of colonial oppression!

All working class members of the social democratic organisations, of the revolutionary, reformist and christian trade unions, march together with the Communists! Strengthen the united front against the offensive of capital, against fascism and against reaction, against imperialist war and intervention against the U.S.S.R.!

Only under the leadership of the Communist Party will you achieve success in the fight. Only with your active participation, with your mass support, will the Communist Parties consolidate their Bolshevik positions in the factories and in the mass organisations and be able to lead you to decisive class fights and historical victories.

The forces of the proletarian world revolution are growing. The flames of the fight against imperialism in the colonies are spreading like an enormous conflagration. The Soviet banner is rising ever higher in Soviet China, this main centre of colonial revolution, and undermining the forces of imperialism in the whole of the colonial East, in India, Indo-China, Indonesia, in the Philippines and strengthening the front of proletarian world revolution. The toilers and oppressed of the whole world are following with the greatest enthusiasm the victories of the heroic Red Army of China on the vast territory of the Chinese Soviets. The wave of revolution in Spain is rising ever higher and sweeping the working and peasant masses into the fight for the Soviets. The united front of the revolutionary anti-fascist fight in Germany, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Communist Party, is embracing ever broader masses of workers. In fascist Poland, which is on the eve of decisive revolutionary fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance of the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities is becoming ever stronger. The iron step of the proletarian revolution is heard in the revolutionary insurrections in South-America, in the mutiny of the British sailors, in the heroic fights of the Japanese workers, peasants and soldiers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, against war. It is heard in the heroic strikes of the miners of Belgium, of the miners of Czechoslovakia and of the United States, of the workers of Greece and Bulgaria, of the textile workers of Great Britain, of the lumbermen of Sweden, as well as in all the numerous strikes and demonstrations of the oppressed, starving and exploited workers and unemployed of the whole capitalist world.

Workers and collective peasants in the Soviet Union!  
Famous shock-brigaders of the great work of socialist construction!

The eyes of millions of workers and peasants of the whole world are turned to you with pride and rapture!

The eyes of the whole hostile world are fixed on you: filled with brutish fear of your successes and with malicious joy on account of the slightest failure.

Under the leadership of the Leninist Party and the leader of the toilers of all countries, Comrade Stalin, you have shown the whole world miracles of steadfastness and unvanquishable creative power in overcoming difficulties on the sublime path to Communism. The Communist International confidently believes that still more magnificent victories await you.

Raise higher the banner of Lenin, the banner of October, the banner of the proletarian world revolution!

Proletarians of all countries! All out for the defence of the U.S.S.R.! For the defence of the Chinese Soviets, for the defence of the oppressed colonial peoples! All out for the fight for the victory of the World October!

**The Executive Committee of the Communist International.**

## Appeal of the E.C.C.I. to the Workers, Peasants and Communists of Spain.

Moscow, November 4, 1932.

The E.C.C.I. has addressed the following appeal to the Workers, Peasants and Communists of Spain:

The industrial and agricultural proletariat of the Iberian Peninsula have for two years been conducting great heroic struggles. The Civil Guard, acting on the orders of the Azana-Caballero Government, shoot down the proletarians and peasants in the towns and villages of Spain.

Heroic struggles are taking place in the whole of Spain, in the industrial centres and on the big estates, and the slogan of the Workers and Peasants Government is heard from the factories, from Barcelona, Bilbao, Seville etc. to the smallest and remotest villages in the provinces.

In the midst of the upsurge of the mass struggle, four former leaders of the Communist Party of Spain, Trilla, Adame, Vega and Bullejos, broke with the Communist International after contemptuously expressing their lack of confidence in the fighting spirit of the workers and peasants. These people for months conducted a sullen fight in the ranks of the Communist Party of Spain in order to prevent the creation of a real mass party in Spain, in order to frustrate the organisation of the common fight with the honest revolutionary, anarchist and socialist workers and the workers in the various trade unions in face of the bourgeois, agrarian counter-revolution in Spain.

By actually supporting in this manner the policy of the counter-revolution in Spain, Adame, Trilla, Vega and Bullejos have sabotaged the political line of the Communist International, which is dominated by the idea of uniting the masses for the fight and in the fight. The policy of splitting the working and peasant masses is the policy of the counter-revolution in Spain, which is doing its utmost to split the forces by which it will be crushed. For the purpose of this criminal work it utilises its social-democratic agents (Caballero and others) and supports the "anarchist" leaders, who vilify Communism and attempt to divert the workers from the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thereby strengthen the dictatorship of capital by splitting the forces of the workers.

The Spanish counter-revolution, which has shed the blood of the toilers from north to south and east to west of Spain, is endeavouring to prevent the trade union movement of Spain from being united on the basis of a programme of revolutionary struggle, and for this purpose continually incites fractional fights in the ranks of the working class. But it is not only in the ranks of the proletariat that the counter-revolutionaries of Spain carry on their pernicious disruptive work. They do everything to lessen the influence of the revolutionary working class on the thousands of peasants who are fighting for land and among whom the glorious example of the October Revolution is arousing a lively response.

The exploiters and murderers of the working people of Spain know very well that the fighting unity of the proletariat and the brotherly union of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will sound the

death knell of their bloody rule. For this reason they employ every means in order to split the exploited masses, and in so doing have found a support in the policy of sabotaging the unity of the working class conducted by the Trilla-Adame-Vega-Bullejos group.

There is no doubt that the Communist Party of Spain has grown in the last two years, that it has guided the struggles of the workers and peasants and fought against the counter-revolutionaries; but it has done this not with the help of Adame, Trilla, Vega and Bullejos, but in spite of and against them.

If the Communist Party of Spain has not assumed a more important place in the revolutionary movement of the masses of Spain, the fault lies with this group, which in spite of advice and decisions, wished to isolate the Party from this movement.

Whilst the Communist Parties of the whole world unceasingly called upon their Spanish brother party to conduct the fight for the revolutionary united front of the working class, for the unity of the trade union movement, for the development of the agrarian revolution, Adame, Trilla, Vega and Bullejos treacherously manoeuvred against the Communist International, which they deceived by accepting in words all its decisions, in order then to continue their sectarian policy which objectively served the interests of the Spanish counter-revolution.

This group concealed from the Party the Open Letter which criticised their mistakes; they allowed irresponsibility and petty-bourgeois self-satisfaction to gain ground in the Party; they conducted the policy of a rotten diplomacy towards the Comintern by preventing all control from below, by preventing the promotion of young revolutionary cadres, just as if the Party were their own personal property.

In face of such a situation the Communist world movement repeatedly intervened. Everything was done to convince Adame, Vega, Bullejos and Trilla of the fatal effects of their policy. These people unworthily abused the revolutionary patience of the Communist brother parties, whilst they made preparations to follow the path of open fight against the Communist International.

Repeating the calumnies of the bourgeoisie, they described all the Spanish Communists who, in spite of the greatest difficulty, fought for the carrying out of the mass policy in the C.P. of Spain, as lackeys of the C.I.

To-day, when the Communist movement has grown in town and country, the counter-revolution in Spain is dealing it hard blows by arresting the functionaries who are true to the policy of the Communist International and expose the shameful game and policy of Adame, Trilla, Vega and Bullejos.

At the moment when the revolutionary wave is rising, the opportunists and time-servers turn aside. Frossard in France and Paul Levy in Germany have already, like other renegades, adopted the path of betrayal of the workers at the moment of intensification of the class struggle.

Adame, Trilla, Vega and Bullejos have adopted the same path. They will no doubt be highly lauded by the counter-revolutionary crowd in Spain. It is also not surprising that the police are endeavouring to make of this group a poisoned weapon against the Communist movement.

Tomorrow Adame, Trilla, Vega and Bullejos will resort to the most vile calumnies employed by the bourgeoisie so as to endeavour to demoralise the young Communist Party of Spain which has driven them from its ranks. Tomorrow they will attempt to spread confusion among the working and peasant masses of Spain by pointing out that they have been in prison under the monarchy. But Alcala Zamorra and other murderers of the exploited have been in prison. Where are they now? What are they doing?

Adame, Vega, Trilla and Bullejos are following the path of the Spanish counter-revolution. Will they become splitters of the revolutionary movement in the Trotskyist camp, or will they go over immediately to the camp of the fascists of Spain? That is a subordinate question. One thing is certain, the Spanish counter-revolution has won four new recruits.

Expelled from the ranks of the C.I. by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. in agreement with the International Control Commission, Adame, Trilla, Vega and Bullejos are enemies of the revolutionary movement of Spain.

The Party of the revolution has got rid of four people who attempted to prevent the rallying of the workers and peasants for the revolutionary fight. But in the industrial hells and in

the country the exploited masses will turn to the Communist Party, the only Party of the revolutionary unity of the working class, the only Party which stands for the alliance of the workers and peasants for the common fight.

Four people have been driven out of the Party, but the toilers will come in tens of thousands in order to fight under the red flag of the Communist Party of Spain, which, by uniting them and guiding their fight, will lead them to victory and to the destruction of the counter-revolution.

Long live the revolutionary unity of the working class of Spain!

Long live the Communist Party of Spain which fights for unity!

Long live the workers' and peasants' revolution in Spain!

**For the Spanish Commission elected by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.:**

André Marty, chairman, Thälmann (C.P. of Germany), Jacques Duclos (C.P. of France), Ercoli (C.P. of Italy), Katsuyama (C.P. of Japan), Bela Kun (C.P. of Hungary), Lenski (C. P. of Poland), Van Min (C.P. of China), Gonzalez (C.P. of Mexico).

## **XV. Anniversary of the October Revolution**

# **The Fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan.**

**By S. Minajew.**

In the course of the first three years of the Five-Year Plan the working masses of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party, went forward step by step with Bolshevik tenacity on the path of socialist construction. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, in view of the economic and political events they witnessed, these three years (1928/29 to 1930/31) have opened a new epoch in the development of the proletarian revolution.

The directives confirmed by the XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. for the setting up of the second Five-Year Plan envisage a programme of political and economic measures exceeding in magnificence and international importance the preceding programme for the work of the first Five-Year Plan.

In fulfilling the Five-Year Plan new possibilities were utilised which enabled us to exceed the proposals of the Five-Year Plan to such an extent that the task could be set of fulfilling it in four years.

The task of fulfilling the Five-Year Plan in four years, which was suggested by the working masses, worked as a powerful incentive for further mobilising the proletarian forces, for utilising the sources of aid offered by socialist economy and for a still greater promotion of economic construction.

Our task is, proceeding from statistical data, to sum up the general results of the three years struggle, and in the first place to answer the question, to what extent the chief aim of the Five-Year Plan has been achieved.

In examining this question we begin with the main point of the Five-Year Plan, with the question of the pace of the industrialisation of the Soviet Union. The conversion of the Soviet Union from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian country, the forced and all-round industrialisation of the Soviet Union by strengthening and extending the socialist sector—that is the essence of the Five-Year Plan.

It goes without saying that in describing the course of the carrying out of the first Five-Year Plan, the chief question to be answered is, at what pace the national economy of the Soviet Union, and before all industry, has developed in the three years in question.

First we set forth in a quite general form a comparison of the planned and of the actual pace of development of some important branches of economy.

### **Rate of Growth of the Most Important Branches of Economy of the Soviet Union.**

Branch of economy	Average annual rate of development in three years according to the Five-Year Plan	Pace of development actually achieved
Planned industry . .	121.6	125.6
Capital investments, according to prices in the year 1925/26	129.6	133.0
Area under cultivation	105.4	105.9
Freight-traffic on the railways . . . . .	111.7	117.2

We have cited here the average annual pace in the three years 1928/29 to 1930/31. It must be borne in mind, however, that for an exhaustive analysis it is no less important to ascertain how the development has proceeded from year to year.

We will now see how at this tempo the individual branches of industry, (group A) industry producing means of production and (group B) the branches of industry producing articles of consumption have developed:

#### **Pace of Development of Industry on a yearly average.**

	In three years, according to the Five-Year Plan	In three years, actually
Group A . . . . .	126.0	135.5
Group B . . . . .	118.4	118.0
Total planned industry	121.6	125.6

We see therefore that the surpassing of the pace of development of industry proposed in the Five-Year Plan took place exclusively to the advantage of heavy industry.

The pace of development of the various branches of the heavy industry—of group A in the period from 1928 to 1931—was so rapid that it exceeded the preceding period of three years, which also included the years of construction.

#### **Pace of development of heavy industry (per cent).**

	1928 in comparison with 1925	1931 in comparison with 1928
Group A (as a whole) . .	199.4	227.0
Oil output . . . . .	168.7	184.1
Oil refining . . . . .	167.8	238.1
Machine construction . .	248.9	266.6
Electro-technical industry	246.8	379.5
Organic chemistry . . . .	185.4	229.9
Smelting industry . . . .	198.2	143.7

Heavy industry, when it entered the reconstruction period, not only did not show a slowing down of the pace of development, but accelerated its pace of development compared with the last years of the restoration period. Thus actual practice has shown that the exceedingly rapid development of socialist industry was not based only on the striving to achieve the pre-war level. The Trozkyists, however, maintained that the pace of development, after having reached the pre-war level, would be bound to decline and show a falling curve. As a matter of fact, however, it was seen that socialist planned economy, which in the process of restoration had developed its creative forces and shown its power, began in the period of reconstruction to reveal its advantages still more and to realise new possibilities of a gigantic development.

Does not the above-cited pace of development of heavy industry perhaps represent the limit of what it can achieve? Must there not commence, after it has reached a high point, a certain period of more moderate growth?

In order to answer the above question we will see in the first place how heavy industry developed from year to year in the first three years of the Five-Year Plan.

We therefore compare the actual annual development with the annual norms proposed in the Five-Year Plan.



### Pace of Development of the industrial branches of Group A (heavy industry) in percentages of the previous year.

	1928/29	1929/30	1931
According to the Five-Year Plan	125.6	126.2	126.7
Actually	131.2	140.2	122.6

Whilst, as we have already pointed out, the average annual rate of development considerably exceeded the tasks of the Five-Year Plan, we can now record that this surpassing of the Plan has proceeded at an increasing rate. Whilst in the year 1931 there was a certain weakening, the year-1932 again shows an increasing pace of development.

Taken as a whole, therefore, the pace of development has increased intensively in the course of four years, whilst the Five-Year Plan envisaged only a moderate increase from year to year.

Are there real sources of aid by means of which the pace of development of heavy industry can be increased? We will quote figures which show by what factors the output of group A was chiefly developed and the pace envisaged by the Five-Year Plan exceeded. Let us again take for this purpose the figures regarding the average annual development of group A.

### Rate of development of heavy industry on a yearly average.

	According to the Five-Year Plan in the first three years	Actually carried out in the first 3 years of the Five-Year Plan
Oil industry	119.6	134.2
Hard coal industry	114.4	117.5
Mining	144.2	126.4
Iron smelting industry	121.5	114.0
Non-ferrous smelting industry	123.1	125.1
Construction of agricultural machines	133.1	140.6
General machine construction and other branches of the metal industry	123.9	156.5
Electro-technical industry	134.3	169.5
Building material	132.3	120.3
Lumber and wood working industry	134.2	141.3
Chemical industry (organic)	135.9	138.6
Working up of fibres	127.3	120.5
Total of group A	126.0	135.5

In regard to the above table the following must be emphasised. Of the twelve branches of industry mentioned, six have developed below the average rate of development of the whole group; of these, four developed more slowly than was stipulated in the Five-Year Plan.

The remaining six branches of industry developed for the greater part much more intensively than the average pace of the total group and more rapidly than proposed in the Five-Year Plan.

The first six branches of industry, which developed with extraordinary rapidity, are greatly hampered and cannot utilise their total output capacity owing to the inadequate pace of development of the last six. This circumstance was very much apparent in the year 1931, when the shortage of coal and metal restricted the work of the first six branches of industry. In spite of this the branches of industry in the second group developed very quickly in the year 1931.

The chief hindrance was the coal and smelting industry. If the pace of development of these two branches of industry is increased it is bound to accelerate the pace of development of the first. For this reason the coal mining industry and the smelting industry were specified as the decisive branches in the plan for 1932. For these branches of industry a pace of development was stipulated in the plan for 1932 (for the coal industry an increase of 60 per cent. and for the smelting industry an increase of 84 per cent.) which is bound to bring about the necessary change and thereby cause a fresh and still more powerful increase of all the other branches of industry and of the whole national economy of the Soviet Union.

In the development of light industry (group B) we observe a much slower development in the three years than in the heavy industry, although an average annual growth of 16 per cent. cannot be regarded as a mere trifle. In actual

fact the pace of development of group B during the whole four years has been up to the level of the Five-Year Plan.

In order to see more clearly the causes which more or less hindered the development of group A, we quote some figures on the rate of development of the individual branches of group B.

### Average annual rate of development of light industry

	In 3 years according to the Five-Year Plan	In 3 years actual Carrying out of the Five-Year Plan
Textile industry	114.6	102.2
Garment industry	141.2	176.9
Leather and footwear industry	124.5	133.6
Ceramic and pottery	113.9	120.5
Paper industry	128.4	121.1
Typographic industry	114.5	122.0
Chemical industry	121.2	124.5
Food industry	117.8	124.8
Salt production	107.3	119.0
Total of group B	118.4	118.0

We see therefore that the far greater part of light industry has developed with extraordinary rapidity in the three years period and in particular at a more rapid rate than provided by the Five-Year Plan. A decided exception is the textile industry, which did not achieve the pace proposed by the Five-Year Plan and developed on a lower level than the other branches of the light industry.

To what is this unsatisfactory development of the textile industry to be attributed? These causes are not to be sought in the industry itself. The productive capacity of the textile industry is much larger than it was actually utilised.

The chief cause retarding the development of light industry lies in the shortage of raw material. A decisive change has been accomplished in this respect in the last three years, as a result of which an undoubtedly firmer basis has been created for the light industry than it formerly had. The most important circumstance is that the textile industry, which for the greater part used imported raw material, is now working with home-produced raw material.

The following figures characterise this change:

### Share of imported cotton in the total consumption of the Soviet Union.

Year	Import	(in 1000 tons)
		Share of imported cotton
1928	144.2	38.5
1929	112.5	29.7
1930	47.8	12.6
1931	13.5	3.3

The development of agricultural production, and especially of the production of technical plants, forms the necessary prerequisite for further increasing the pace of development of all branches of the light industry. We see therefore that light industry has not yet reached the limits of its pace of development. One of the central tasks of the second Five-Year Plan, to increase from two to threefold the consumption of articles of daily necessity, must be solved for the greater part by the light industry, which of course demands a considerable increase in the rate of its growth.

We have thus proved by means of quite general figures, firstly that industry as a whole has developed at a more rapid pace in the three years' period than was envisaged in the Five-Year Plan; secondly that the heavy industry achieved the greatest pace of development, and thirdly that the overwhelming part of light industry likewise considerably surpassed the figures of the Five-Year Plan, and fourthly that heavy industry and also the light industry, in spite of their extraordinary pace of development, have not yet reached their limits and even with the existing possibilities of production are a long way off from these limits.

The pace in the development of industry detailed above led to an extraordinary increase of the total production. In the course of three years the production of large, so-called planned industry was doubled.



## The Dynamics of the Total Production of planned Industry of the Soviet Union.

(In million roubles, in prices obtaining in 1927.)

	1927/28	1931	1931 in percentage of 1927/28
Group A . . . . .	5,862	14,322	244
Group B . . . . .	7,163	12,789	178
Total industry . . . . .	13,025	27,111	208

If we include the plan for 1932, the total production will have increased in the course of four years by 188 per cent, compared with the year 1927/28. In this process of industrial development completely new branches of industry and various branches of production were organised. It suffices to point out that during this three years' period the production of the machine-building industry and the whole of the metal industry increased 270 per cent, whilst the output in the electro-technical industry increased 380 per cent.

It should be further pointed out that in the whole of the restoration period up to 1926, 479 new undertakings were erected, quite apart from the fact that in the same period 1,434 enterprises were rebuilt. A comparison of the industrial structure in the year 1913 with that in the last year of the restoration period, 1926/27, likewise shows considerable qualitative changes in the industry of the Soviet Union during the process of restoration.

### Structure of the Census Industries According to Branches.

Branch of industry	Total Production 1913		1926	
	In 1000 Rbls. 1926/27 prices	In per cents of total ind.	In 1000 Rbls. 1926/27 prices	In per cents of total ind.
Total Industry . . . . .	10,251,601	100	10,704,000	100
Group A . . . . .	4,289,528	41.8	4,745,000	44.4
Group B . . . . .	5,962,073	58.2	5,959,000	55.6
Electric power works	126,745	1.2	288,000	2.1
Machine construction	610,872	6.0	815,000	1.4
Electro-technic . . . . .	85,795	0.8	148,000	1.4

It is not without interest to compare the above mentioned pace of development of Soviet industry with the years of the biggest development of industry in pre-revolutionary Russia. For this purpose we quote the following figures:

Years	Annual Average growth
1900—1905 . . . . .	103.6 per cent.
1906—1907 . . . . .	107.8 " "
1908—1913 . . . . .	108.8 " "

Russian capitalism, even in the epoch of its greatest expansion, was unable to achieve that rapidity of development which was first realised when the proletariat, which had got rid of the industrial parasites, began to run industry.

We quote below some fundamental data in order to show, if only in a general form, how far the Soviet Union has left behind it that legacy which it took over from Tsarist Russia:

### Total Production of Census Industry.

(In 100,000 roubles, calculated according to prices in 1926/27.)

Branch of Industry	1913		1931		1932 (Plan)			
	Absolute	Absolute	In % to 1913	Absolute	In per cents of output of the whole of Industry			
					1913	1913	1931	1932
Total industry . . . . .	10,252	30,708	299.5	41,568	405.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Group A . . . . .	4,290	16,813	391.9	23,942	558.1	41.8	54.8	57.6
Group B . . . . .	5,962	13,895	233.1	17,626	126.9	58.2	45.2	42.4
Electric-power works . . . . .	127	750	590.6	1,328	777.1	1.2	2.4	3.2
Hard coal mining . . . . .	301	592	196.7	893	296.7	2.0	1.9	2.1
Oil production . . . . .	432	1,289	298.4	1,624	375.9	4.2	4.2	3.9
Iron and steel production . . . . .	482	1,018	211.2	1,760	365.1	4.7	3.3	4.2
Machine construction thereof: automobile construction . . . . .	611	4,153	679.7	6,973	1,141.2	6.0	13.5	16.3
tractor production . . . . .	—	287	—	970	—	—	1.0	2.3
agricultural machine construction . . . . .	55	479	870.9	1,047	1,903.6	0.5	1.6	2.5
Electro-technics . . . . .	86	968	1,125.6	1,289	1,498.8	0.8	3.2	3.1
Chemical industry . . . . .	501	1,729	345.1	2,542	507.4	4.9	5.6	6.1
Textile industry . . . . .	2,886	4,236	146.8	5,083	176.1	28.2	13.8	12.2
Garment industry . . . . .	14	2,452	17,514.3	3,140	22,428.6	0.1	8.0	7.6
Food industry . . . . .	2,722	5,605	205.9	7,677	282.2	26.6	18.3	18.5

Thus we see that the essential thing is not only that the present level of production is incomparably higher than that of the year 1913, but above all that the newly arisen industry shows to what an extent we have here a quite differently organised economy. It suffices to point out that the completely

new branches of industry, such as machine-construction, electro-technics, electric-power works etc., already in 1931 accounted for 15.9 per cent of the production of the whole of heavy industry, whilst in 1913 their output constituted only 8.3 per cent. It is worth mentioning that the increased production amounting to 10,300 million roubles contemplated for the year 1932, alone equals the total production in 1913, which likewise amounted to 10,300 million roubles.

## Russian Workers Eat Three Meals a Day.

By N. Buchwald.

It was in a tea-room in Minsk.

The young Russian was intrigued by the ingenuous buckle of my American raincoat, and asked me whether the raincoat and I were German. I told him we were both American, and he was doubly impressed.

We got to talking. There was something striking in the combination of high boots, callous hands, and the brand-new black leather brief-case, of which the Russian was obviously proud. He was a worker fresh from the bench. He came all the way from Leningrad on a mission of great importance: his factory entrusted him with the job of purchasing a quantity of various foodstuffs in one of the regions of the White Russian Republic.

At the mention of his mission, I perked up. The food situation in the Soviet Union had been impressed upon me while I was still in New York. I remembered the stories printed in the capitalist and social-fascist papers (particularly the "Forward") about "wholesale starvation" in Russia. There was no mistaking the vicious intent of those stories, but from a distance it was difficult to tell just how far these slanderers and liars went in distorting the facts.

Two days in Minsk were sufficient to allay whatever misgivings I may have had about starvation in the Soviet Union. Surely there were no outward signs of starvation. In the milling crowds on Freedom Square, in the jammed trolleys, in the tea-rooms, in the parks, in the movies, one could not find any of those pale, pasty faces that one finds by the thousands in New York. If looks mean anything, the people in Minsk did not look starved or even undernourished. The comrades in Minsk were amused when I told them of the "starvation" stories printed in American papers. So I was quite reassured on the subject of starvation. But what of the food situation in general?

My Russian friend of a few minutes' acquaintance was glad to discuss the matter with me. The food problem resolves itself into two main difficulties: actual shortage of certain foodstuffs, and inefficient distribution of available food-stores. Both sides of the problem are being tackled vigorously by the Party, by the respective governmental agencies, and by the plants and factories individually. There is no complaint about the unavoidable shortage of certain food items and other articles of general use. The Russian workers are quite aware of the fact that, because of the strenuous efforts to build up the basic (heavy) industries under the most difficult conditions, without the normal credit facilities abroad, which are accorded all countries but the Soviet-Union, the development of the so-called light industries which manufacture articles of consumption, while also developing rapidly, cannot keep up with the constantly growing demand.

We have also to be reminded—and a couple of years ago the Soviet press devoted considerable attention to the question—that the first period of collectivisation (1929-1930) was followed by specially fierce resistance of the rich peasants (kulaks). One of their methods of fighting against collectivisation consisted in slaughtering their cattle, at the same time spreading anti-Soviet propaganda, disbelief in the measures of the government, and panic in the ranks of the backward elements of the toiling peasants. As a result of all this, the first year of collectivisation was accompanied by a marked decrease in the number of cattle.

On the other hand, we have to note the general rise of consuming power both in the villages and in the cities during the years of revolution. The villagers, who, during Tsarism, had to sell on the market the greatest part of their agricultural produce in order to pay the ceaselessly rising taxes, have at the present time the possibility to consume a large part of their produce, and therefore are sending it to the market in a lesser degree. Obviously, this has an effect on the supply of the towns.

The cattle-breeding and dairy Soviet farms, which are organised on a large scale by the government, are not yet able to cope with the supply of the town population. The reason is that, as compared with the grain problem which was solved in the first years of collectivisation, the meat problem needs a much longer period for its solution. All this the Soviet worker fully understands. There is no complaint about this kind of shortage, for the average Russian worker knows that it is just a question of putting up with temporary difficulties and discomforts in order to build up his country.

But there are other food difficulties that are both avoidable and surmountable. Much of the food shortage, wherever it becomes serious, is due to faulty management and faulty distribution of available supplies. The fact is that the food situation varies from region to region, from city to city, and in the same region or city,—from factory to factory. In addition to the rations of basic foodstuffs (bread, sugar, potatoes, etc.), supplied by the government, each factory, each economic unit of production, organises its own supply and distribution apparatus to provide the workers with additional foodstuffs and goods. The government has set aside certain state farms to supply the needs of specified factories or of other organisations. It is largely up to the factory management to organise its own supply of additional and available foodstuffs and their distribution at cost to the workers.

It is precisely on such a mission that the worker from a large industrial plant in Leningrad came to Minsk. He was assigned a certain territory in which he could buy up quantities of food and make bargains with the local kolhozes (collective farms), or, for that matter, with individual peasants. Part of his task consists in helping the collective farms and the individual peasants to obtain manufactured goods of everyday use. For, in the matter of manufactured goods, there is also the double difficulty of insufficient supply (of certain items of general use), and faulty distribution of available supplies—the latter perhaps being the more serious and more vexing part of the situation. The peasants want goods in exchange for their food, and it is part of the job of this energetic young Russian worker from Leningrad to make such goods available to the peasants. The task is complicated and calls for much initiative and a clear understanding of the many factors that enter into the problem. But this particular representative of this particular plant in Leningrad had managed to solve the problem: all the workers of his factory are assured a year's supply of potatoes at nominal "firm" prices, a supply of butter at fairly reasonable "commercial" prices, a supply of meat for the workers' families, in addition to the meatlunches the workers get at the factory at low prices, an additional supply of bread over and above the quite sufficient rations of a pound and a half to two pounds a day per worker (very cheaply).

In Minsk proper I had occasion to visit two fair-sized factories and inquire into the food situation of each of them. The Voroshilov plant (machine-building) had had its troubles about food supplies, and there was quite a row made by the leading workers and the Party Committee of the factory. The Factory Committee was taken to task for neglecting its work of supplying the workers with sufficient food at prices within their budget. Also—for permitting the factory kitchen to lower the quality of the meals and raise their prices. The workers of the factory had their say and they removed the entire Factory Committee. When I visited the factory, the new Committee had been functioning only a few days, but already there was a measurable improvement in conditions. Certainly the lunch of delicious potato soup (with double portions available for every one), and the tasty roast veal with barley, potatoes and a pickled cucumber on the side, tasted good to this writer who had eaten worse lunches in some of our better cafeterias. The old kitchen manager was placed on probation. If he won't make good, he too will go. I think he will make good. The problem of cost is one he has not yet solved. The meal described here costs 85 copeks. It should cost less. With efficient management, it will cost less.

At the "October" clothing factory, employing two thousand workers, and producing nearly a million women's coats a year, the average pay of the workers is lower than at "Voroshilov", but in many respects the workers of "October" are better supplied with foodstuffs and articles of daily use, because the management and the Factory Committee are more efficient in this respect. I had lunch also at the "October" plant. It was approximately of the same kind, tasted some-

what better, and cost only 75 kopeks. In addition, the workers could get tea free of charge. Apples at nominal prices were available at all hours, both at the "Voroshilov" and the "October".

There are still difficulties, but when you put these difficulties in their proper place in the Soviet picture of socialist construction, of buoyant optimism, and that wonderful sense of self-reliance and self-confidence on the part of the workers, and the fight of the working class under the leadership of the Soviet Government, these difficulties look much smaller. It is precisely here that the bourgeois propagandists lie even when they tell some of the truth: they "tear the text out of the context"; they put the difficulties of socialist construction to the foreground, and omit or belittle the tremendous achievements both in reconstructing the country on socialist foundations, and reconstructing the workers and the peasants in a spirit of pride in their own achievements, in a spirit of social responsibility, of collective effort. When you come in contact with the Soviet workers; when you observe their pride at being the builders of socialism; when you come under the spell of the boundless faith they have in their own future and the future of the working class the world over—then, and only then, do you realise the true meaning of this great and glorious event in the history of the world called the October Revolution.

An instance of this spirit:

I was conducted through the "Voroshilov" factory by a worker from the bench who had just finished his shift. He was not a Party member, just a man from the ranks. He told me of a "break" that took place at the plant: last month they fell down on the production. They fulfilled only 90 per cent. of their quota. I made an entry in my note book. The workers noticed it, and said to me pleadingly: "Please, don't write this down about our factory. We'll make good the next month, I assure you."

They'll make good, rest assured, comrades.

## Women in Soviet Industry.

By Caroline Drew.

The celebration of the victories of the workers revolution in November each year, is the occasion for a review of the advances in every field of life. The giant strides of the women are among the most striking achievements of any section of the workers.

As a reward for distinguished military service in the civil war, 52 women won the "Order of the Red Flag". To-day as a reward for outstanding service on the industrial front 71 women have won the "Order of Lenin". These women are the outstanding heroines who helped make possible the proletarian revolution, and the successful building of socialism. But besides them there are the masses of women shock brigaders in every phase of Soviet industry.

In old Russia there was a proverb which said, "chickens are not birds, and women are not people". To-day we find this proverb wrong in both respects. The chicken is now a much respected bird which is being cared for in modern incubators and with the most modern methods. The freedom of the Soviet women is not the freedom of the women in capitalist countries to enter into job competition with her husband, brother, son, but that of an equal, class conscious citizen, building socialism.

In previous years women were to be found mainly in light industries. With the growing success of the first 5 Year Plan, and the shortage of workers, women are drawn in greater numbers into heavy industry. But when women are employed in coal mines, in rolling mills, on tractors, etc., a scientific study is first made to make sure that the work is not injurious to her health. In the case of the tractor it was found that the ordinary seat was not quite satisfactory. The vibration of the tractor affected the women's health, so a special spring seat was designed which assures complete comfort.

Research has shown that women are more careful drivers of street cars, autos, locomotives, with resultant fewer accidents. Men delegates from capitalist countries have had one "jolt" after another, seeing women workers doing "their" job. They see women working on such jobs as bricklaying, crane operators, skilled mechanics, welders, etc. These are jobs which are not open to women in the capitalist countries. Only during war time a few women, whose men are rushed to the front

as cannon fodder, are given such jobs. The majority of the women are put on machines in dangerous war industries manufacturing guns, bullets, and poisonous gases.

In the Soviet Union women are to be found on all jobs, big or little, easy or difficult, provided it is not injurious to their health.

The first 5 Year Plan has drawn additional hundreds of thousands of new workers into industry. It has completely liquidated unemployment, and created a shortage of workers. Many of the new workers are the women. Before many of these women, who are former housewives, can be drawn into the factories and workshops, they must be freed from household drudgery. In order to free them from tiresome household and menial labours factory kitchens have been built which serve 11,500,000 workers 27,300,000 meals a day, and thousands of mechanical laundries have been constructed. There are 879,700 children cared for each day between the ages of a few months and 3 years, in the crèches which are in charge of highly trained workers. Besides 2,755,000 children of pre-school age (3 to 7 years) are taken care of in Kindergarten.

The capitalist press propaganda claims there is forced labour in the Soviet Union, and that women must enter industry because her husband cannot support her. But actually we find that most women are anxious to enter industry, because then they can develop mentally, become independent, have additional educational and cultural opportunities, which is made possible by the factory itself, by the trade unions, and by the Young Communist League and Communist Party.

In a brick factory in Magnitogorsk a **women's shock brigade** won the Red Flag for the best work. They gave the poorest working brigade, which happened to be a men's brigade, a banner of straw for their poor work. The enthusiasm of the women in many factories have helped to carry through the 5 Year Plan in 2½ or 3 years. Such enthusiasm answers the lies of the capitalist slanderers.

There are today 96 women members of the All Union Soviet out of 611 members. (The All Union Soviet is the highest governing body composed of elected representatives from every part of the Soviet Union.) In 1917, when the first Soviet was organised, there were 15. Throughout the Soviet Union there are today almost half a million women members of the city, village, region and district Soviets; in 1917 there were a little over 1000 members. The great masses participated in the elections. In some national soviet republics close on 100% of the population voted in the last elections.

There are women Commissars and Vice Commissars, including **Comrade Yakovlova**, Commissar of finance of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics (R.S.F.S.R.), **N. Krupskaya**, Vice Commissar of People's Education of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.), **Vera Lebedeva**, Vice Commissar of Social Welfare of R.S.F.S.R., **Pelagea Voronova**, Vice Commissar of Light Industry of the U.S.S.R., and many women members of the various Collegiums (leading bodies) of the Commissariat of People's Education, Justice, Heavy Industry, Transportation, Labour, and the Workers and Peasants Inspection.

**Comrade Anna Bogat**, who is the Vice Commissar of Health in the R.S.F.S.R., is one of the heroes of the civil war. She is a textile worker from Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, an old Bolshevik, who was the commander of a battalion during the fighting against the white guards and interventionists.

There are women directors and vice directors of large factories. In the **Electrozavod**, a factory where about 20,000 workers are making electrical products which are freeing the Soviet Union from foreign imports, there is **Comrade Proletarskaya**, 32 years old, who won the "Order of Lenin". She started to work in a textile mill at 12 years of age. In 1916 the class conscious workers in her factory gave her illegal books and papers to read, and she was arrested in her first strike. She participated actively in the fighting at the front, during the civil war days.

In the **Lepse factory**, where electric motors are made, there is a brigade of 26 young girl workers (most of them members of the Young Communist League) who won the "Order of Lenin".

For outstanding work at Dnjeprostroy, where Lenin's dream of electrification was realized, four women were among the 67 workers, engineers and foreign specialists, who received the "Order of Lenin", at the official opening October 10th. **Comrade Marie Zhukova** was leader of one of the cement pouring brigades, **Marie Bellick**, first women brigadier on

cement pouring, **Elisabeth Varusha**, manager of the cooperative store, and **D. Silverstein** engineer. The cement brigades at Dnjeprostroy set a new world record from 380,000 cubic metres a season in the United States, to 518,000. With the help of socialist labour both of men and women, and the enthusiasm of building for the world revolution, the greatest dam and electric station in the world, supplying 810,000 h.p. (horse power) was built before schedule.

During the past year 7,929,200 women who were formerly illiterate attended classes where they learnt to read and write. In all of the higher schools we find a great increase in the number of women students. In the Medical Universities 68.3% of all the students are women. Even in the Agricultural Universities, where scientific farmers are trained, 29% of all the students are women.

Not only the women in the cities, but the **peasant women**, and the women on the collective and state farms are actively participating in the new life. They have creches and nurseries for their children, factory kitchens, study classes, are shock brigades, are members of their soviets, and take a leading part in all work.

The growth of women membership in the Communist Party from a few individual women members before the revolution to 512,000 or 16% (July 1932 figure) of the total membership, show the growth of political understanding of the women. It is interesting to know that there are 102,463 women (14.6% of the total membership in these nuclei) in the nuclei on the land, and 162,918 (19.5%) who are in factory nuclei. However, we find this number higher among the younger workers. In the **Young Communist League** there are 1,624,570 (Jan. 1932 figure) girls, making 30.3% of the total membership.

Great as are the achievements of the women workers, there is still a need for special work. This special work is done among the women who are entering industry fresh from the villages. The women's delegate meetings still serve as the best means of mobilising, training and developing these new workers, educationally, culturally, and politically. There are today 2,200,000 women delegates. Many of the leading women in the Soviet Union, received their first training as women delegates.

The progress today must be measured with what existed before the revolution. In this one sixth of the earth's territory, only a short 15 years ago, there was child marriage, veiled women, dark superstition spread by the priests who were the Czar's best supporters. The Soviet workers never lose sight of these facts. And from here together with the present day achievements, the free soviet women together with the men are marching further ahead to the building of the classless society.

## Red Manchester Develops at a Rattling Rate.

In connection with the 15th Anniversary of the October Revolution, the weavers and textile workers of Shuya and Vichuga (Ivanovo-Vosnessensk province) have challenged to socialist competition, for the further extension of the textile industry, the workers of other textile districts of the U.S.S.R. They propose to organise a competition for the best weavers and improvers of the Soviet Union.

This is what the Shuya and Vichuga weavers say in an open letter which has appeared in the press, in connection with this:

The Soviet Country is 15 years old!

"The U.S.S.R. workers and peasants have experienced much in these glorious, unforgettable years. Pre-revolutionary Russia has assumed a new aspect. The old works and factories are completely re-equipped and extended. Hundreds of new industrial enterprises have been built.

**"Are you aware that in the last three years 769 industrial enterprises were erected and set going in our country?!** Are you aware of this great victory of the proletariat?

**"769!**

"Giant metallurgical, machine-building, tractor and automobile factories work full steam ahead, and so do many enterprises in other branches of the national economy. The country is covered with scores of new powerful electrical stations. Only a few days ago the largest hydro power station—the Dniepr Hydro Electrical Station—was inaugurated.

"New cities and workers' settlements have sprang up on what was formerly waste ground or ground covered with dense forests. **100 new cities and workers' settlements have been**

built in the course of 15 years! And the area of many old towns has been doubled and trebled.

"These colossal successes must become known to all the workers and collectivised peasants of the Soviet Union, to all the workers of the capitalist countries and to all the toilers of the oppressed nationalities of the world!

"We send hearty proletarian greetings to the constructors of these new enterprises, to the heroic builders and loyal engineers who have linked their destiny with the destinies of the working class, and to the honest foreign experts who have put all their knowledge and forces into these new erections.

And first of all we greet the leader of the working class and toiling masses, the creator and organiser of our successes in the struggle for socialism—the **Bolshevik Party**, its steadfast Leninist C.C. and our proletarian leader and teacher, **Comrade Stalin**.

"Four years ago our Party unrolled before our eyes this great industrialisation plan, the Five Year Plan. 'Too ambitious, we shall fail', said the opportunists. Millions heartily supported and accepted this plan. Great difficulties have been overcome, and the Plan is being honourably carried out.

"Every brick and girder, every cubic metre of concrete, every new bench, blast furnace, turbine and electrical station bear witness of our great struggle and victory.

"As a result of the Leninist policy of our Party, the ally of the proletariat, the toiling peasantry, is firmly treading the path of socialism. The poor and middle peasantry, united in the collective farms, is the bulwark of the Party and Soviet power in the countryside.

"Tractors and combines are at work on the fields of the state and collective farms.

"Compact collectivisation puts an end once and for all to the remnants of the parasitical class in our country—the kulaks.

"The prophecies of 'Right' and 'left' capitulators have not come true. The Soviet Country makes gigantic strides forward, sweeping away in its progress the agents and aids and abettors of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the kulak class.

**"Socialism wins the day!**

"Our Ivanov industrial district, just as the whole country, can record enormous successes at the 15th anniversary of the proletarian revolution.

"The villages and settlements of yesterday are hardly recognisable. There are new works and factories, power stations, schools, universities, theatres, clubs, cinemas, mechanised kitchens, hospitals, rest homes, creches and nursery schools in our towns and workers' settlements. **Over 100,000 workers families of the Ivanov province have been provided with flats in the new houses in the years of the first five-year-plan.** We ourselves and our children are taught in the schools, technical colleges, universities and in the academy of Industry.

"The aspect of the textile factory is undergoing a change. Instead of stifling and dark workshops, we have erected fine, light departments equipped with up-to-date machinery.

"**The Dyed Yarn Combine, the 'Krasnaya Talka', the 'Dzerzhinka', the 'Lakinka'** (names of new large textile factories in Ivanovo-Wosnesensk) were put up in the last year.

"The automatization of the weaving process, the Casablanca spinning apparatus, scores, nay hundreds of inventions and thousands of rationalising proposals of the workers have changed the process of production and raised productivity of labour. **Together with the proletariat of the whole Union, the textile operatives of our province have now a seven hour day.**

"Simultaneously, in the old centre of the British cotton industry, **Manchester**, one cotton mill after another is closed. The army of unemployed English men and women weavers is growing. Starvation and destitution are their lot.

**"Capitalist Manchester deteriorates.**

**"Ivanovo—the Red Manchester of the socialist country—develops at a rattling rate!**

"The socialist relation to labour has developed in the consciousness of millions.

**"From being a degrading and heavy burden, as in the past, labour has become a matter of honour, glory, prowess and heroism' (Stalin).**

**"Socialist competition by millions of proletarians and collectivised peasants, organised and led by the Bolshevik Party, has brought us victory.**

"We have now more possibilities than ever before to give an impetus to the output of articles of primary necessity for the toilers of town and country. **We are able not only to fulfil but even over-fulfil our production programmes.**

**"The men and women weavers of the Soviet Union can produce up to and above the plan millions of metres of textiles.**

"All the possibilities of increasing the output of textiles are in our hands. But we do not use them always and everywhere uniformly. Some women weavers work to perfection, others only well, and others again indifferently, lagging considerably behind the best workers. The same applies to the spinners and finishers. They also have labour heroes, shock brigades and laggards.

"If work is to be done, let us all work like one man Comrades, weavers and improvers of the Soviet Union! We challenge you to a socialist competition. Select the best among the best weavers and improvers for participation in the All Union competition.

## The October Celebrations in Moscow.

Moscow, 7th November 1932.

The celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the October revolution began traditionally with the parade of the **Red Army** in the Red Square. The troops were led by detachments of the pupils of the military schools who were followed by the red army veterans. At ten o'clock the commander of the Red Army Comrade **Voroshilov** appeared on horse back and was greeted with the strains of the "International". He inspected the troops and delivered a short address in the name of the government. The march past then began. The troops were followed by columns of **armed workers** from the factories whilst the rear was brought up by the mechanised detachments. During the parade squadrons of military planes performed evolutions over the Red Square.

After the military parade began the march past of Moscow's workers battalions headed by the workers of those factories which have fulfilled their Five-Year Plan tasks before time. Tremendous enthusiasm was the keynote of the day. Hundreds of thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers poured into the square and out on the other side whilst the members of the government and the leaders of the Communist Party occupied the plinth of the Lenin Mausoleum. Hour after hour storms of cheering surged up to them and powerful singing. Tens of thousands of flags, banners, placards and caricatures were carried. The slogans of the day stressed in particular the peaceful character of the work of socialist construction. The League of Nations, the Social Democratic Parties, the capitalist leaders, the inferior elements in the ranks of the workers and all the old enemies of the work of socialist construction came in for stern criticism, caricature and ridicule. It was one of the biggest demonstrations ever held, even in Moscow and about a million and a half workers took part in it. The march through the Red Square lasted until well into the evening.

\* \* \*

A solemn session of the **Moscow Soviet** took place yesterday in the Big Theatre to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the November Revolution. The representatives of all working class organisations and representatives of the shock brigades in the factories took part in the session. The appearance of members of the government led by **Comrade Stalin** was the signal for tremendous applause.

The session was opened by **Bulganin**, the chairman of the Moscow Soviet who reviewed the struggles and gains of the last fifteen years.

The chief speech was made by **Comrade Kalinin**, the chairmann of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union who described the development of the last fifteen years which had split the world into the opposing camps of socialism and capitalism. **Comrade Marty** who addressed the session was received with tremendous applause as also were the representatives of the Red Army who described the technical progress made.



## SOCIAL FASCISM

### Japanese Social Fascists Support Imperialist Robber Policy.

By Yoshihara.

It has been announced that the **Shakai Minshu-to**, or "Right Wing" of the Japanese social democracy, and the **Rono Taishu-to**, which has pretended, although feebly, to "oppose" the **Shakai Minshu-to** from the standpoint of "Leftist" phraseology, have decided to unite in a new party—the "Rono Shakai-to".

This should surprise no one. There has never been any difference in principle between them. They have both brutally trampled upon the interests of the toiling masses of Japan in service to their capitalist masters, but they have always performed their role as traitors to the working class with the word "socialism" upon their lips.

A classical example of the "reasons" and "theories" put forward by these "socialists" as justification for their support of the war plans of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy, is the declaration of **Akamatsu** at the beginning of the invasion of Manchuria, while he was the General Secretary of the **Shakai Minshu-to**.

**Akamatsu**, it is true, has since left the **Shakai Minshu-to** and formed a party of "his own", the **Nihon Kokka Shakai-to**. He did this in order openly to claim a position as an advocate of fascism and obtain political "gifts" from the bankers, bosses and militarists. **Mr. Abe** and the other leaders of the **Shakai Minshu-to**, although they did not openly follow **Akamatsu's** example, out of fear of losing all their followers, had and still have no difference in principle with him, whatever their pretensions. They were compelled to play another role. They never repudiated the declaration he made as the official head of their party. It remains their own declaration and they are carrying out its policy.

As for the **Rono Taishu-to**, these "Left" masqueraders, after some stage heroics "against war", and the setting up of a "Committee Against War", finally came round to their natural position as supporters of the war precisely as the **Shakai Minshu-to** did from the beginning. While their "Leftism" became invisible, they contributed a spice of humour to the philosophy of class treason by offering the excuse that—after they had committed to paper a most excellent "Programme of Struggle Against Imperialist War", the Mikado's police confiscated it, so there was nothing left to do but to support the imperialist war!

Thus the argument of **Akamatsu** in his declaration which we analyse below, is the argument of all so-called "socialists" of Japan in support of Japanese imperialism and its war plans.

"Present-day world economics", says **Akamatsu**, "tend not towards world collaboration, but towards an isolated self-sufficing economy. England this year (1931) has given up its free trade phrases and has turned toward protectionism."

Here **Akamatsu** used the word "world economics" without regard to the fact that there are two economic systems now in the "world", the socialist system of the Soviet Union and the capitalist system of the rest of the world. He ignores this fact, because, if he admitted it, it would at once destroy his whole case.

Because, although rivalry and antagonism are inherent in the relations between nations retaining the capitalist system of economy; collaboration between nations is possible, in fact it is the living reality between the numerous and far-flung autonomous republics within the Soviet Union which have adopted the socialist economic system. But because **Akamatsu** is in reality opposed to socialism—in spite of his mouthing over the word; because he is in reality a supporter of capitalism, and wishes to justify the imperialist adventures and banditry of his own particular capitalism, he chooses to ignore facts plain to any worker.

Moreover, England's tariff is not to develop national industry for her home needs, but to monopolise the home market for an over-built, trustified imperialist industry, as part of the world struggle between all imperialist powers for trade outlets beyond her borders. Thus it is purely misrepresentation for **Akamatsu** to assert that this being done by England for the sake of becoming "self-sufficing".

And after all what is the "self" of England—or any other

capitalist nation? **Akamatsu**, who dares to speak of "socialism" and to reject Marx in the same breath, would have us believe that England is a nation without class divisions. Yet any worker however backward will see in England a nation of capitalists on one side and a nation of wage workers on the other. And the high tariffs imposed on commodities used by the British workers, represent so much robbed from the workers in order to enrich the British capitalists.

We see, then, that **Akamatsu's** pleading is false. It is not for the "protection" of a national economy that aspires merely to become "self sufficing". Instead, it defends a system of imperialist plunder and war abroad and feudal extortions and capitalist exploitation at home. It is an effort to make the worker and peasant victims of that system into docile cannon-fodder for the war policy of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy.

But **Akamatsu** extends his premise from the false to the ridiculous when he adds to the above "theorising", the following lines:

"Even the Soviet Union, with its slogan of 'Workers of the world, unite', adheres to the policy of building socialism in its country only (!), and hopes on the basis of its rich natural resources to supply its own great national economy."

Alas, how sad is **Akamatsu** that the Soviet Union is so "selfish" with its socialism! How glad **Akamatsu** would be if the Soviet Union would devise some way of exporting, even "dumping", socialism into Japan! But it remains unfeeling and obstinate! It is going to build socialism in the Soviet Union "only". This word "only", is a blessing to **Akamatsu**, because it removes the blame for a lack of socialism in Japan from the shoulders of the Japanese "socialists", who reject the idea of overthrowing capitalism in their own country, and places the blame upon—the Soviet Union!

Again, alas! There is nothing left for the Japanese "socialists" to do but to unite with the Japanese capitalists in making war upon the Bolsheviks, who are so "selfish" with their socialism! But here we meet a difficulty. Every jingoist howler for Bolshevik blood demands war on the Soviet Union on the ground that it is sending "Communist propaganda", "Moscow agents" and what not, to upset the delightful system of capitalism in Japan, dethrone the emperor and establish socialism in Japan. Yet here we have the Japanese social-democracy trying to rally the masses to support these same makers of war against the Soviet Union, on the ground that the Soviet Union stubbornly and selfishly refuses to do any such thing!

We leave to reader to puzzle this out, while we continue to seek for some sense in **Akamatsu's** words. Because, be it remembered, the entire support accorded by **Akamatsu** and the whole social-democracy to the war plans of Japanese capitalism, is represented by him as being based upon a desire to destroy capitalism! Thus **Akamatsu** continues:

"We, also, aspiring to destroy capitalism and introduce socialism, must, on the basis of this principle (?), map out our thesis. We assume that during the early stage we will build a self-sufficing national socialist economy."

So! Japanese social-democracy "aspires" (though it does not try!) to "destroy capitalism". But then, why does it support capitalism?

"The construction of a national (?) economy", **Akamatsu** states in the very next line, "demands a certain amount of natural resources". Thus the "national socialist economy" which he speaks of only to deceive workers as to the imperialist character of Japanese nationalism, becomes even in the next breath, the "national economy" of the Japanese bourgeoisie, the only national economy which the Japanese social-democracy supports in fact and in deeds. But we go on to read:

"The world reserves of raw materials are wholly monopolised by America, China and Russia." Which is untrue, because it ignores, for example, South America, Africa, and the British Empire. But it suits this servant of Japanese imperialism to name here only the particular countries against which Japanese imperialism at present directs its war machine. Then **Akamatsu** goes on:

"Japan, not having any raw materials itself, must by no means, for fear of being criticized on account of its aggression, and for the sake of peace, continue to lead a semi-starved existence."

This is a crystal-clear apology for imperialist plunder; the ethics of a burglar applied to international relations.



Moreover, it again falsifies the picture of what "Japan" he is talking about. "Japan", he says, must not "continue" to lead a "semi-starved existence". But, which "Japan" does he refer to? Surely not the "Japan" of Baron Koyata Iwasaki of the Mitsubishi interests, with his big jowls and fat paunch! Neither Baron Iwasaki, nor any of his class have ever known "semi-starvation".

But it is precisely the Mitsubishi, the Sumitomo, the Mitsui "interests" which grab up every "right" and "privilege" in Manchuria seized in the robber war. Meanwhile, the workers and peasants of Japan gain nothing but wounds, death and taxes, besides having their semi-starvation worsened to complete starvation.

"According to Marxist theory", Akamatsu continues, "Japan is an imperialist country, and China—an oppressed nation." "However, if Japan renounced its rights in Manchuria, Korea and Formosa, if it returned wholly to the state of the times of Tokuhaya, how would it be possible by destroying capitalist Japan, to build a Soviet Japan?"

This is an assertion in the form of a question, an assertion approving of forcible imperialist rule of Japan over other nations. The inference is false that the liberation of Manchuria, Korea and Formosa from the subjection they now suffer at the bayonets of Japanese soldiery, would return either Japan or these oppressed nations to the economic situation of "the times of Tokuhaya."

However, there is something else here. First, in the early part of his declaration, Akamatsu fervently declares that "We (the social-democracy) aspire to destroy capitalism." But now in the same declaration, he repudiates the destruction of capitalism! "How would it be possible?" he asks—and pretends that there is no answer. Yet there is an answer which he chooses to ignore:

A Soviet Japan, because it would not have to support in luxury the swarm of bourgeoisie, big landlords and nobles, with their retinue of police, prostitutes, servants and "socialist" apologists, would be nearer a "self-sufficing economy" than it ever can be while it acts as the hangman and policeman of other peoples of the Far East. As to the raw materials lying in the soil of Manchuria, Korea and Formosa rightly belonging to the peoples of those regions, they would not disappear merely because the soldiery of Japan ceased holding these peoples down with bayonets while the banking barons plundered them as at present.

Perhaps Mr. Akamatsu, like any burglar to whom robbery has become a habit, cannot conceive of relations of mutual collaboration and equal economic exchange existing between a Japan freed from its robber ruling classes, and a Manchuria, a Korea and a Formosa equally free and completely separate from Japanese domination. But certainly any worker can see this.

It is only because robbery, loot and plunder of the peoples of Manchuria, Korea and Formosa is the aim of the Japanese ruling classes, that the bayonets of Japanese soldiery are the ruling power in these oppressed nations. And these same ruling classes are the robbers and oppressors of the toiling masses of Japan, also. Let us not forget that!

Thus we see the falsity, the vileness, of this social-democratic argument of Akamatsu, when he concludes:

"Both capitalist and socialist Japan are equally interested in this basic plan of building a national economy... The defence of our (?) rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia acquires its chief essence, its rational idea, only in the name of a socialist Japan."

If there is any sense in using the words "capitalist" and "socialist" to distinguish between two things, then Akamatsu has denied sense in using the possessive term "our", in speaking of capitalist "rights" and capitalist "interests".

If he spoke as Baron Sumitomo might speak to Baron Mitsui, there would be reason for his use of the term "our". But no one who pretends to represent the aspirations of the toilers of Japan to "destroy capitalism and introduce socialism", has the right to refer to the imperialist plunder of Japanese imperialism as "our" rights and "our" interests—for the very sound reason that they are **not** our rights and **not** our interests.

And the day is soon coming when the proletariat and toiling peasants of Japan, led by the heroic Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions of the Dzenkyo, will show Mr. Akamatsu and his kind—and much to their dismay—how to destroy capitalism and build socialism in a Soviet Japan!

## THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

### Growing Solidarity Between Workers and Farmers in the United States.

By H. Puro (New York).

The sharp struggles of the workers in recent years in the United States have aroused more and more interest among the tillers of the land. The following incidents serve to illustrate this interest: During the Pennsylvania-Ohio miners strike the northwestern farmers, who are perhaps more advanced, sent carloads of food-stuff to the striking miners. The Kentucky miners strike last winter aroused very great interest throughout the southern farm fields among the poor farm population. So keen was their interest and sympathy towards the miners' struggles, and so well did they realize the possibilities of improving their own position through these struggles, that they sought to join the miners' union.

During the national and state unemployed marches, farmers—some of them from far distances—came along the route to greet the marching workers, bringing food-stuffs for them. So that the exploited farmers in the United States are not only watching the struggles of the workers with keen interest, but beginning to understand them.

During the recent struggles of the farmers, these solidarity feelings have been expressed not only in words but in deeds. In Iowa, unemployed workers went on the picket lines with the farmers, helping them maintain militant mass picketing. In return, the striking farmers expressed their solidarity by distributing milk for the unemployed and their families.

Later on, 300 unemployed and employed workers in a mass meeting in Sioux City condemned the use of police against the striking farmers by adopting the following resolution:

"We, three hundred unemployed and employed workers of Sioux City, in meeting assembled, denounce most vigorously the action of Mayor Hays and Safety Commissioner McBride in ordering and employing police of this city to brutally attack the farmers who are engaged in a struggle against impoverishment and bankruptcy.

"We call upon the striking farmers to stand fast in their determination to win their just demands. We pledge them our every possible support, morally and materially. We will gladly join them in the effort to establish stronger mass picket lines and mass resistance against the brutal attacks of deputized thugs."

In and around Minneapolis and St. Paul, where the farm strike is going on just now, unemployed workers under the leadership of the Unemployed Councils have stormed the market centres, seizing box-cars, storming stockyards and turning loose livestock, and maintaining militant picketing together with the striking farmers. At the same time solidarity meetings have been organised by the unemployed, calling for support to the farmers' strike against the marketing companies and exposing the Holiday leaders who are sabotaging mass picketing.

In Beltrami and Clearwater Counties in northern Minnesota, workers and unemployed in the same manner have gone on the picket lines with the farmers.

On the other hand, the striking farmers in Iowa repeatedly declared that "our strike is not against the workers, but against the market monopolies." The Nebraska farmers in a big mass meeting declared their solidarity with the workers by stating:

"To forestall the action of the middlemen who will tell the workers that the farmers' strike is the cause of higher prices, in their efforts to cripple our strength by dividing the workers from us, we are resolved to give free food and milk to the unemployed and needy of the cities. This relief will be distributed through our own agencies and not through any professional relief organization."

Numerous other concrete examples could be brought to show the growing solidarity between workers and exploited farmers, who begin to realise that both are being exploited and oppressed by the same enemies—the bankers, trusts, market monopolies and the capitalist government.

It is necessary that workers' organisations everywhere follow these examples and, while supporting the farmers'

struggles for higher prices, themselves organise mass actions against the high prices to consumers.

Comrade **Foster**, Communist presidential candidate, in a recent statement to the press expressing the policy of the Communist Party, urged both workers and farmers systematically to promote these solidarity actions. Comrade Foster said:

"The trade unions in the present situation must energetically support the farmers' movement and their demands for increased prices for farm products. At the same time, we call upon the workers and unemployed to fight for the lowering of retail prices."

Comrade Foster further called upon the unemployed workers to participate in picket lines with the farmers, and upon the farmers to support the unemployed with donations of unmarketable food-stuffs, instead of allowing them to be destroyed.

It is necessary that workers everywhere shall establish connections with the exploited farmers, not only in those areas where farmers' strikes are in process. These connections can be established by workers' organisations sending their members on Sunday visits to the country. In arranging these visits, the workers should provide themselves with literature, especially literature dealing with the farmers' conditions.

Workers' organisations should also send delegations to farmers' meetings and invite the farmers in return to send their representatives to visit workers' meetings.

In the fight against hunger and starvation, joint county **hunger marches of workers and farmers** can become a very effective weapon for securing relief and at the same time cementing solidarity between workers and exploited farmers. By giving their support to the farmers' struggles against the marketing trusts, taxation and mortgage burdens and against the strike-breaking activities of rich farmers, the workers can surely expect in return both moral and material support in their struggles from the farmers.

Through these solidarity expressions and activities of fraternisation, the workers and farmers can create a powerful united movement of all the toilers against misery, starvation and capitalist oppression.

The **Communist Party**, vanguard of the working class, has made very clear its position and has declared whole-hearted support to the farmers' struggles. This is repeated again in the statement of Comrade Foster, in which he says:

"While supporting the immediate demands brought forward by the farmers themselves, the Communist Party invites the farmers to bring forward also demands for the complete annulment of their debts to the banks, annulment of mortgages and taxes and to take up the agrarian demands of the Communist Party election platform."

The Communist Party also gives its support to the **Farmers National Relief Conference** called by the rank and file farmers' organisations, to meet in Washington on December 7th.

## ***The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries***

# **The Situation of the Working Class in Czechoslovakia.**

## **4. The Situation in the Famine Districts of the National Minorities.**

**By G. Friedrich (Prague).**

When, in March last, a delegation of the Workers International Relief visited Carpatho-Ukraine and openly exposed the starvation policy of Czech imperialism in this province, the Czechoslovakian press bureau cynically declared in an official communique: "Nobody has ever died of starvation. It is a national custom for the people to go about barefooted in the snow." Since then the Czech Government has prohibited the W.I.R. out of political revenge, and Messrs. Hamilton and Renn, the two foreign journalists who visited Carpatho-Ukraine on behalf of the W.I.R. were designated as agents of Moscow. But starvation has not thereby become any less prevalent in Carpatho-Ukraine. On the contrary, this year's harvest was even worse than that of last year. The Czech speculators still continue to make profits out of the misery of the people, the bailiffs are selling up the last bits of property of the peasants, the gendarmes keep guard and shoot down the peasants in order that "law and order" are not disturbed, and the Carpatho-Ukrainian peasants are starving just as much and in fact even more than last year.

Already some years ago the Communist deputies exhibited in Parliament the black and glutinous bread made of barley, clover, and bran, but which for the Ukrainian peasants is a delicacy. Since then even this bread has disappeared from the villages of Vrchovina. When the delegation of the W.I.R. wanted to buy such bread in order to give it to the peasants, there was only one rich man in the village who possessed some. And this year the harvest is less than the amount sown. The result is: hunger-typhus, hunger oedema. The only food of the peasants consists of potatoes and cabbage leaves boiled in water without any salt. Salt is an unobtainable luxury for the Ukrainian peasant. Carpatho-Ukraine is rich in salt mines, but the peasant has no money to buy salt. The peasants make journeys of two days on foot in order to fetch salt water from a spring, on which, they however, have to pay a tax. In the most richly timbered district of Czecho-

slovakia, where the timber is rotting in the forests, the peasants have no wood as the forests belong to the State and the Latorica (a French joint-stock company); the prisons are full of "criminals" who have ventured to gather a few sticks of wood in the forest. In some districts 80 per cent. of the population have been fined for trespassing in the forest, and as the fines are sometimes as high as 500 crowns, the peasant must either borrow money, on which he has to pay 10 per cent. interest a month, or go to prison. The land-reform was carried out as follows: the total amount of land available was 768,000 acres. Of this the Franco-Czechish Joint stock company Latorica received 230,000 acres of forest and pasture land and 34,000 acres of arable land, so that to-day 27,000 small peasants with holdings of less than an acre own 1.5 per cent. of the land, 60,000 peasants with holdings of less than 5 hectares own about 22 per cent. and 17,000 peasants with holdings of less than 10 hectares own 17.6 per cent. And the remaining 58.9 per cent. of the land belongs to a handful of big capitalists, the Latorica and the State. Moreover, the land reform has been carried out in such a way that the whole of the forest and pasture land belongs to the Latorica and the State, and when the peasant requires fodder for his cow, he is compelled to pay an exorbitant sum to the Latorica.

Statistics tell of places where 66 per cent. of the population are physically degenerate. In the year 1929 the cases of sicknesses per 100,000 inhabitants were as follows:

	Bohemia	Slovakia	Carpatho-Ukraine
Typhus . . . . .	27.3	34.4	39.7
Spotted fever . . . . .	—	0.7	5.8
Malaria . . . . .	0.6	2.0	12.4
Syphilis . . . . .	59.7	75.1	136.0
Other venereal diseases	63.2	81.1	101.5

A Hungarian Archbishop collected some waggon loads of maize in Hungary and dispatched them to Carpatho-Ukraine. The Customs authorities, however, refused to allow the maize to enter the country free of duty and sent it back to Hungary. On the other hand, a loudly advertised action was carried out and maize was allowed to be imported from Rumania free of duty. A firm in Pressburg obtained the permit and the maize was actually imported, but instead of its being distributed among the starving peasants of Carpatho-Ukraine it was sent to Slovakia and sold there at a huge profit to private traders.

And what is the situation of the working class? At one time Carpatho-Ukraine possessed a big industry: a big iron works, some chemical factories, a match factory, and thousands of workers were employed as lumbermen and at the saw mills. Many went in the Summer to Bohemia and Hungary to work there for the season. To-day everything is at a standstill. No outside workers are wanted now in Bohemia and Hungary, and the Czech banks do not want any factories in Carpatho-Ukraine when so many undertakings have been closed down in Bohemia.

Winter is approaching and hunger will increase still further. Both sides are preparing for the struggle.

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But it is not only in Carpatho-Ukraine that starvation prevails. Czechish imperialism causes all districts inhabited by national minorities to starve. On the borders of Saxony, where at one time there was a flourishing iron and domestic industry, in Neudeck, Rothau, Graslitz, Schwaderbach and also in Eggerland, the German workers and small peasants are starving. Rothau, a town where at one time 2700 workers were employed in the iron works, is to-day a town of unemployment: nine-tenths of the population are out of work. In the Graslitz district three quarters of the population, numbering 40,000, are out of work. In 1929 1904 workers were employed in the factories producing musical instruments. Their present number amounts to 281. But to be unemployed means to starve in the literal sense of the word, as only a small fraction of the unemployed receive benefit from the trade unions while the rest receive from the authorities 10 crowns once a fortnight. Where home work is to be had, working women working for curtain factories, making musical instruments, crocheting lace etc. earn 20 to

50 hellers an hour. In Schwaderbach embroiderers and seamstresses earn 2 to 5 crowns a day, and this by working 12 to 14 hours. The decline of the consuming power of the working population is shown by the following case: a baker in Rothau, whose customers are nearly all workers, stated that whilst formerly he used on an average 200 kilogramms of flour every day, he now uses only 50 kilogramms a day. Whilst formerly he baked rolls every day and on Saturday even twice, he now bakes them only three times a week. A butcher complains that whilst not so long ago he was able to sell dog's flesh at 2 crowns a kilogramm, of late business has been so bad that people are no longer able to pay even this sum, or as he reproachfully remarked, "the people kill cats and dogs themselves". In Frühbuss the consumption of meat has fallen to one tenth of what it was formerly.

In 1930 the medical officer in Eger examined the school-children. Of the 2122 children examined only 631 were up to normal weight, whilst 1491 were below weight. Only 17.5 per cent. of the children weighed according to their height, 52 per cent. of the children were scrofulous, 22 per cent. had internal diseases and 52 per cent. were anaemic. The local hospital in Graslitz has accommodation for 40 patients, but nevertheless the actual number of patients is never less than 100. The chief health insurance doctor in Neudeck estimates the number of undernourished people in his district at 4000. To give an idea of the housing conditions, it suffices to mention that the unemployed who have been evicted for non-payment of rent have to live in pig-sties, in old limekilns and even in the police cells, for which they have to pay a monthly rent to the municipality for "lodgings".

Conditions are just the same in the Haida-Steinschönau district, where a meeting of mayors of 43 local municipalities was recently held at which it was stated that they had no means for relieving the unemployed and if the State did not intervene the consequences would be disastrous.

In Slovakia, where the whole of industry has been closed down by the Czechish banks, and the small peasants are completely ruined as a result of the agrarian crisis, and in the mountain district of Bohemia-Moravia, where the leaders of the agrarian party own large landed estates, the situation is disastrous. Hunger is on the threshold, black bread has become a delicacy which is eaten only on Sundays, meat has become an unattainable luxury; there is no work, no bread and no medicine.

## Organisational Questions

# Our Organisational Tasks.

By A. W.

The XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum laid great emphasis on the organisational consolidation of the Communist Parties. The beginning of the end of capitalist stabilisation demands that the Communist Parties be ready **with the least possible delay** for a very trying time, for responsible leadership in important revolutionary struggles. In the capitalist countries this refers now first of all to the Communist Parties of Germany and Poland. More than ever before Lenin's words apply to the present situation in the Communist International: that without the existence of a strong Party organisation all fine phrases about victorious revolutionary struggle of the proletariat are empty talk.

The XII. Plenum has provided us with rich material on Party construction, and there was also an extremely instructive discussion on this question. In summing up the whole discussion at the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum, one cannot help mentioning the following important and immediate tasks connected with Party construction.

The whole Party construction work for all the Parties, **legal and illegal alike**, must be guided by the following important decision of the XII. Plenum: **To strengthen to the utmost work among the masses, despite ever growing police repression, strengthen in every possible way the struggle for partial demands, leading the masses towards political**

**mass strikes, accomplish the conquest of the majority of the working class for decisive struggles for power.**

This demand means that the most important task in connection with Party construction is clever combination of legal, semi-legal and illegal methods of Party work. And this clever combination of legal, semi-legal and illegal methods of Party work must be supplemented by a correct and consistently applied cadre policy, and by a more effective systematic check up regarding the fulfilment and personal responsibility of every Party member for the Party work entrusted to him. By correctly combining legal, semi-legal and illegal methods of Party work, the Parties will be able to maintain and strengthen Party organisations, despite all police repressions. But conditions and methods of Party work are not everything, to carry out the decisions that were made, we want people, activists and numerous leading cadres welded together ideologically and organisationally. The question of Party cadres is just now a burning question in all the Parties. The main argument and justification of Party organisations, to explain their present inability of making full use of the growing revolutionary activity of the masses, is reference to either the absence or serious shortage of the necessary cadres of well trained activists. True, there is a serious lack of workers, especially such who are capable

to organise work in the factories and give a lead to trade union work and the revolutionary mass demonstrations of the workers and peasants. But at the same time, in the course of recent revolutionary struggles, there have come forward in all the countries (and this process goes on) a large number of new energetic, capable Party and non-Party revolutionary leaders who are in contact with the masses. These Communist leaders can be successfully made use of immediately for leading work in the Party machine, and the non-Party activists for revolutionary work in the mass organisations. But even this is not all. A considerable number of these revolutionary workers can be drawn into the Party, and once there, into active work. That this is precisely the case, was demonstrated by all the recent large strikes. In **Great Britain**, for instance, a series of very large strikes took place lately. Their distinguishing features were: perseverance and irreconcilability, a fighting attitude towards the authority of the State, the employers and the Labour Party and trade union leaders. In most cases these strikes were headed not by Communists, but by non-Party workers who, however, having gone through the test of real class struggle, acted like deliberate followers of the line of the Communist International and C.C. of the C.P. of Great Britain. There was an analogous situation during the recent miners strike in **Belgium**.

**It must be considered as an established fact that the complaints of the Communist Parties regarding the shortage of workers only show that our Parties do not pay sufficient attention to a correct distribution of the existing cadres, and especially, to the promotion and education of new forces.**

The XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum laid great emphasis on the necessity of promoting new workers.

The body of Party activists must be reinforced on a large scale.

This means that Parties, such as the C.P. of France and the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, must promote thousands to leading work, in the Party, as well as in the revolutionary mass organisations, especially in the Red Trade Unions and in the revolutionary Trade Union opposition. This issue assumes ever greater importance in Parties such as the C.P.'s of Germany and Poland, in countries where conditions are maturing for a revolutionary crisis. Such promotion must not be done mechanically. New workers must not be promoted in a general way. They can and must be promoted to definite work, namely, to definite work for the preparation and development of the mass revolutionary demonstrations of the working class, especially, in the course of these revolutionary struggles. Such promotion of hundreds and even thousands of new workers must be accompanied by purification of Party cadres from Right opportunist and left sectarian bureaucratic and other unsuitable elements. Already at the end of 1929, **Comrade Stalin** pointed out in the American Commission of the E.C.C.I. presidium that such self-cleansing work is absolutely necessary for the preparation of the Communist Parties for decisive struggles, and that the whole international situation demands that this self-cleansing process be accelerated to the utmost. The consolidation and purification of the leading cadres of the Communist Parties from unsuitable elements must be accompanied by a rally of all Party activists around the general line of the Party for the purpose of raising their political qualification, which applies particularly to members of Party committees and leading organs of the revolutionary trade union movement. There can be no proper rally of activists around the general line of the Party without energetic and consistent struggle against all deviations from the general line. Such rally implies that the most stalwart supporters of the general line are selected for the leading organs of the Party and for the leading "kernel" of the fractions in revolutionary mass organisations, whereas opponents of the general line and those who hesitate in defending it and carrying it through must be removed from there.

The C.I. firmly adhering to Bolshevik principles, carries on from its very inception such stubborn and indefatigable struggle for the setting up of cadres on the basis of struggle for the general line. Great positive results have been attained. This struggle is successful, but it must go on without the least relaxation.

In the course of mustering our Party forces we are bound to come across opportunist and altogether unsuitable elements,

against whom one must struggle and who must be removed. But it would be a great mistake to treat the erroneous act of an inexperienced or politically undeveloped comrade as deliberate opportunism, and raise the question of his removal. The foremost task of the Party leadership with regard to new and young activists is intensive work for their education. Mistakes made by them must be immediately exposed, explained and rectified in the course of the work. The body of Party activists must be ruthlessly cleansed of unsuitable elements. But direct harm is done if, as it sometimes happens, a young activist is afraid to speak up, so as not to be accused of deviation from the Party line, if he is mistaken. Unfortunately, there are among us cases of this kind. The process of cleansing the body of activists of unsuitable elements must be swift (especially during mass revolutionary movements and fights), otherwise the Parties will not be able to prepare themselves in good time for decisive struggles. However, the Parties must never be in such great haste as the C.C. of the C.P. of France which, on the eve of the recent parliamentary elections, expelled from the Party a number of deputies without any preliminary explanatory campaign among the workers, and not even in the Party organisations. Owing to such extraordinary haste, many of these expelled deputies were again elected, and one must say that with regard to the Party organisations, these expulsions did not serve them as a serious lesson.

In the present situation it is impossible to pursue a correct cadre policy if the organs of the Party leadership do not know the personnel of the cadres. Unfortunately, one must admit that in our brother parties even members of the C.C. Secretariat, not to mention the others, are frequently little interested in a proper study of the cadre personnel. At the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum we were told of the secretary of a provincial committee who could name only three secretaries of district committees. Needless to say that such a state of affairs is absolutely inadmissible.

Every Party organiser, members of secretariats of Party committees must know by heart all the names of Party activists, like their five fingers, and not only know the names, but also for what Party work every activist is best fitted, etc. Otherwise, it will be impossible to guarantee operative leadership and correct and full utilisation of all the Party activists. Not only Party members occupying various leading posts must be carefully studied, but also rank and file members and non-Party workers who prove themselves to be popular revolutionary leaders in the various sectors of the revolutionary front (Party, trade unions, co-operatives, sport organisations, peasant committees, etc.). Such work is particularly required during powerful mass revolutionary movements. We have already mentioned in this respect Great Britain, where until recently workers unknown to the Party have been among the organisers and leaders of big strikes. It is self-evident that it was (and is) in the interests of the Party to establish contact with these new leaders, draw them into the orbit of the influence of the Party, and extend through them the contacts of the Party with the masses. In such cases establishment of close connection with delegates elected by the workers, members of strike committees, etc., is of special importance.

A correct policy cannot confine itself to the proper distribution of Party workers. The XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum laid great stress on a change in the forms and methods of Party leadership for all Communist Parties—legal, semi-legal, and illegal.

The main defect of the present methods of Party leadership is the fact that in the whole Party activity agitation and propaganda continues to play a predominant part, whereas it is up to all the Communist Parties to provide **operative leadership**, in the sense of concentrating the whole Party work on initiating and leading the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses of town and country, which, of course, does not mean that agit-prop and educational work among the masses is to be neglected. To make Party leadership more operative, the Party committees of legal and illegal Parties must get rid in their work of the following grave shortcomings:

1. It is at present the rule in Party committees that the whole work is done by the secretary, while the other committee members only attend sessions and cannot actually be responsible for the work of committees. Correct division of labour is absolutely necessary in the Party committees:



every member of the Party committee must have definite Party work to do, and arrangements must be made for all important Party questions being decided collectively at the Plenary sessions of the Party committees, and also through the buro which also works collectively.

2. In the Party committees, there is frequently no proper or no checking up at all of the fulfilment of Party decisions regarding practical work on the part of Party organisations, and no personal responsibility for such fulfilment.

3. The habit predominates of sending instructions by means of circulars in the name of Party committees, as well as in the name of all their departments.

4. The few available instructors pay as a rule flying visits, i. e., come for a couple of hours, and in the best case, for a couple of days. They merely confirm the existing shortcomings in the work of the Party organisations, but cannot spare the time to help rectifying them and check up the fulfilment of their instructions.

5. The same applies to representatives of the higher Party committees and their visits to the locals. It has become the custom for the representatives of these Party committees, during their visits to the locals, to confine themselves to delivering long speeches on general political subjects, without going into the essence of the work of the local, and without helping it to reach a higher level.

6. There is little initiative in the lower Party organisations. Before embarking on anything practical, they generally wait for directives from above, they lack necessary responsibility to the masses, and ability to act immediately at the right moment without special directives from above, being simply guided by the already available fundamental Party directives. Inadequate application of the principles of inner-Party democracy in the life of Party organisations, as a method of drawing all Party members into active participation in the general life of the Party leads to considerable passivity in the lower Party organisations, to lack of initiative on their part.

The struggle against all these shortcomings must commence with struggle against the lack of initiative and activity in the Party locals. How is this to be done? In this connection arises another very important question of Party construction in the present situation. Improvement of Party work means first of all improvement of Party work in the most important sectors of the class struggle, and such sectors are large factories in the most important branches of industry, the railways, water transport and large industrial districts with masses of employed and unemployed proletarians.

**Party organisations in these important sectors of the class struggle can be strengthened by strengthening leadership over them on the part of local and district Party committees, i. e. by improving the work and strengthening the personnel of district and local Party committees first of all.** The brother Parties are still frequently remiss in concentrating their attention on large factories, in fully understanding the significance of these very important organisational directives, which are the sum total of the whole accumulated international experience of Party construction. In all the Parties, including the best and strongest, the growth of the membership and the consolidation of the Party organisation follows, as a rule, the line of least resistance—at the expense of unemployed, workers in small and middle industries, in agricultural districts, etc., and the result is that even in Communist Parties, such as the C.P. of Germany, the percentage of employed industrial workers hardly reaches 15%, and every time the Party analyses the lessons of past mass political campaigns, it is compelled to admit great difficulties in the development of these campaigns owing to the weak positions of the Party in large factories. **Without strong and active factory cells which participate in the work of the whole Party and are able to react speedily and independently to all the incidents in the life of the factory, and to all events of interest to the Party and the workers, it is impossible to put into practice the decisions of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum. The Party will not be able to entrench**

**itself firmly in the big factories, unless it has the support of strong district and local Party committees.**

In its resolution of June 1932, the C.P.G.B. called attention to the situation in the Party, and by way of self-criticism, said that the most substantial gap in its activity has been its failure to mobilise for practical work the whole Party membership. However, there was not a single word in the C.O. resolution regarding the C.C.'s failure to set up strong initiative district committees in the four main industrial centres of the country, and to make provision for the concentration of special forces and funds there. It is clear that if such strong district Party organisations are not set up, the C.C. will not be able to draw all the Party members into practical work. Thus, the C.C. must concentrate the forces of the Party in the most important districts. This means 1. that the C.C. must watch carefully all that is going on in these districts, systematically check up the work and help them; 2. The main help to the specially selected districts must consist in setting up there strong Party committees, capable of leading without outside help the revolutionary struggle even if, owing to unforeseen circumstances, they are completely cut off from the C.C. for considerable length of time; 3. **the whole work of the selected Party committees, in its turn, must be concentrated first of all on the most important factories in the district which is the field of activity of the selected Party committees.**

Owing to growing terror, and especially when the Party has to take up an illegal existence, the main thing is to organise the work of factory Party cells on a conspirative basis. In this respect there are extremely grave shortcomings in all the legal Communist Parties. For instance, in a series of countries, workers wishing to join the Party are invited to send by post to the editor of the Central Party Organ "enquetes" giving their real name, place of employment and home address. This is inadmissible. It is also inadmissible for meetings of the factory cell to take place (as it is frequently the case in Germany) always in the same café, in full view of the police. The meetings of factory cells and also their contacts with the respective Party committees must be organised on a strictly conspirative basis. Simultaneously, factory cells must carry on energetic mass work, which they will be able to do if they have the support of a network of various legal and semi-legal factory organisations: trade union, sport, cultural and educational, etc. Great importance attaches to the greatest possible utilisation of representative elective organs, set up by the masses for the preparation and the leadership of their struggle—various kinds of delegate meetings, strike committees, etc. The example of **Poland** shows that even under conditions of terrible police repression in which the labour movement of this country is developing, and during mass revolutionary demonstrations of the working class, it is possible to set up on a conspirative basis factory committees and factory delegate meetings which can for a considerable time carry on broad and open work for the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses.

Every Party committee must be constantly well connected, through authoritative representatives, with the most important factories and centres of the struggle of the unemployed. As the situation matures for struggle in this or that important sector, the forces of other cells must be sent there. For the same reason special provisional organisations, commissions, brigades, etc., must be set up there and then. The German comrades suggest that such provisional organisations be called shock brigades. There is nothing against such an appellation, but one cannot certainly agree with the proposal of the German comrades that these brigades be built up on a voluntary basis, as in the U.S.S.R. In the U.S.S.R. shock brigades are something quite different: in the main, they consist of non-Party workers. In Communist Parties, Party brigades and commissions for the preparation of strikes, etc., must be built up on the basis of careful selection of the composition of these commissions and groups by the Party leadership. These organs must not be founded on the voluntary principle but on the principle of a more expedient regrouping of Party forces. Unshakable iron discipline must be the cement which keeps together these shock Party organisations.