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CONTENTS

Politics		The White Terror	
F. Coenen: The Coming Parliamentary Elections in Belgium	1115	Dinu Pribegie: Monster Trial of Rumanian Communists	1121
G. Friedrich: Increased Government Terror in Czechoslovakia	1116	A. G. Bosse: The Supreme Court Decision on Scottsboro	1122
Mussolini's Amnesty. Declaration of the Polit-Bureau of the C.P. of Italy	1117	Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
The "Disarmament" Conference		W.: New Work—New Life I.	1124
R. Bishop: Disarmament Humbug of the British Bourgeoisie	1117	In the International	
G. Peri: The "Constructive" Plan of French Imperialism Submitted at Geneva	1119	William Rust: The 12th Congress of the C.P. of Great Britain	1125
Against Imperialist War		S. Carpio: The Situation in the Philippines and the Tasks of the C.P.P.I. (Conclusion)	1126
N.m.: The League of Nations, Poland and Danzig Harbour	1120	Social Fascism	
The World Economic Crisis		Oesterreicher: The Party Congress of the Austrian Social Democracy	1127
F. Brand: Intensified Crisis of the Public Finances in Germany	1120	Organisational Questions	
		Mingulin: The Lessons of the Strike Struggles in Australia	1129

Papen's Resignation and the Negotiations for a "National Concentration".

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

Von Papen's resignation was brought about in the first place by the **growing revolutionary mass movement**. The wage-cutting offensive which Papen introduced by his emergency decree in September was repelled by the workers by a wave of strikes, most of which were successful. In various parts of the Reich it came to actions on the part of the unemployed and the tenants. The 6-million vote polled by the Communist Party, which Herr von Papen was going "to exterminate root and branch", revealed the acceleration of the revolutionary upsurge in Germany.

"Under the Papen Government we have landed in a situation more difficult and fatal than any we have ever experienced in Germany"

states the "Tägliche Rundschau". The bourgeoisie saw that they could not venture by means of the Papen Government to carry out the intended new wage-cutting offensive and the further development of the fascist regime.

The second cause of Papen's resignation lies in the **dispute in the camp of the bourgeoisie** over the share of the profits. Big industry and commerce sharply reject Papen's import-quota plans, which favour the big agrarians. The differences between the bourgeois parties and groups regard-

ing the best methods of holding down the working masses and regarding influence in the State apparatus are very great. The fight of the working masses has accentuated all the differences in the bourgeois camp, whilst on the other hand there is seen among the parties and groups of the capitalist system the desire to bring about a co-operation (National Concentration), in order to find a capitalist way out of the crisis.

The economic crisis in Germany has not abated but become more acute. The finances of the Reich and of the federated States reveal enormous deficits, and the treasury of the municipalities are completely empty. The splendid harvest this year means in capitalist Germany an intensification of the agrarian crisis. In regard to foreign politics, Germany is more isolated than ever and is at the same time more closely bound to the Versailles system. A Winter is approaching which promises to be more terrible than any preceding one.

The decisive sections of the bourgeoisie have therefore thrown over Papen, who at present most visibly personifies the bankruptcy and methods of oppression, in order to continue Papen's policy by means of a new dictatorship government, but on a broader basis.

This government of "National Concentration" is to unite the fascist forces and be a presidential cabinet openly based upon the bourgeois parties with a mass following. The new fascist government is to consist of the Hitler party, the Centre and the Bavarian People's party, the German nationalists and the small German People's party. It will be supported by the social democracy under a sham oppositional mask. The dictatorship government of the "National Concentration", with the aid of all these parties as well as of the christian and reformist trade unions, with increased terror, national phrases and social demagogy, is to carry out the wage-cutting offensive which was repelled, realise in instalments the reform of the Constitution, and force the proletariat to its knees by repressive measures against the working class and the C.P.G.

The negotiations for the formation of this government are already in full swing. Hindenburg has received the leaders of the German National People's Party, of the Centre, the Bavarian People's Party and the German People's Party. The Socialist party of Germany were not invited. Finally, there took place two conversations between Hindenburg and Hitler. According to the official communiqué, Hitler declared that "his party could only participate in a government led by him". Thereupon Hindenburg submitted conditions to him, which include: maintenance and continuation of Papen's emergency decrees for cutting wages and reducing social services, express approval and continuation of Papen's foreign policy, condemnation and abandonment of social-demagogic "support" of strikes, not interference with the powers of the Reichs President and with the Reichswehr. The communiqué issued after the second conversation states:

"The Reichs-President requested the leader of the strongest party in the Reichstag to state whether and under what conditions a government led by him would secure a safe working majority in the Reichstag with a uniform programme of work."

The negotiations and the contents of these communiqués show the serious differences existing in the camp of the bourgeoisie. The circle connected with Schleicher and Hindenburg, and which represents the main sections of the bourgeoisie and their armed power, is in favour of making full

use of the Nazi Party, but wants at the same, however, to subordinate it to its own power and its own methods. Schleicher considers the time to have arrived in order to come forward himself.

The Hitler party has demanded as a condition of its open participation in the "National Concentration" the position of Chancellor and all the important Ministries as well as the immediate prohibition of the Communist Party. Hitler knows that as soon as the national socialist party becomes directly responsible for the carrying out of the further reduction of wages and social services etc., there will ensue a rapid falling away of its supporters, and he wants to prevent this by securing posts for his officers and for the storm-troops and by extreme terror against the party of the working class, the Communist Party. There are differences in the national socialist party between Hitler and Strasser, who is absolutely in favour of participation in the government even without the position of chancellor.

The Centre wishes to reduce the power and influence of the Schleicher circle and also of the national socialist party, to hide the dictatorship behind a parliamentary mask out of consideration for the christian workers, and to acquire the most important positions in the State apparatus.

The German nationalists emphasise the authoritative character of the government which is to be formed, and seek to reduce as much as possible the Parliamentary mask. They are against a Chancellorship of Hitler.

The social democracy, which as lackey is only allowed to look on from a distance and serve attendance at the negotiations, follows the lead of the Centre.

In any event the new fascist government of "National Concentration" will continue Papen's policy in a sharpened form. The differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie will remain. The new dictatorship Cabinet will be just as impotent as its predecessor to solve the crisis. The aggravation of the class antagonisms will continue.

The Communist Party is increasing the proletarian united front action and has now given it a fresh impetus by the united front appeal to all workers, and by the appeal to the unemployed.

The prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis in Germany are rapidly maturing.

The German Bourgeoisie in a Cul de Sac.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of November 19.

The von Papen Government has resigned. Six months ago, at the end of May, von Papen took on the task of forming a government of "National Concentration", a government of the strong hand. Papen has not succeeded in solving either of these tasks. The increase of the crisis has intensified the antagonisms within the bourgeoisie. Von Papen gradually lost the support of ever larger sections of the bourgeoisie. Even the national socialists, who supported him in May and June and upon whose support the whole May programme of the "National Concentration" was based, turned away from him.

This government was unable to achieve even a foreign-political success for Germany, and proved itself incapable of taking advantage of that rift in the Versailles system, caused by the sharpening of the imperialist antagonisms and the movement of the masses against the Versailles Treaty. The Papen government was unable to overcome the antagonisms within the camp of the bourgeoisie regarding the distribution of profits. It was unable to secure the German bourgeoisie "peace at home". The Communist Party at the last Reichstag election increased its vote by 2,250,000 compared with the second ballot at the Presidential election. The Party is growing from day to day.

Von Papen has resigned without having realised one of the important points of his programme of May and June. His Government legalised the Nazi storm troops on the assumption that they would prove a reliable instrument in the carrying out of its policy. The government encouraged and organised the terror against the C.P. of Germany and the revolutionary labour movement. The revolutionary workers put up an energetic resistance to the terrorist bands and brought their offensive to a standstill.

The Papen Government went over to the offensive against the collective agreements and endeavoured to reduce the wage of the workers in order to lighten the position of the industrialists. But it underestimated the class-consciousness of the unemployed and the class solidarity of the whole proletariat, which was expressed with particular clearness in the strike of the Berlin traffic workers. The tremendous extension of the strike movement against the capitalists, against the bourgeois State and against the social democratic party and trade union bureaucracy, prevented the realisation of this plan. The fascist Government proved incapable of carrying out the programme of economic relief contained in the emergency decree of September 5, i.e. aid for the industrialists, and the decree imposing import quotas on agricultural products in the interests of the big agrarians.

Papen declared he would continue to dissolve the Reichstag until it gave a majority for the Government. After two dissolutions and after new elections, the Government was compelled to realise that it had made a mistake in its calculations. It had hoped to obtain a majority in the Reichstag by negotiations with the parties, even if only for the purpose of altering the Constitution. It found, however, that the most zealous opponents of the Weimar Constitution among the parties and groups were prepared to make use of the Constitution in fighting the Papen Government.

The Papen Government proved to be completely bankrupt. The representatives of the most important political parties refused to enter into negotiations with Papen; so far as they appeared at all at the office of the Reichs Chancellor it was only to demand his resignation.

In these circumstances the resignation of the Papen

Government is an expression of the growing difficulties of the German bourgeoisie resulting from the further deepening of the crisis and of the ever increasing revolutionary upsurge of the masses. The Government resignation is a sign of the increasing contradictions among the various groups of the bourgeoisie, between the bourgeoisie and the agrarians, between North and South Germany. **It is an expression of the growing crisis of the upper strata and of the rapid growth of the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis.** The German bourgeoisie is for a fascist dictatorship. But in Germany the task of consolidating the fascist dictatorship encounters obstacles which the first open fascist Government, the von Papen government, was unable to overcome. **Nor will any other Government of the German bourgeoisie succeed in overcoming these obstacles.**

Under the present conditions the attempts to form a government of "National Concentration" will fail even more quickly than the attempts of von Papen. The government must look after the interests of the export industry and at the same time the interests of the East Prussian junkers, which are directly opposed to the former. It is also expected that the Government will afford relief to the states and municipalities which are faced with bankruptcy, whilst at the same time the governments of the States are fighting for the inviolability of their autonomic rights.

The growth of unemployment, the want and misery will inevitably accelerate the revolutionisation of the masses, the revolutionary upsurge, which in turn will strengthen the influence of the Communist Party. A further intensification of terror, the employment of the national socialists or Stahlhelm storm troops against the revolutionary labour movement, is bound to lead to a still more powerful repulse of fascism by the working masses than in June and July last.

This renders the solution of the Government crisis exceedingly difficult. Whilst a few months ago it appeared to considerable sections of the bourgeoisie that Hitler could lead German capitalism out of the cul de sac, today Hitler's star is declining. The "authority" of his storm troops as a means of terror against the revolutionary proletariat and its advance guard is shaken. The influence of the national socialist party is steadily waning, as is to be seen not only from the last Reichstag elections but in particular from the municipal elections in Saxony.

No matter in what way the present government crisis in Germany is solved, the result will be a further sharpening of the class struggle and an increase of the forces of the Communist Party, which is successfully employing the tactic of the united front and winning over ever larger masses of former supporters of the social democrats and of the national socialists.

Neither a change in the composition of the government nor a regrouping in the ranks of the German bourgeoisie can lead capitalist Germany out of the cul de sac.

Only the victory of the working class will lead Germany out of this cul de sac.

C.P. of Germany Issues United Front Appeal

Berlin, 19th November 1932.

To-day the Central Committee of the German Communist Party publishes an appeal to the workers of Germany entitled, "Unite for a joint struggle against the fascist dictatorship!" The appeal points out that the von Papen offensive against the working class has broken down and that in consequence the bourgeoisie is now working to secure a unification of all fascist forces under a new government in order to carry out a more effective attack on the working people and on the party of the working people, the Communist Party. The Hitler terror organisations are to be harnessed behind the government and the open aim of the new government will be the destruction of communism. The howl of the ruling classes for the suppression of the Communist Party is the answer to the fact that six million adult German citizens supported this party at the recent elections.

The masses of the German working class want unity, the fraternal solidarity of the organised and unorganised workers, of the social democratic, communist, christian and national socialist workers against capitalist exploitation. The Communist Party offers its hand to all workers.

POLITICS

The Coming Parliamentary Elections in Belgium.

By F. Coenen (Brussels).

The overthrow of the Renkin Catholic-Liberal coalition government followed immediately after the announcement of the results of the municipal elections, which took place on October 9. The differences of opinion between the Liberal and Catholic groups regarding import quotas on certain products were apparently settled for the time being, but on October 19 the whole Cabinet resigned because the Liberals desired the dissolution of Parliament and immediate elections.

On October 23, the old clerical de Broqueville formed a new Catholic-Liberal coalition Ministry consisting of prominent leaders, which Ministry is under the control of Francqui, the head of the "Société Generale", the most powerful group of financial capitalists in Belgium.

The immediate programme of this government, which was at once announced, is the holding of general elections, of which the elections to the Chamber and the Senate are to take place on November 27 and the elections to the provincial councils (which elect half of the senators) on December 4, and the working out of a complete programme for "restoring order" in the public finances.

The social-democratic labour party of Belgium declared that the cause of these events was the gains achieved by them at the elections on October 9. The Liberals brought forward another explanation, designed to catch the electors, namely, the original shortcomings and the inadequacy of a plan of "financial restoration" for which they claim that Renkin, who was not only Prime Minister but also Minister for Finance, was responsible.

The Renkin Cabinet collapsed under the blows delivered it by the strike of 210,000 proletarians in the period from July to September, which strike frustrated the plan of the bourgeoisie for a general attack on the working masses, with the result that certain antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie were intensified. The attack on wages was repulsed by the great struggles of the workers. Certain, fresh economy measures were carried out in the sphere of unemployment insurance. The contemplated reductions in the pay of the State and railway employees were postponed. The proposed attack on war and invalid pensions could not be carried out.

For this reason the Liberal-Foreign Minister Hymans had, ever since August, demanded the speedy holding of elections. The chairman of the Liberal Party, Minister Devèze, thought of forming a three-party government in view of "the serious circumstances" created by the economic and financial crisis and in view of the necessity of holding in check the working masses, who were becoming more and more discontented and disappointed as a result of the capitalist anarchy.

In addition, there are oppositional tendencies within the cliques of the bourgeoisie, especially in regard to the economic policy. The question at issue in this connection is the high import duties on certain agrarian products, which increase the cost of living and render it more difficult for the big industrialists to reduce wages. Here there is an antagonism of interests between the big agrarians and the industrialists.

Now the plan for financial restoration drawn up by Renkin does not remove or restrict any customs duty or import quota. On the contrary, he announced that he seeks in the import quotas a source of taxes which are to be obtained from the extraordinary profits provided by these import quotas. Of the 1,130 millions fresh taxes, a third is to consist of further increases in the taxes on articles of consumption. In addition, it is intended to reduce the expenditure on unemployment benefit and old age pensions by 450 millions, whilst retrenchment measures are contemplated in all sections of the budget.

What are the Liberals opposing to these measures? Almost nothing but speeches, in which there continually recur the words: "freedom, justice, free trade, maintenance of order, social peace."

As regards the social democrats, they declare themselves opposed to any protectionism, although they have demanded and realised it in regard to coal and fish (not to mention the products from the Soviet Union), but they call this "controlled

economy". They call for a "just incidence of taxation", and pronounce against taxes on articles of consumption, but the fact that two-thirds of the State revenue is derived from indirect taxes is due to the application of measures which were adopted by the concentration government in 1926/27, in which the social democrats participated. In addition the Governments require "full powers" in regard to customs duties, which the social democratic Parliamentary fraction expressly approved in November 1931. On this occasion the spokesman of the social democrats in the Senate declared:

"Under such circumstances we are a party of order."

It should be added that in the leading circles of the social democracy it is quite openly stated that the taxes on articles of consumption cannot be done away with until the financial disaster which threatens the bourgeoisie has been averted. Finally, Vandervelde declared in a big election speech:

"A victorious socialist government would adopt measures in order to balance the budget, and for this purpose would demand serious sacrifices from the whole people."

In their election campaign the social democracy puts forward its "whole programme" and proposes the "immediate nationalisation of the key industries, the banks and the insurance companies". This "nationalisation", which is to be carried out on the basis of compensation for the capitalists is included in the "socialist" programme solely in order to satisfy the "Lefts" and to deceive a part of the working masses.

In face of these election manoeuvres the Communist Party propagates the revolutionary fight for the overthrow of the capitalist regime, for the building of socialism by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party is putting forward a list of immediate demands for the working population in town and country: not a penny off wages, unemployment benefit, old age, war and accident pensions; seven and six-hour working day; social insurance at the cost of the employers and of the State; abolition of all indirect taxes and all taxes on wage, reduction by 50 per cent. of the taxes on incomes up to 50,000 francs; increased and progressive taxes on the rich and possessing class; reduction of house rents for the working people and petty bourgeoisie by 50 per cent., the unemployed to be exempted from payment of rent; support of the fight of the working peasants for the reduction and abolition of ground rent; equal social rights for the land workers; amnesty for the victims of class and race justice.

The Communist Party is conducting its election campaign as part of the fight against imperialist war, against the robber-treaty of Versailles, for the right of self-determination of the Flemish people, of the population of Eupen-Malmedy and of the Congo, and for the alliance of the Belgian proletariat with the proletariat of Germany and France.

The Communist Party says to the working masses:

"In order to realise these demands, fight along with the Communist Party and set up everywhere your united front of struggle."

The fight of the Communist Party is above all an extra-Parliamentary fight and will be still more so after the elections.

Increased Government Terror in Czechoslovakia.

By G. Friedrich (Prague).

When the bourgeois-agrarian-social-democratic coalition government came into office and when it announced that its chief task would be to increase the purchasing power of the workers in town and country, the Communist deputy Gottwald declared in a speech in Parliament:

"For 14 years the rulers have been "caring" for the people, until millions of people in Czechoslovakia are actually without a crust of bread. They are starving, are ragged, barefooted and freezing. Is it surprising that they are showing fight? What will the new government say to this? Their reply for the time being is expressed in a single name: Cerny, as Minister of the Interior, the notorious Cerny and his gendarmes and police, and where they do not suffice the dragons of the War Minister Bradoc. The bloodbaths in Dux, Freiwaldau and Nizni-Apsi took place in the space of three years. The government is prepared to continue this policy in an intensified form, and the

government socialists are also prepared for this. That is to say, the bourgeoisie are openly preparing for civil war in order to impose their plans on the overwhelming majority of the population, if necessary even with fire and sword. The new government will be not only a government of famine, but also a government of preparation for civil war."

Scarcely 14 days have passed since this speech was delivered and it has already proved true. Gendarmerie have fired on peasants who did nothing but defend their lives—the only thing left them.

In Polomka, in Slovakia, it came to a demonstration of the peasantry against the forced sale, ordered by the authorities, of the property of a peasant for non-payment of a comparatively small private debt. The efforts of the villagers of Polomka to prevent the sale were in vain. At this sale there took place the most scandalous robbery. The property of the peasant, worth 28,000 crowns, was sold for 600 crowns. In spite of the guard of gendarmes, the peasants drove the auctioneer from the village. Thereupon a strong body of gendarmerie was sent to Polomka. Seven peasants who were designated as the ringleaders were arrested. Although it was night, the population of the village were alarmed by the ringing of the bells. The peasants armed themselves with threshing flails and pitch-forks and demanded the release of the prisoners. The gendarmes only succeeded in getting away with their prisoners by requisitioning a motor lorry and driving off. The whole population of the village marched to the district court in Brezno, where they demanded the release of the prisoners. It came to demonstrations in the square in front of the court, at which the villagers raised cries of: Give us something to eat or poison us!

In Polomka the gendarmes, who were continually reinforced, repeatedly provoked the villagers who were excitedly discussing the events of the past few days. The gendarmes attacked the villagers several times and attempted to disperse them. Finally, the gendarmes employed against the peasants the tried and approved means used on numerous other occasions. They loaded their rifles with ball-cartridge and fired at the peasants from a distance of scarcely 30 metres. Two peasants were killed on the spot, and a great number of others who were wounded were brought into safety by their fellow-peasants.

That is the end for the time being of the fight of the peasants of Polomka. But Polomka is not an isolated case. The whole of the working population of Slovakia live under conditions similar to those of the peasants of Polomka. But the Horechoni district, in which Polomka is situated, is a grave-yard in the literal sense of the term. The few factories, which formerly provided the workers and poor peasants with occasional work and bread, are closed down. The population of Polomka, of this single village, is indebted to three Slovakian banks to the amount of 4 million crowns, on which interest from 10 to 15 per cent. has to be paid. And the bailiffs and gendarmes distrain on the goods of the peasants on account of these debts. Not only the factories but also the forests, which were formerly the basis of a developed lumber industry, no longer provide work.

The shots fired in Polomka indicate the path which the Government, with its seven socialist Ministers, intends to pursue in order to carry out its starvation plans. The reduction of the salaries of the civil servants, the introduction of fresh taxes and customs duties, the worsening of social legislation are only a part of this plan. The other part is expressed in the increased persecution of the revolutionary labour movement. Following the dissolution of the revolutionary mass organisations: the Workers International Relief, the Red Aid and the Friends of the Soviet Union, the leaders of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League are now to be prosecuted for high treason. The workers are to be deprived of their leaders and the party is to be destroyed in order that the bourgeoisie shall be able to carry out its plans without hindrance.

But the C.P. of Czechoslovakia is more and more successfully mobilising the working masses against these attempts and plans. The government has already been compelled to postpone the intended withdrawal of the Parliamentary immunity of 5 Communist deputies and their handing over to the Court for trial of high treason, i.e. for propagating the 21 conditions of the Comintern. The working class of Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will carry on the fight, until they achieve their demands.

Mussolini's Amnesty.

From the Declaration of the Political Bureau of the C.P. of Italy.

The amnesty which the fascist Government granted on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the March on Rome shows once again that the fascist regime is a barbarous terror-dictatorship of the ruling capitalist classes over the toiling masses. Thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants have been pining for years in the fascist prisons, where they are subjected to the most inhumane regime, but only a few hundred will regain their freedom under the amnesty.

Thousands of ordinary robbers and bankrupts, bankers who have embezzled the savings of small depositors, fascists who have used membership contributions for their own purposes are granted an amnesty. The champions of the Italian working class and of the Communist Party of Italy **Gramsci, Terracini, Parodi** and thousands of others remain in prison in the hands of their enemies from whom only the revolutionary fight of the workers and peasants against capitalism will wrest them. The fascist authorities themselves will pick out from the hundreds of deportees the few dozen whom they choose to amnesty; and there can be no doubt whatever that the Communists who could not be induced either by threats or cajolery to bow to fascism, who have fought and will continue to fight against it, will not be among the released.

The amnesty, miserable and restricted as it is, is not an act of grace, not an act of generosity on the part of the regime towards its enemies, but a political act to which the regime has been compelled under the pressure of the growing discontent of the population and of the fight of the workers and peasants.

The Italian bourgeoisie and fascism are striving to broaden the political basis of the dictatorship, without altering the nature of the same. The fact that the approach to certain leaders of the social democracy ended in nothing else but the declaration of a reactionary amnesty, shows how serious are the contradictions undermining the fascist regime. The fear of a movement of the masses, whilst it on the one hand renders it necessary to extend the basis of the dictatorship, on the other hand fills the Italian bourgeoisie and fascism with serious doubts and uncertainty in regard to any alteration, however superficial, of their policy. They fear that an alteration of policy might be used by the working masses in order to reorganise their ranks and to strengthen their movement under the leadership of the Communist advance-guard. The present amnesty is a very timid attempt at a political manoeuvre, the further development of which will depend upon how the working masses react and how the fight of the workers and peasants for their daily demands progresses.

The estimate made by the C.P. of Italy is fully and entirely confirmed by the attitude which the leaders of the Democrats and social democrats, the general staff of the reformist party, of "justice and freedom" adopted before and after the declaration of the amnesty.

It is useless for them to say, now that the amnesty is worthless, that they will not accept any amnesty from fascism etc. Under the cloak of such phrases, which aim at deceiving the masses, the democratic and social democratic press, right from the first moment at which there was talk of a possible change of front on the part of fascism attempted only to fix the conditions under which the general staff of the social democratic emigration would be prepared to return to Italy. Their return would of course have as its object to break the growing influence of the Communists among the masses, to divert the discontent and indignation into channels which do not constitute any danger to the bourgeoisie and the capitalist regime.

As the amnesty has turned out otherwise than the social democrats expected, they say that "if fascism has amnestied them they would have amnestied fascism". They clearly realise that any development of the mass movement, any sharpening of the home and international situation would confront them definitely with the problem of exercising their function, of acting as the main buttress of capitalism which is threatened by the revolution. At the same time they felt the necessity of displaying their "anti-fascism". Hence the difficulties and slowness in the negotiations for a return of the social democratic emigrants to Italy, although there is

a strong tendency in the reformist party in favour of accepting any conditions.

In face of the fascist regime, which is uncertain of its future, in face of the social democracy, which is striving for nothing else but to give its support to the bourgeoisie in order to avert the danger of the proletarian revolution, the Communist Party has no need to emphasise that its fight is being continued and will be continued in every situation.

Those champions of the Communist Party who have been released by the fascist amnesty will regard this fact as an achievement of mass struggle and of the fight of the Communist Party. They will resume their place in the ranks of the Party and continue the fight. The situation in Italy calls for the exertion of all our forces. The masses of workers and peasants are seeking an organised force which shall lead and guide them in their fight against all wage reductions, for unemployment benefit, against exorbitant taxes, for bread, work and freedom. The Party must understand, and will understand, how to make use of its members down to the last man in order to give the masses the leadership they require.

In particular the Communist Party summons its members and the working masses to carry on agitation and to fight for the abolition of the Special Tribunal and the Exceptional Laws, for complete, unconditional amnesty for all prisoners and deportees. This fight is an integral part of the fight for the political and social emancipation of the Italian people. The demand for special treatment for the political prisoners must form one of the immediate demands in our fight.

The C.P. of Italy appeals in the name of the Italian proletariat to the proletariat of the other capitalist countries, to the workers of France, Germany, Great Britain, the United States and to the Italian workers in emigration in order that they shall conduct the mass struggle in all countries for the release of the victims of Italian imperialism with the same energy and determination as they have in recent times.

THE "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

Disarmament Humbug of the British Bourgeoisie.

By R. Bishop (London).

Sir **John Simon** has made his loudly heralded speech at **Geneva** giving the British disarmament proposals. The whole of the bourgeois press of this country lauds it to the skies as a "step on the road to peace". The Government organs grow lyrical in its praise, while the "**Daily Herald**" (organ of the Labour "Opposition") welcomes the proposals but declares that they "lack boldness and breadth of vision". What are these proposals? Let us set them out clearly:

Immediate reduction of leading Air Forces to the level of the British, which is at present fifth in size. Cut of one-third in all Air Forces thus reduced. Co-operation of the Powers in an examination of possibility of total abolition of military and naval aircraft. Negotiations between Powers for reduction of size of guns, of tonnage of capital ships, and of whole naval tonnage. Cruisers not to exceed 7,000 tons. Abolition of submarines. Tanks above a given weight to be abolished. Large mobile guns to be limited to 105 millimetres. Acceptance of Hoover proposals for military effectives as basis for discussion. Suggestions to bring **Germany** back to disarmament conference.

These are the suggestions which the Government "**Daily Telegraph**" describes as "frank in the extreme" and of which it says:

"They have the merit of facing the issue of genuine disarmament squarely and of putting forward nothing that can be condemned as wrapping up that issue in a tissue of juristical niceties."

The frankness which the "**Telegraph**" notices will be difficult of discernment by the average observer; for a more cunningly formulated set of proposals has never been put forward. In plain English Simon's proposals mean that the British Government are not prepared to abandon any of their weapons of war. This is disguised by the following formula:

"My own country in recent years has effected immense reductions in armaments. Therefore my Government cannot go further without general agreement."

Nothing could be more untrue than the impression created by this statement. With all the "economies" of the National Government last year a position was reached where the proportion of the National expenditure used for war purposes increased from 57% the previous year, to 58%.

It is true that last year the expenditure of the War Office and the Air Ministry decreased while only that of the Admiralty went up. But the amount spent on armaments for all three Services showed a big increase, the reduced expenditure was more than accounted for by heavy reductions in the pay of the personnel and in their victualling and clothing allowances, pensions, etc. In the Admiralty, despite the pay cuts etc. (which would have been even heavier but for Invergordon) the expenditure showed an actual increase.

For several years the total expenditure on the Forces has shown a slight annual decrease, due to the steady fall in wholesale world prices, but the actual quantity of construction has steadily increased. And to-day when Simon is boasting of the "practical disarmament" of Britain the largest proportion of the national Budget ever—58%—is being expended on war purposes.

Great Britain—fifth among Air Forces, asks other nations to reduce their Air Forces to her level, and then have a one-third reduction all round. The same proposal, it will be noticed, is not made concerning Navies, in which field Britain is still predominant. The day before Simon's speech a new submarine was launched at Chatham, the Seahorse. This vessel is reported to have incorporated in it a wide range of new features rendering it the most deadly vessel of its kind afloat. Its secrets are being closely guarded by the Admiralty.

Whilst Simon is demanding a reduction of foreign Air Forces, to-day's "Daily Telegraph" (18. 11. 32) is boasting "The Supremacy of British Aircraft", which is the heading of a report from their Aviation Correspondent at the Paris Aero Show.

"Half the machines here", he says, "have engines made in Great Britain or in France under license from British designers. The finest military aircraft are the Hawker, Fairey and Bristol fighters and day bombers... Great Britain has a lead of three years in fighting machines."

So Simon's proposal is that the worse equipped foreign Forces shall reduce their numerical strength to that of Great Britain, leaving Britain supreme by virtue of superior technical equipment.

So with the **Navy**. Britain demands the abolition of submarines, which are the greatest menace to her, while demanding the retention of capital ships, her greatest strength. The claim made for capital ships, is that they are "defensive" in character. A similar claim is made for all weapons which it is in the interests of British to retain. Said Simon concerning the large tanks, the abolition of which he advocates.

"The tanks used in the Great War were unquestionably offensive weapons, that is to say their first use was to break through elaborately prepared positions. The British Government is in complete agreement with the United States in specifying that all offensive weapons should be prohibited."

After this introduction Simon went on to state that he did favour a modern tank of a lighter type, which could not be regarded as an offensive weapon!

Why Simon wants the retention of light tanks, is indicated by a lecture given by **Colonel Pile** of the War Office recently to the members of the Royal United Service Institution. He said:—

"The tank to-day is no longer a short range weapon. It is a long-range weapon. The British 16 ton tank is probably the most efficient in the world, far more useful than any heavy tank that is in existence. It is easily the most powerful weapon a soldier has ever been given to handle, and it is also very fast. It is capable of covering long distances in a very short period. No enemy within 150 miles would be safe from an overwhelming attack from vehicles of this kind."

And this is the weapon which Simon so smugly calls "purely defensive".

When Pile's speech was reported the "**Morning Post**" compared the heavy tank with the modern light tank. The heavy tank travels at 3 miles per hour; the modern light tank, at a maximum speed of 30 miles per hour, can go cross-country 20 miles and has a circuit of action of 100 miles.

It can be seen that when Simon talks of the abolition of the heavy tank, he might as well, from the viewpoint of modern warfare, talk of the abolition of the bow and arrow. But the light tank, whose retention he demands, is considered by the experts as the most deadly land instrument known to the European War Offices.

The whole proposals are based on the assumption that disarming your neighbour is equivalent to arming yourself. So the British Foreign Secretary proposes the abolition of those things in which Britain's rivals are strong and the maintenance of those things in which Britain itself is strong.

Britain's plea of having disarmed can be seen in its true perspective when read in conjunction with a speech by **Lieut-Col. G. S. Hutchison**, a War Office expert, in Norwich in April this year:

Said the Colonel:

"I think it may be heartening if I say that we are possessed to-day of devices and means of war unequalled by those of any other nation, and those devices should give us superiority of fire power at the point of issue, and that is victory."

In the same speech Hutchison gave an interesting picture of the rationalisation of war preparations by the various Governments. He said:

"In the old days it was the custom of the inventor to take along his invention to Governments and sell it for the highest price. To-day he has no opportunity to offer an invention to a Government because the Governments are the inventors themselves. The scientific boards of Government are well equipped and have all the most brilliant scientists there, so that you do not know—and no nation can know, what chemical devilry is being stewed out in Woolwich, or Potsdam or Paris. The thing is an unknown quantity."

And, while these self-same preparations are going on the Imperialist Powers are producing their smug, hypocritical "disarmament" proposals, the real purpose of all of which is to relatively strengthen their own position.

Nothing could have been more hypocritical than Simon's talk about bombing planes, in view of the fact that regular bombing of Indian and Iraq villages had been a regular feature of British Colonial policy since the war. Said Simon:

"As to air armaments there is no aspect of international disarmament more vitally urgent than the adoption without delay of the most effective measures to preserve civilian populations from the horror, the appalling horror, of aerial bombardment."

Nevertheless Simon opposed the abolition of bombing machines on the ground that it would still be possible to adapt machines, not originally intending as bombers, for this purpose.

Simon went on to stress the anxiety of the British Government to get Franco-German agreement so as to bring Germany back to Geneva. The purpose of this manoeuvre is not to secure peace but to strengthen immeasurably the anti-Soviet bloc and at the same time to build up a European bloc against debt payment to U.S.A.

Meantime the ideological campaign against the Soviet Union is being pursued with vigour on the home front. The "**Times**" and the "**Daily Express**", in their respective spheres are pouring out the poison, whilst "**The Telegraph**", the venomous organ of the Industrialists, announces an "impartial" investigation of the Soviet Union as appearing in its columns shortly. In Parliament, everywhere, the bourgeoisie are sparing no effort to whip up the war fever.

And in Geneva, the British Foreign Secretary, under the guise of preparing for "disarmament", is actively carrying forward the imperialist plan for war.

The "Constructive" Plan of French Imperialism Submitted at Geneva.

By G. Péri (Paris).

The representative of France has submitted to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva the "constructive" plan which has emerged from the difficult negotiations of the last few days.

What is specifically new in this document which Herriot handed over to the public at a press reception on November 14 last? In order to avoid any doubt the plan is represented as a project for the military reorganisation of Europe, which is "capable" of solving the problem of limitation of armaments and disarmament.

This reorganisation has as its prerequisite the replacement of professional armies by conscript armies. The professional armies are regarded as armies of aggression, whilst the conscript armies are regarded as organs of defence. How much this assertion is worth becomes clear when it is remembered that the French army, the army that carried out the Ruhr occupation and waged war in Morocco and Syria, belongs to the second category.

But how shall the military reorganisation be "capable" of promoting the reduction of armaments?

Here there commences the enumeration of conditions and the long list of treaties to be concluded, and upon which everything depends. 1. General Pact, embracing the U.S.A., which shall undertake in the event of war to abandon neutrality. 2. European Pact which shall give added strength to the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant. 3. Regional agreements between the various European Powers.

The demands are formulated as follows: First regarding the conditions under which each of the contracting parties shall have the right of the co-operation of the others. This mutual assistance "shall come into action on the simple fact of an attack or an invasion, duly certified on the demand of the State which is victim by a commission, the members of which will have been appointed in time of peace by the diplomatic representatives and military attachés accredited to the government of that State."

Attack? Invasion? Not only the history of all armed conflicts shows the questionability of this criterion, but also the quite recent history of the war in the Far East, which teaches us what value the Geneva sanctions have against an invasion.

In addition, the list of agreements includes a further unexpected agreement: the Mediterranean Pact. We can now better understand what was the object of Herriot's visit to Madrid and what Herriot's pro-Italian declarations mean.

The conclusion of such a Mediterranean Pact as was rejected by England two years ago, is the prerequisite for any reduction of naval armaments. Nay more: whatever percentage of reduction in naval armaments is fixed, the Plan proposes that it should apply to the existing tonnage as placed on record by the principal naval Powers in 1931, which means that the superiority of the French war fleet in the Mediterranean over the Italian fleet shall be perpetuated.

Finally, a thorough reform of the League of Nations Statutes shall be undertaken. Hitherto the League of Nations Council had to designate the aggressor as such unanimously. In future a simple majority will suffice for this. The results of such a reform can be easily judged. France, thanks to its system of alliances and the control which it exercises through its loans, will dominate the League of Nations Council. France will determine who is the aggressor and against whom the international army is to be employed.

The international army shall first have at its disposal a land force consisting of troops "of more or less long duration of service, equipped with the mobile material forbidden for national armies." It shall be supplemented by a fleet, which shall include ships of all categories. Finally, there shall be an international air-force.

Ever since its existence the League of Nations has constantly served the interests of the imperialist Powers against the weak and oppressed peoples and against the international movements. Just imagine what would have happened if the League of Nations had hitherto had an international army at its disposal. Faithful to the commands of the League of

Nations Council, this army would have fought on the side of the Polish Generals against Lithuania, with the Italian officers against Greece, with the French Generals against the peasants in the Riff area and in Syria, and with the Japanese Generals against China and Manchuria.

This army would be on the side of France, which is all-powerful in the League of Nations Council, in order forcibly to impose the robber-treaties on the German people and the oppressed national minorities.

In the fight between the capitalist world and socialist civilisation this army would serve as a weapon of attack by imperialism on the proletariat.

For 15 years all the adventurers and white guardists have been demanding the creation of an armed force of the counter-revolution. Herriot and Boncour go beyond these demands. The first workers' State is to be fought not only by means of intrigues, calumnies and boycott, but by means of an army equipped with all the latest means of mass murder. This is the plan which Leon Blum welcomes no less enthusiastically than Pertinax in the "Echo de Paris".

One has the impression that in drawing up the plan the authors were constantly haunted by the fear that one or other of the conditions might be actually accepted. For which reason appropriate supplementary clauses were always added.

Thus, for instance, it was not sufficient to demand the conclusion of agreements which would be almost impossible to bring about; it was not sufficient to demand that England and the U.S.A. should submit to conditions which these two Powers would certainly reject. It appeared inadequate to demand a change in the statutes of the League of Nations Council to which the most enthusiastic adherents of the League are opposed. In addition to all this, the Plan demands that in fixing what strength the conscript armies may have, the special requirements of every State should be taken into account in accordance with article 8 of the Pact. Also the military training in the political organisations as well as the strength of the police forces must be taken into account. The obstacles and difficulties placed in the way of any reduction of armaments are continually augmented.

The chief difference in regard to the international army is that the proposals in this connection were this time warmly advocated by Leon Blum and Renaudel. As we have already shown, the League of Nations army is to be provided with outspoken weapons of attack and with all the instruments of wholesale destruction.

Of course there can be no question of this system being realised. Not one of the proposals has the least prospect of coming into force. But this is not the question. When the objections of all the Powers, of Italy, Germany etc. are made known in Paris, Herriot will place his hand at his heart and declare: You see how France has once again been magnanimous, and once again our efforts have been in vain owing to the egoistic interests of the other countries. And nothing will be left for Blum to do but to say, yea and amen.

And then, of course, France will "have no other choice" but to hold still more manoeuvres, to allow the generals to make still more chauvinistic speeches, and to build new fortresses and armoured cruisers.

But to-day the workers are already on the alert. They know that the bourgeoisie cannot disarm without ceasing to be the bourgeoisie. They know that the only State which is conducting a peaceful policy is that State in which the proletarian revolution has disarmed and vanquished the bourgeoisie. They know that the way to peace is the way of revolution.

Soviet Union Does Not Recognise Manchukuo.

Tokio, 20th November 1932.

The bourgeois press has reported on numerous occasions that the Soviet Union has recognised the new State Manchukuo or that it is about to do so. The Soviet government has not recognised Manchukuo. The fact that representatives of the Manchukuo government are exercising consular rights on Soviet territory does not imply diplomatic recognition. The Foreign Minister of the Manchukuo government, Se Tse-shi, has issued an official statement denying the reports that the Soviet government has made the Manchukuo government any proposals either for diplomatic recognition or for a Pact of Non-Aggression.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The League of Nations, Poland and Danzig Harbour.

By Nm.

On October 15, the League of Nations Council appointed **Helmer Rosting**, a Dane, temporary League of Nations Commissioner of Danzig. This post was rendered vacant by the sudden death of the former Commissioner Signor Gravina. No agreement could be reached at Geneva regarding the final successor of Gravina—a fact which proves the strength of the imperialist antagonisms. Thus a temporary solution was found when Helmer Rosting, the head of the League of Nations Department for International Administrative Affairs, accepted the appointment as Commissioner for the time being. This choice was warmly welcomed by the German representative at Geneva, Herr **Rosenberg**. The Polish representative, the Foreign Minister **Zaleski**, was silent, a very significant fact. The Danzig capitalist press did not fail to magnify Rosting's good qualities. The Polish capitalist press in Danzig did the same, and undoubtedly had more cause to. Mr. Rosting's line of policy is to be seen from his last tour of inspection. The result of his visits to Danzig and Warsaw in August last was the protocols of August 13, 1932, which took the public by surprise.

The economic protocol, as is known, contained the assurance, that no economic boycott and no hostile actions against persons would be tolerated by either side—either by Danzig or Poland. The new agreement regarding warships provides that there is to be **no restriction** on the length of stay of Polish naval units in Danzig, and **no restriction** on the number of units simultaneously entering the port. The necessary prerequisites of this case, namely the reconditioning of ships or taking in of stores are only a cloak to hide the fact that Danzig thereby becomes to all intents and purposes a Polish naval station. For the fact that an unlimited number of Polish warships can lie in Danzig harbour enables Poland to "buy" warships abroad (for example, in France) and to station them in Danzig harbour for the purpose of repair or taking in of stores.

Even German nationalist newspapers state that Danzig has abandoned an important sovereign right. They forgot to say, however, that Mr. Rosting had secured the co-operation of the German Foreign Office. This fact and the two protocols became intelligible when, about 14 days later, towards the end of August 1932, the German Reichs Chancellor von Papen declared to the press that the corridor question was not of immediate importance at present for Germany. This represented an attempt on the part of German imperialism to weaken the pressure in the East in order to have freer hand towards France in regard to the demand for equality of armaments. The Franco-Polish front, with the aid of Mr. Rosting, cleverly made use of this opportunity in order to strengthen their position and render Danzig still more dependent on Poland.

Did not the new representative of Poland in Danzig, Minister **Papee**, when assuming office in April last, declare that Danzig must be incorporated in Poland. The warship agreement is undoubtedly an important step in this direction. The fight between Germany and Poland over Danzig, this important strategical point both for East Prussia and the corridor, has advanced a stage further to the advantage of Poland.

The declaration by Germany of its agreement to a strengthening of the position of Poland in Danzig proves that the common hatred against the Soviet Union is stronger than all the antagonisms among the imperialists, and compels them to put aside their own individual interests for the time being and subordinate everything to the interests of European imperialism as a whole.

This is shown clearly enough by the fact that Helmer Rosting, as agent of Franco-Polish finance capital in particular and of international finance capital in general, is

the enemy of the working class and thereby also the enemy of the Danzig and Polish proletariat.

It has been left to the Danzig social democracy to praise this man and to represent his protocol as being in the interests of the working class.

As always, the social fascists in Danzig are on the side of the enemies of the Soviets, on the side of their own capitalists. They represent that wing of the Danzig bourgeoisie who are dependent upon the Polish market and are therefore prepared to make any concession if they can only go on making profits.

The working class of Danzig already by their strike in the Polish-Russian war in 1920 demonstrated their solidarity with the Soviet Union. They will know how to meet the present plans of Mr. Rosting and his principals and of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

Intensified Crisis of the Public Finances in Germany.

By F. Brand (Berlin).

A fresh economic storm seems to be gathering for the German bourgeoisie, this time in connection with the public finances, the state of which has become little short of disastrous in the past few months. This was to be expected, for the Papen cabinet, continuing the policy already commenced by Brüning, has paid out huge sums from the state treasury in order to bolster up the bankrupt private economy. Papen, like Brüning before him, attempted to prevent an increase in the Reich deficit by simply shifting a great part of the financial burdens of the Reich on to the States and municipalities.

But this method was bound to break down sooner or later. The position of the municipalities has almost everywhere become so disastrous that many of them are already bankrupt. But the Reich can hardly allow a large number of the municipalities to go bankrupt if it does not want to jeopardise the whole financial economy of Germany. It must help them, but how?

It is significant that the Papen Government sought to divert attention from the bad state of the municipal finances by pointing to the state of the Reichs finances, the prospective deficit of which for the current fiscal year is "only" 700 to 800 million marks. The tax on wages which in 1929 brought in 1400 million Reichs marks, will, instead of the expected 900 million marks, bring in at the very most only 770 million; the revenue from the income tax will likewise be about 140 million marks less than the estimate, and from the corporation tax about 50 million; the turnover tax, however, will show a deficit of at least 400 million marks.

We have every reason for assuming, however, that the Reichs Finance Minister deliberately presented things in a rosy light. In our opinion the tax receipts of the Reich will be at least 1000 million below the estimate. At the present moment it is hard to ascertain how much the Papen Government has squandered on gifts to the possessing class, how much has been expended on the Eastern relief, on bolstering up corn prices, on all the various subventions to the agrarians and industrialists. It will perhaps be easier to ascertain this when the financial crash is no longer avoidable.

An acute danger is meanwhile threatening in connection with the municipal finances. The fact is the greater part of the German municipalities are able only with the greatest difficulty to raise the means for paying salaries, wages and relief. There are already numerous municipalities in which the poll tax has already been raised to 15 times, 20 times and even 25 times above the normal scale. This is only one example of how the robbery of the working masses is increased as a result of the crisis of municipal finances. For in fact all the municipal taxes have been increased in the same way as the poll tax. But in spite of this enormous increase in the taxes the revenue therefrom has declined year after year. This is the inevitable result of the economic crisis and the increasing poverty of the masses. The town of Frank-

fort on Maine, for example, has to report that its tax receipts have fallen 30 per cent.

The drastic retrenchment measures of the municipalities have been unable to check the growing deficits. Frankfort for instance has cut down the expenditure on the wages and salaries of its employees by 33 per cent., partly by means of dismissals and partly by reducing wages and salaries. In addition, all expenditure on education, public health, social policy has been cut in the most brutal fashion. The cutting down of relief, especially unemployment relief, was particularly ruthless. The number of unemployed who are dependent on poor law relief has increased by 400 per cent., whilst the amount expended on this relief has increased only by 70 per cent.

At present we witness the spectacle of two of the largest and richest German towns, Frankfort on Maine and Cologne, being unable to pay the sums due to the holders of their municipal bonds (Frankfort 30 million marks, Cologne 40 million). But a whole number of towns and smaller municipalities are already in a similar state of bankruptcy.

Dr. Bracht, the State Commissioner for Prussia appointed by the Papen Government, had to appeal to the Reichs Government because the Prussian municipal authorities, in spite of threats of severe penalties, have not transferred to the Prussian State treasury the taxes collected by them for the State, but instead used them in order to cover their most necessary outgoings. The amount of untransferred taxes in Prussia has increased as follows:

1932 End of May . . .	61.7 million marks
" " June . . .	83.1 " "
" " July . . .	107.2 " "
" " August . . .	129.6 " "

The municipalities, by employing for their own purposes the taxes which should be handed over to the State treasury, naturally shift the financial crisis on to the States. But they have no other means of helping themselves. Many of them, including big towns such as Duisburg-Hamborn, have commenced paying salaries by instalments. In a dozen municipalities it has already come to serious riots of unemployed because the authorities were unable to pay out unemployment relief. For this reason the Reichs Government was recently compelled to advance the sum of 75 million marks to the municipalities in order to enable them to meet the burdens of poor-law relief; but that is only a drop in a bucket.

Thus the financial crisis of the municipalities is becoming more threatening and acute every week. When the Government has no other course open to it than to increase the amount of cash and notes in circulation, then the crisis of German capitalism will have reached a further depth, while at the same time there will be a further aggravation of class antagonisms. Let us prepare for this!

Staggering "Economy" Proposals of the British Government.

Some months ago a Committee of Conservative back-benchers was appointed to consider new "economies" and make recommendations to the Government. This committee has now reported.

Its report commends "economies" to the tune of £100,000,000, and as might be expected the great bulk is to come from the working class. The Committee is termed unofficial, but as it consists of many of the most prominent supporters of the Government and has been publicly blessed by the leading members of the Cabinet, it is certain that the Government will operate it, or as much of it as they dare. The proposals are startling in their audacity.

It is proposed that all housing subsidies are to go. Municipalities are to be instructed to sell all their houses to private landlords, and the Rent Restriction Act is to be rescinded, which would place working-class tenants completely at the mercy of the landlords.

With regard to **education** it is proposed that the costs per head should be substantially reduced. The number of pupils per teacher is to be increased. Head teachers are themselves to take classes, to enable further reductions of staff.

It is proposed that no fresh road schemes shall be contemplated before 1936, and that the Ministry of Transport shall be abolished. These proposals would of course mean a

heavy increase in unemployment, particularly as a heavy reduction in expenditure on road repairs is also contemplated.

Government grants to local authorities are to be cut by 15 per cent. and the latter are to be ordered to cut their expenditure by a similar amount. Wages of Civil Servants are to be reduced still further and a reduced expenditure on pensions is also called for.

These are but the most important proposals in this amazing document. "National economy", the Committee say, is of "paramount national importance", yet its members are the foremost in the demand for an extension of armaments in all three fighting services.

THE WHITE TERROR

Monster Trial of Rumanian Communists.

By Dinu Pribegie (Bucharest).

The white terror which the "democratic" government of Rumania exercises against the revolutionary labour movement is characterised by an unending succession of trials, which take place in all parts of the country before military and civil courts.

On October 31 such a trial, in which there are 30 accused including 16 women, commenced before the Bucharest court.

This is one of the biggest trials that Rumania has ever witnessed, and at the same time it characterises the methods of the Rumanian bourgeoisie and their notorious "Siguranza". The Rumanian government's need of a "Communist conspiracy", which is to be "proved" by this trial, was particularly urgent on the eve of the Parliamentary elections in June last.

At the Parliamentary election in 1931 the Communist workers had elected 5 deputies of the workers and peasants bloc, and this in spite of the terror, in spite of the prohibition of all election propaganda, in spite of the fact that no meetings were allowed to be held and no revolutionary papers were permitted to appear. The government at that time cancelled the seats won by the workers and peasants bloc and distributed them among the bourgeois parties, including the social democracy.

The new national peasant government were of the opinion that their democratic sign-board would not permit the application of quite the same methods. They therefore caused most of the candidates of the workers' and peasants' bloc who took part in the election propaganda to be arrested. Thus before the elections no less than 3000 workers were thrown into prison and only released after the elections were over.

In order to legalise the terrorist measures, and above all in order to cripple the activity of the Communist workers, a "big Communist conspiracy" was invented. The Siguranza continually reported of arrests; at one time the "German confederates" of the Rumanian communists were arrested, another time it was the "Moscow representative" who was arrested. The "German confederates" turned out to be a German commercial traveller of the name of Gustav Arnold, who had come to Rumania as representative of a type-writer company. The discovery of a secret printing works of the illegal Communist Party and the confiscation of numerous Communist leaflets and books were announced.

Thirty of the most active functionaries of the revolutionary movement were arrested on the most diverse charges, which were finally all combined into a common "conspiracy". Among the arrested are workers who have only just come out of prison, as B. Breiner, A. Weiss, N. Cohn, Muncaci and Zelman, each of whom had just completed a term of five years imprisonment on account of Communist activity. In addition, among the arrested were the leading comrades of the workers' and peasants' bloc, including comrade Patrascanu, lawyer of the Red Aid, whom the bourgeoisie are just as little able to forgive for his indefatigable activity in defending the victims of the Siguranza as for the fact that in the Parliamentary election in 1931 he was elected with a great majority in two different constituencies. This time he is accused of having written two Communist leaflets and making a journey to Moscow. In the eyes of the Rumanian bourgeoisie this is a crime involving 5 to 10 years imprisonment and loss of civil rights for a further ten years.

All the accused, with the exception of four who were released after having been held under arrest for three months, are at present again in prison. In order to show the terrorist regime to which they are subjected it suffices to mention here that they appeared before the examining judge fettered hand and foot. It was only after the defence made emphatic protest that the regulation was complied with which demands that the accused shall appear before the judge without fetters.

Comrade Patrascanu, on behalf of the accused, denounced the vile plans which the Government are pursuing in instituting this trial: "Our arrest was undertaken in the election interests of the government, which wanted at all costs to prevent the election of Communist deputies. We were arrested three days after handing in of the list of candidates of the workers' and peasants' bloc."

All the accused acknowledged themselves to be Communists and at the same time protested against the tortures which the Siguranza employed against them, as well as against the house-searches and confiscations which were carried out in their houses or at their work places during their absence.

The bourgeoisie hope by this trial, which was resumed on November 19, to rob the Communist movement of its best leaders. The growing strike movement, the indignation of the unemployed who are granted no relief and are condemned to starvation, and also the increasing unrest among the peasantry and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie, are causing the Rumanian bourgeoisie considerable alarm; they hope to be able to crush the ever-growing revolutionary movement with those means the employment of which has hitherto been unable to prevent the gathering of the revolutionary forces.

The Supreme Court Decision on Scottsboro.

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

The U.S. Supreme Court has at last announced its decision in the Scottsboro case, setting a retrial by the same local court which attempted to legally lynch the 9 boys a year and a half ago. Its decision is the result of the tremendous campaign of mass protest which penetrated every country of the world and frightened American imperialism as no campaign since the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign has done. The greater strength of these protest demonstrations than the Sacco-Vanzetti ones is shown by the fact that the chief court of American capitalism was compelled to grant a new trial. It is only a partial victory in that it remands them to the same court which condemned them to execution, and which, according to the original trial judge, Hawkins, will again try them next March under conditions of martial law and lynch atmosphere. Hawkins has already stated that in the retrial, "The presence of the military will be more imperative than ever". It can be made a complete victory, however, if the present wave of mass indignation is intensified and every American consul and ambassador abroad, and every official in Alabama and throughout the U.S. is made to feel that the toiling masses and radical intellectuals of the entire world have made the freedom of the Scottsboro boys a demand which must be complied with.

The decision of the Supreme Court is a skilful piece of demagogy. It evades every issue of the case except a purely technical one: whether the Scottsboro boys were denied right of counsel, as charged by the defence among many more important charges. The decision, together with a brief dissenting opinion, takes up about 10,000 words and goes back to 1688 in England in its long ramble of verbiage. But it deliberately states that "it becomes unnecessary to discuss the facts of the case or the circumstances surrounding the prosecution except in so far as they reflect light upon that question" (i. e., denial of right of counsel). It is typical of capitalist justice that in such a case of lynch justice it studies microscopically whether the proper kind of rope was used in the lynching, and not the question of guilt or innocence.

The decision reviews the grounds upon which the appeal of the I.L.D. (MOPR) was made, specifying them as a violation of the 14th Amendment of the constitution: "1) that they were not given a fair, impartial, and deliberate trial; 2) they were denied the right of counsel, with the accustomed

incidents of consultation and opportunity of preparation for trial; and 3) they were tried before juries from which qualified members of their race were systematically excluded." Though they had thousands of words to waste, they carefully limited their summary of the appeal to these points and refused to specify, as the appeal did, that the boys' "defence" lawyers chosen by the court had refused to call a single witness, had not challenged the jurors chosen, etc., etc.

In its review of the record in the case the decision is compelled to admit to a certain extent the vicious conditions under which the arrests and trial were conducted. Among these are the following:

"But no counsel had been employed, and aside from a statement made by the trial judge several days later during a colloquy immediately preceding the trial, the record does not disclose when or under what circumstances an appointment of counsel was made, or who was appointed . . . the attitude of the community was one of great hostility . . . every step taken from the arrest and arraignment to the sentence was accompanied by the military . . . It is perfectly apparent that the proceedings, from beginning to end, took place in an atmosphere of tense, hostile and excited public sentiment." Which is simply what the I.L.D. and champions of the boys throughout the world have been saying for the past 18 months. "With any error of the State court involving alleged contravention of the State statutes or Constitution, we, of course, have nothing to do."

In reviewing the single point to which the court insisted upon limiting itself, the question of right to counsel, the decision stated,

"Apparently they (the defendants—A.G.B.) were not asked whether they had, or were able to employ counsel, or wished to have counsel appointed; or whether they had friends or relatives who might assist them in that regard, if communicated with. That it would not have been an idle ceremony to have given the defendants reasonable opportunity to communicate with their families and endeavour to obtain counsel, is demonstrated by the fact that, very soon after conviction, able counsel appeared in their behalf."

This is a delicate allusion to the effectiveness of the campaign waged by the I.L.D. and their lawyers, the only reference throughout the decision.

"It is hardly necessary to say that the right to counsel being conceded, a defendant should be afforded a fair opportunity to secure counsel of his own choice. Not only was that not done here, but such designation of counsel as was attempted was either so indefinite or so close upon the trial as to amount to a denial of effective and substantial aid in that regard."

Six days after the indictment, the trials began, and "No one answered for the defendants or appeared to represent or defend them". A **Mr. Roddy**, Tennessee lawyer, was sent by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.—a mixed Negro and white petty-bourgeois organisation dominated by the whites and run by them and their Negro agents) to sabotage the case and betray the boys. The decision quotes from the trial record Mr. Roddy's statement to the Court:

" . . . if I was (sic) paid down here and employed, it would be a different thing, but I have not prepared this case for trial . . . I am not familiar with the procedure in Alabama, but I merely came down here as a friend of the people who are interested and not as paid counsel, and certainly I haven't any money to pay them and nobody I am interested in that had me to come down here has put up any funds of money to come down here and pay counsel. If they should do it I would be glad to turn it over—a counsel, but I am merely here at the solicitation of people who have become interested in this case without any payment of fee and without any preparation for trial, and I think the boys would be better off if I step entirely out of the case, according to my way of looking at it and according to my lack of preparation for it and not being familiar with the procedure in Alabama . . ."

This illiterate individual was nevertheless made the lawyer for the boys and did his best to have them convicted. The decision of the Supreme Court is compelled to remark with pretended indignation:

"And in this casual fashion the matter of counsel in a capital case (one involving a death sentence—A.G.B.) was disposed of. It thus will be seen that until the very morning of the trial no lawyer had been named or definitely designated to represent the defendants."

Another lawyer had been selected to assist Mr. Roddy, while the latter was also assisting someone—nobody knows whom. The decision goes on, "... this action of the trial judge in respect of appointment of counsel was little more than an expansive gesture..." The statement in elegant English quoted above from Mr. Roddy was made on the morning of the trial, yet the trial proceeded. The Supreme Court decision was compelled to comment further as follows:

"The defendants, young, ignorant, illiterate, surrounded by hostile sentiment, haled back and forth under guard of soldiers, charged with an atrocious crime, regarded with especial horror in the community where they were to be tried, were thus put in peril of their lives within a few moments after counsel for the first time charged with any degree of responsibility began to represent them... No attempt was made to investigate. No opportunity to do so was given. Defendants were immediately hurried to trial."

The trial did not proceed "in the calm spirit of regulated justice", but "with the haste of the mob". Then follows a lengthy disquisition into the history of the use of counsel, taking up nearly half of the decision.

The dissenting opinion of two of the nine judges insisted that the trials had been fair because the boys had been tried in a number of groups and because a number of judges had been used in the State Supreme Court, and because Mr. Roddy, "at all times was in touch with the defendants", and was not intimidated by fear or in any other way. That sufficient time was given for preparation, they claim, was shown by the failure of Roddy to apply for postponement of the trial! In addition the Federal Courts had no jurisdiction because previously the States had handled such cases.

In commenting on the decision, **A. G. Hays**, who was brought into the case by the N.A.A.C.P. and withdrew when the I.L.D. refused to permit that organisation to participate further, admitted that everyone "must accord to the Communists the credit for pushing the case to the limit... What will free the Scottsboro boys is the same thing that has forced the Supreme Court to grant them a new trial—mass pressure and mass protest." That even this blind enemy of the C.P. and I.L.D. must make such an admission is ample testimony to both the correctness and vigour of the defence campaign. The N.A.A.C.P. is continuing its attempts to betray the boys to their death; its secretary, **W. A. White**, attacks the I.L.D. again in commenting on the decision: "It is hoped that prejudice from either side (!) may be kept out of the retrial..."

The "**N.Y. Times**" editorializes on the decision as follows:

"Nothing was said one way or the other about their guilt or innocence. Only, if they were guilty the fact must be proved by fair and equitable procedure in court... it ought to abate the rancour of extreme radicals, while confirming the faith of the American people in the soundness of their institutions and especially in the integrity of their courts."

This shows well the purpose of the decision: to murder the boys by more legally correct methods, to fool the militant workers throughout the world into letting up in their campaign, and to rivet more firmly upon the American masses the illusion of capitalist justice. The editorial admits that the writer of the decision, Justice Sutherland, "has often been called the most 'reactionary' member of the Supreme Court..." An editorial in the "**Herald Tribune**", also of Nov. 8th, admits that the aim of the decision will "only strengthen confidence in our justice". It takes the typically liberal attitude that "outside interference, especially when it seems to have a political or propagandist motive unrelated to the real merits of the case, embitters and confuses the issue, sometimes imperilling the interests of those whom it pretends to save."

Typical of the conduct of the entire campaign was a militant demonstration of several hundred Negro and white workers before the Supreme Court a short time before the Court convened. An hour after the demonstration, which was dispersed by five hundred police only after using tear gas,

the decision was issued. Sixteen demonstrators were arrested and four policemen hurt in the battle, which attracted nation wide attention and publicity.

That only mass pressure will make a complete victory of this partial one may be seen from the **Euel Lee** case. Lee, a 60-year Negro farm labourer, was sentenced to death in a murder frame-up because he demanded back wages. The Maryland Court of Appeals reversed the verdict on the ground that, as charged by the defence, Negroes were unconstitutionally excluded from the jury. But the retrial was conducted in the same way, all Negroes were again excluded, but this time by legal procedure (three were chosen in the panel and all excluded from the jury) and Lee again condemned to die by a white planter's jury.

Obituary

John Louis Engdahl.

The American and the international revolutionary working class movement has suffered a severe loss in the death of **Comrade J. Louis Engdahl**, which occurred in Moscow on the 21st instant following a sudden and severe attack of pneumonia.

Comrade Engdahl was born on November 11th, 1884, in Minneapolis. He joined the Socialist Party in 1907 and from 1910 onwards was an active speaker and writer and took part in many strike struggles. He was a delegate to the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen in 1910. In 1911 and 1912 he was editor of the "Chicago Daily Socialist" and "Daily World". From 1915 to 1919 he occupied the position of editor of the organ of the American Socialist Party. In 1918 he was tried and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment on account of his anti-war activities.

After the split in the American Socialist Party and the formation of the Communist Party, Engdahl, together with others, maintained a Left Wing in the Socialist Party under the name of the "Workers' Council" group. In 1921 the group definitely split from the socialists and joined the Communist Workers Party, ever since when, Comrade Engdahl was a member of the National Executive Committee and took part in leading Committees of the communist movement. Following the unity of the Workers Council with the Communist Party, Comrade Engdahl became joint editor of the "Weekly Worker", the central organ of the Communist Party, and also joint editor when it became the "Daily Worker" in 1924.

Since 1928 Comrade Engdahl was National Secretary and later National Chairman of the International Labour Defence (Red Aid) and member of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party.

The **Scottsboro campaign** in Europe furnishes the best example of Comrade Engdahl's long record of loyalty and devotion to the workers' cause. He flung himself into this campaign with whole-hearted and single-minded devotion. In company with **Mrs. Ada Wright**, the Scottsboro Negro Mother, he spent months touring Europe from one end to the other, visiting 16 countries (on more than one occasion being arrested and expelled), day after day addressing meetings and demonstrations, not sparing himself in any way, at the same time constantly turning out articles and reports and doing everything to maintain and increase the interest in the campaign and to rouse the masses in order to secure the release of the nine Scottsboro boys.

Worn out by the Scottsboro campaign, Comrade Engdahl was unable to withstand the illness which caused his death. It can be truly said of him that he died on the field of battle in defence of the victims of capitalist justice.

The workers of America and all other countries, both black and white, will honour the memory of Comrade Engdahl by continuing the work to which he devoted his life by carrying the Scottsboro fight to victory and building up the International Labour Defence.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of America.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

New Work—New Life.

By W. (Special Correspondent of the "Inprecorr" in Moscow.)

I. The Land "Without Democracy".

"You cannot expect me to agree to the conditions here; I am no Communist, but a convinced Democrat!" This was the answer I received from a well known Vienna bourgeois reporter, with whom I happened to be sitting at a table in the dining room of the hotel. I had been reproaching him for giving such a distorted picture of the Soviet Union in his articles when, as he himself admitted, he had been here more than ten years and spoke Russian excellently.

For ten years he has been looking for democracy here and has not found it. He does not find the kind of democracy in which Parliament is re-elected twice a year, with an anti-government majority and the government still in power. Therefore he cannot agree to the conditions he finds here. Here he does not find any political parties who vote for the feeding of children and against battleships before the elections and for battleships and against the feeding of children after the elections. Consequently he must unfortunately reject the system, "even though there is much about it that pleases him". He does not find any party here the leaders of which promise the employers wage cuts and the workers wage increases and promise the industrial magnate Thyssen bloody suppression of the proletariat as they sit at a comfortable meal together, and in the Sport Palace promise the workers to put up a fight against the "fine people". Consequently he has an irresistible home-sickness for his "democracy". Here he does not find any industrial magnates, any landowners and bankers who get rich by "democratic" means through the plundering of the workers. He consequently finds life here extremely monotonous. Moreover, he finds the work of the defence bodies of the revolution very undemocratic, and in a certain sense he may be right, because here they do not go after the proletariat or the leaders of the working population, but concern themselves only with the counter-revolutionary "fine gentlemen" and their agents, and not always in a particularly democratic manner at that.

On the day after this conversation I went on a street car to a Moscow factory to find out how people live and work here "without democracy". First of all, I did not pick out one of the world famous huge modern plants, which are usually described in the Social Democratic press as "one or two parade factories for foreign tourists". I did not pick out "Electrozavod", or "Sharikopodshipnik", or "Amo" or "Serp I Molot", or "Dynamo", or "Fraser", and not the "Thälmann" watch factory, or "Electrolampa", or the Thermometer factory, not "Tsagi", the nest of the Russian air fleet eagles, or "Aviopribor", or one of the other big and beautiful "parade factories" (it indeed seems that almost all of the great industrial undertakings in the Red Capital are made up of such Potemkin villages). I selected an old factory that is very little known, simply by picking the name out of the address book.

It is called "Cable Factory No. 2". I spent a few days in this factory. The first few hours I was shown about by a factory worker, and after that I went around by myself. I took a good look at the factory and often sat for hours in the factory council meeting, in the Party Committee, or in the director's room, in an inconspicuous corner, watching attentively everything that took place and listening to everything that was said.

My journey to this factory—after being away from Moscow for nearly two years, was a great surprise to me. Only a person who knew the city as it looked before could appreciate the significance of the fact that the Moscow streets to-day, up to the very edge of the city, are perhaps the cleanest in all of Europe. In the neighbourhood of the Stalin District the street car goes through an entirely new part of the city, with the most modern workers' dwellings. At last, after more than half an hour's journey over streets where there was not a discarded cigarette stub or a scrap of paper to be seen, or gnawed and spit-out sunflower seeds, which formerly characterised a Moscow street scene, the car stopped at the "Chausse of Enthusiasts". This is now

the name of what used to be Vladimir Street, one of the historically famous streets in Russia. It was along this street that the banished enthusiasts of the revolution, from the Decembrists to the Bolsheviki, always had to march, from west to east; victims of the struggle against arbitrary rule and exploitation. And when I arrived,—as the first shift was about to go on duty in the cable factory, I saw them as they walk now, from east to west, from the new workers' homes.

Life here is not by any means a paradise. I was reminded of this by a loudly arguing group of workers as the car stopped when I got out. An old worker was holding a tirade against his cooperative, where "once again" he was unable to buy any meat. The man who was with him was trying to calm him down and asked "Could you buy more meat before the revolution than you can now?" "I could only buy rot in those days." The other answered roughly and went on a little more calmly, somewhat ashamed of his stand: "Then I only got meat on Sundays or special holidays". "Well, why are you kicking so?" asked the other. "Well that was different; to-day I am master, and no one can stop me from kicking up a row if I don't get what's coming to me."

Of course, most of the masters of this country do not act that way. They do not start a row when they are not satisfied, but they **take steps** to overcome defects and difficulties. But even this primitive worker, feels, when he remembers the dark past, that he now belongs to **the ruling class**, and even this "ill-mannered" worker, in his outburst of rage, understood more about the true nature of the Soviet Government than the educated bourgeois reporter showed in his "deep analysis" after studying Soviet conditions for ten years. And this worker has much more an idea of democracy than our "convinced Democrat". He is no model of a class conscious fighter, but still he is **a worker in the workers state**.

In the factory I saw first of all the process of production. It is an old factory with many new buildings and new wings. The workshops are a model of cleanliness; this is less true of the staircases and the courtyard. When I communicated this impression to my guide, a worker from the factory, he blushed and was nervous, and it was evident that he was ashamed for his factory. He at once said to the others: "Listen, a foreign comrade finds that our staircases are not clean." "Action" was immediately started, and the last two days that I passed in the factory, the stairs were already perfectly clean.

After observing the production, I went to the dining room; it was lunch hour. I sat down at the table where three workers were seated. Two of them were locksmiths and I could not understand in Russian what the work of the other one was. One of the locksmiths had only four fingers on his hand: he had lost the other one in an accident in the factory. I asked him a few questions including what their relation was to the director. One of the workers said: "He is a very able fellow, and if he does anything that's not right, we give him what he deserves." "Say! Don't talk like that," said the locksmith with the finger off, smiling. I turned to him: "Why? Wouldn't you dare to tell the director straight to his face what you think?" Whereupon he declared: I am the director of this factory, or rather assistant director, for there is another who is director of both factories. The two of us were employed in this factory as workers for many years, and were both promoted from the workbench to the post of director." "Where did you get the necessary knowledge for running a factory?"

"I know this factory as I know myself. Moreover, we have evening courses for red directors, where we improve our technical and theoretical knowledge. The younger generation has a much easier time of it than we did as far as learning is concerned, but you had better ask the young people themselves about that."

"I postponed this until the following day. I had seen enough for the time being of the "country without democracy".

In the International

The 12th Congress of the C.P. of Great Britain.

By William Rust (London).

The 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which was held in London from November 12—15th, was the most successful and important Congress in the history of the Party. Meeting at a moment when the working class is heroically fighting back against the capitalist offensive, the Congress was strongly influenced by the revolutionary spirit of the masses.

It was attended by 183 delegates with decisive votes, and 66 delegates in a consultative capacity. These comrades thoroughly discussed the present situation and the tasks of the Party, and unanimously voted for decisions which will enable the Party to make a real turn to mass work and the fight for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. From beginning to end the proceedings of the Congress were marked by unity and enthusiasm.

The way in which the Congress tackled the problems before the Party showed what progress has been made since the last Congress in Leeds, three years ago, which was mainly concentrated on the struggle for removing opportunist elements from the leadership.

The report on the present situation and tasks of the Party was made by Comrade Pollitt, who gave a thorough analysis of the present situation in Britain in the light of the decisions of the 12th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Comrade Pollitt strikingly contrasted the Socialist construction of the Soviet Union with the decline of Britain, the oldest capitalist country, and made all present feel the direct and imminent danger of imperialist war and intervention.

The key-note in Comrade Pollitt's report, which was echoed throughout the Congress, was the necessity to

"overcome sectarianism, and isolation from the mass struggles which are taking place, to lead the fight for the partial demands of the working class, to establish unbreakable bonds with the working masses in the factories and in the trade unions; to intensify our Bolshevik mass work to win over the majority of the working class and to consolidate the revolutionary activity of the workers".

Comrade Pollitt vividly portrayed the weaknesses of the Party and quoted facts and figures to show its isolation from the broad masses of the workers. He strongly emphasised that this turn to mass work also meant a real offensive against reformism which is attempting to strangle the struggle of the working class.

He made an unsparing criticism of past mistakes, and showed that the basis for this is, as the main resolution of the Congress declares, due to:

"a narrow approach to the workers in the trade unions, in the Labour Party, in factories, etc.: sectarian narrow approach to the struggles of the workers, and to the forms and methods of these struggles. This sectarianism and isolation from the masses, in spite of their response to revolutionary struggles, is the basis both of the main right danger and 'leftism'. The Party must systematically carry through the fight against both these opportunist distortions of the Party line, and for the mass-political Bolshevik education of the membership of the Party as a prerequisite of overcoming the sectarianism and transforming itself into a mass revolutionary Party."

The vigorous two-day discussion on Comrade Pollitt's report expressed the firm resolve of the Party to fight against and overcome this sectarian isolation. The discussion took on a practical character and showed that the turn to mass work, which had commenced after the adoption of the January Resolution of the Central Committee, had already provided very important experiences for the guidance of the future activity.

This January Resolution had been adopted by the Central Committee following upon an exhaustive analysis of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party as shown in the big crisis of last year when the Labour Government was replaced by the "National" Government of Baldwin and MacDonald.

The experiences since January, especially in the four main districts, South Wales, London, Lancashire and Scotland, which had been specially selected for concentration, showed that a definite step forward had been made. But it was agreed by all comrades that only a minority of the membership is actively carrying out Party work. Increasing the activity of all members of the Party and the Young Communist League is still the big job to be carried out.

The discussion showed that the Party understands the great historical significance of the new movement now developing amongst the British masses.

The lessons of the great textile strikes, the mighty street struggles of Belfast and Birkenhead, the Hunger March on London, etc., were keenly discussed both from the standpoint of the immediate practical tasks before the Party, and the revolutionary perspectives opened up by these events.

Throughout the discussion the question of **trade union work** was kept to the forefront, and the Congress was emphatic in declaring in its resolution on trade union work that:

"The greatest defect of the Communist Party's work during the last few years is that it has not carried on any systematic revolutionary mass work in reformist unions, and has not developed the discontent of the trade union masses into an organised union opposition."

The **pre-congress discussion** on this question had greatly helped to clarify the issues and increase the alertness of the membership. On the basis of this discussion, and the unanimous resolution of the Political Bureau, the Congress was able to lay down the next steps that should be taken in the development of the trade union opposition and the fight against unemployment, and the irreconcilable struggle of the Party against the right opportunist deviations and tendencies as the main danger, and against "left" and sectarian deviations. The Congress strongly underlined the importance of this fight on two fronts.

In dealing with all these questions, the Congress showed that the failure to develop new leading forces was one of the main reasons why the isolation of the Party continued. Therefore, this question of the new cadres was dealt with in a special resolution which declared:

"The immediate training and bringing forward of new cadres is one of the most urgent and vital problems confronting the Party. It is necessary to make a complete break with the old methods of work and to train at least 200 cadres during the course of the next six months."

The Congress itself set a real example in this direction by deciding to elect a Central Committee of which one half are new cadres who had played an active part in the struggles of the workers, and had proved themselves to be fighters for the revolutionary line of the Party.

One of the manifestations of sectarianism which was very strongly condemned by the Congress was the tendency to make no differentiation between the leaders and the membership of the reformist organisations. Especially in the case of the I.L.P. it was pointed out by several speakers that the Party had not understood the big significance of the dis-affiliation of the I.L.P. from the Labour Party as an expression of the growing militancy of the rank and file.

The manifesto issued by the Congress declared:

"Workers in the I.L.P., we especially appeal to you to join with us in a militant united front activity in the factories, trade unions and localities, in order to build up a mighty fighting front of struggle. We want you in our ranks, we know that with a clear revolutionary understanding you will enormously strengthen our Party, help to carry forward the revolutionary mass work in the factories, trade unions, and among the working class in general."

The importance of the fight against the aggressive war-like policy of the "National" Government was strongly underlined by the Congress. The **denunciation of the Anglo-**

Soviet Trade agreement was pointed to as an example of the growing hostile attitude of the "National" Government. Alongside these preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, and the growing antagonism between Britain and America, goes the sharpening of the "National" Government's offensive against the colonial masses. Therefore, the Congress showed how necessary it is for the Party to develop its direct daily fight against war, and to struggle unitedly with the colonial masses.

"Only the Communist Party wages a ceaseless struggle against every phase of imperialist policy", states the main resolution of the Congress, "and tries to help and build up the closest bonds of international solidarity, based upon the common interests of the British and colonial workers and peasants against British imperialism."

The Congress was greatly helped in arriving at Bolshevik decisions by the participation of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Germany**. In their speeches to the Congress these comrades brought before the British comrades the advantage of their great revolutionary experiences in Germany, and also emphasised, amidst the

applause of the delegates, that the mighty heroic struggles of the British workers had had an inspiring effect upon the German proletariat.

There is no doubt that this Congress has considerably strengthened the Communist Party of Great Britain. The improvement of mass work and the increased circulation of the "Daily Worker" which is bound to follow as a result of the carrying out of the Congress decisions, will make it possible for the Party to play a leading role in the great struggles that are now developing in this period of war and revolutions; make it possible for the Party to get rid of its reliance on formula, and to base all of its decisions on the real movement of the working class.

Up to now the C.P.G.B. has progressed but slowly and with considerable difficulty. But in the light of the Congress decisions, and the wave of revolutionary struggle now rising in Britain, there is every indication that the Communist Party will be able to march forward with great rapidity, and to establish itself as a mass leader of the working class in the fight for the overthrow of British Imperialism and the establishment of a free Socialist Britain.

The Situation in the Philippines and the Tasks of the C.P.P.I.

By S. Carpio.

(Conclusion.)

In regard to the **trade union movement**: In one of the recent reports on the T.U. movement, our Philippine comrades report on the mass meeting organised by K.A.P. in the early part of the year. About this event the comrades write that "it was the first open meeting since last year's Congress". Does this mean that for **nearly one whole year**, i. e., since last year's K.A.P. Congresses, there were no mass meetings held by our trade unions? Is it possible that the K.A.P. was not functioning all this while? What were the local organisations and the various trade and industrial sections of K.A.P. (our T.U. Federation) doing? What concretely, were the Tobacco Workers', Printers' and Transport Workers' Union affiliated with K.A.P. doing during this past year? It is extremely difficult to suppose or imagine that none of these unions of K.A.P. were functioning during this year, or that no membership or mass meetings had been organised during this period. If this was K.A.P.'s **first** mass meeting in a year, how then could the K.A.P.-Annual Congress (which was also to have taken place in May or June) have been properly prepared and organised? From the latest information at hand, we learn that during the past six months K.A.P. has succeeded in organising several unions, such as the Coconut Oil Workers, Auto Drivers and Construction Workers; also that 500 women workers have been organised. It is necessary to report in detail about these organisations, their strength, their activities, their leadership, etc. In what unions are the women workers organised? It is very important to study in detail the strike movements; for example: the Malabon Sugar Factory strike, the Magdalena Cigar Factory strike, the La Helena and La Yabana strikes, etc. K.A.P.'s central organ has not yet been republished, which fact greatly hampers our T.U. work. Another question of importance: The "Philippine Herald" reported that among the labour leaders sent out into the provinces to pacify the rebellious tenants in Neuva Ecija, Bulacan, Pampanga and Pangalisan, there are certain leaders from the Oriental Labour Union which, as we believe, is still affiliated to the K.A.P. If this is true, what is the attitude adopted by K.A.P. on this matter? Failure to react on such a matter would mean that K.A.P. and the Party will be discredited among the revolutionary peasantry and among the workers.

While the Party and trade union organisations are, despite the white terror and persecutions, showing signs of life and activity with at least their central executive organs making some attempts to rally the masses and to lead their struggles, the condition of the **'Peasants' Confederation** seems to be extremely bad, with very little effort to improve it. In a country like the P.I., where the anti-imperialist, agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class is the central problem of the movement, and where,

during the past two years we have witnessed very serious peasant movements (armed revolts for land and independence), it would be nothing short of criminal for us to neglect the peasants' movement. And yet, according to reports from the P.I., the Peasants' Confederation seems to be extremely inactive and out of touch with the peasant masses, especially so during the past year, since the break-up of the VI Congress of the National Confederation of Peasants. We are of the opinion that it is not a matter that concerns any one single comrade alone; the work of the N.C.P. and among the peasant masses is a most urgent and serious matter for the Communist Party (see resolutions of the first Congress of the C.P.P.I.). Why has the Executive of the N.C.P., not been convened during the past year? Why has our programme of Peasants' demands and programme of action not been circulated and popularised among the peasant masses? The recent tenants' movement in Candaba (Pampanga) and the struggle of the peasants for the return of their receipts, seem to have had absolutely no contact with and no leadership whatever from our N.C.P. The Colorum movement, the Tanguan movement, and nearly all other peasant movements of the past two years were not only spontaneous movements that arose, took place and were ended without, the least initiative or leadership on our part, but even after these movements abated or were crushed, neither the N.C.P. nor the Party seem to have undertaken anything to establish contact with the peasant masses, to acquaint them with our programme and demands, etc. Quite recently there have been written and published by leading comrades of the N.C.P. 4 pamphlets (2 on the history of the Philippine Revolution, one on May Day, another on the Secrets and Mysteries of the Roman Catholic Church). We agree that it is a very good thing to write and publish pamphlets on these and similar subjects, but it would have been very timely to publish at least one pamphlet on the peasants' question and the demands and tasks of the revolutionary peasants' movement.

* * *

The **central immediate tasks** that arise before the Party of P.I. at the present juncture and in the face of the objective and subjective conditions considered above are as follows:

1. **To consolidate and build up the Party.** To entrench the Party nuclei in the shops, factories, transport enterprises, arsenals, plantations and in the villages. The content of the work of the Party-nuclei is to be based on the **daily, immediate, economic and political needs and demands of the workers in the given enterprise, trade or industry**, and on the popularisation of the Party's policies and activities among the workers of the given enterprise.

The form of activity of the Party and its nuclei is, under the present circumstances, to be a combination of legal and illegal methods of work: the Communist nuclei in the enterprises are to be secret, their meetings illegal the names of the members of the Party in the given enterprises not to be published or revealed; but this illegal form of nucleus work is to be combined with the most active, open and energetic mass activities in the given enterprises, the initiative always to be with the Party nucleus which, under the direction of the higher and central Party organs are to initiate, organise and lead the movements and struggles of the workers, to gather around them the best and most active elements from among the organised and unorganised workers of the given enterprises, to take the initiative in activating the work of the revolutionary union in the given enterprises (wherever K.A.P.'s organisations already have a footing in the given shop or factory) or to recruit new members for our trade unions.

Furthermore, the central organ of the C.P.P.I. must under all circumstances be revived and regularly published. If there is no possibility of republishing the "Titis" openly and legally in its previous form, it is urgently necessary to revive it in illegal form, printing it and circulating it secretly in any form or size possible under the circumstances (mimeographed or printed). But in any case the Party paper must be transformed into a real mass organ (the example of the Chinese Party which has to work under the most terrible conditions of white terror shows that this is possible). An attempt should be made to form district or provincial committees with the best and most tried and tested comrades at their head,—in at least the most important industrial and agrarian districts, so that the work of the Party as a whole should be decentralised. The fractions must at last start functioning in the trade unions, peasants' unions, M.O.P.R., and other mass organisations. The Y.C.L., the M.O.P.R., the Defence League, the Anti-Imperialist League, must be built up into real mass organisations.

The XII. Plenum of the Communist International Executive which took place recently, and whose resolutions and decisions have already been published, has laid particular emphasis on the following tasks confronting all Communist Parties: Concretisations of the struggle (meaning that the C.P. must operate not only with general political slogans, but with concrete slogans and demands actually relating to the given daily economic struggle of the workers and peasants as a basis for developing these struggles into political mass movements); to lead the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against reaction and fascism; to lead the struggle against the approaching imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

2. To fight and expose national-reformism in all its forms.

Here again, not mere general epithets, denunciations, slogans and phrases, but concrete, serious analysis and differentiation of the various currents and counter-currents in the national-reformist movement, reacting to every new event and development, to every new and higher phase of development in this field, and explaining understandably and on the basis of facts the true meaning of the often clever and refined demagoguery which so often succeeds in fooling and misleading the workers and peasants. A very glaring example for the Philippines is the course of development, the birth, first stages of "progress" and "popularity", and quiet and infamous death of the „Ang Bagong Katipunan", and now the birth of the "Civic Union", which should not be considered merely as a simple repetition of the A.B.K. and nothing more, but as the result of certain events that took place during the past year on lines indicated above.

The C.P.P.I. must therefore expose concretely the true class composition of the various national-reformist organisations, the leaders of these bodies, their past and present treachery and demagoguery, opposing to all this our own positive and concrete programme and demands. The students' movement, the Anti-Imperialist League should be utilised for this work and for winning over large numbers of sympathisers and fighters whom we cannot otherwise reach. The experience of the Chinese and Indian, Korean and Indonesian revolutionary movements and the treachery of national-reformism in these countries should be utilised in our agitation and propaganda.

3. In the struggle against imperialist war and the threatening intervention against the Soviet Union, the recently held Plenum of the E.C.C.I. lays special emphasis on the following:

To carry on a systematic ideological struggle against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism and against all militaristic measures adopted by the bourgeoisie in preparation of the coming war; to react immediately and actively on all anti-Soviet campaigns, (as for example the recent campaign of lies in the American imperialist and other press in the P.I.); to use united front tactics from below (with the masses of workers and peasants, whether organised in our peasant or trade union organisations, or altogether unorganised as yet); and as a special task for the C.P. of the U.S.A. (which in the given case also directly concerns the C.P.P.I.)—to expose the bigotry and falsehood of the Wilsonian phraseology of American imperialism (such as the "Disarmament" proposals of Hoover, the phrases about defending the sovereignty of China, etc.), but which in reality is leaving nothing undone to provoke a war of Japan against China and the U.S.S.R.

4. In regard to the revolutionary trade unions and our peasants' confederations, the general tasks have already been pointed out in previous Party documents and resolutions. Here again we wish to call the attention of our Philippine comrades to the resolutions and decisions of the recent XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which more than ever emphasise the need of leading partial struggles of the proletariat, on the basis of the most immediate, even the smallest daily needs and demands of the workers and peasants, and to strive to gain control and leadership of the spontaneous movements against the capitalist offensive (the past two years in the P.I. were rich with spontaneous struggles of the workers and peasants on a grand scale). The fighting capacity of the masses will thus increase on the basis of their own experience, and thus it will be possible to raise their struggles to a higher level of general political and general class tasks. The unemployed movement must also be organised under our leadership to carry on the struggle for partial, concrete, immediate demands, on the basis of the united front of the unemployed with those still employed.

SOCIAL FASCISM

The Party Congress of the Austrian Social Democracy.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

Not since the year 1918 has there been a Party Congress of the Austrian social democracy which so openly showed itself to be under the influence of the growing Communist movement as this year's Party Congress. Many speakers in the discussions bewailed the fact that the workers were going over to the Communists, while others spoke of the „unrest" of the youth, whereby they meant the same thing. But also the report delivered by **Otto Bauer**, which constituted the main item on the agenda, was a polemic with the Communists regarding the problem of democracy and revolution. The report of the Party Committee, delivered by **Julius Deutsch**, was practically nothing else but a complaint about the difficulties which arise in actual practice in keeping the youth away from revolutionary influences. Julius Deutsch's speech in reply to the discussion, which was nothing else but a stupid anti-Communist tirade, clearly proved where the shoe pinches these gentlemen. Finally, the so-called "Economic Programme", on which **Karl Renner** delivered the report, was simply intended to delude the unemployed and to keep them away from the Communist movement.

It was not due to chance that Otto Bauer, right at the commencement of his speech, dealt with the problems of the year 1918. The tremendous misery among the masses and the crisis of capitalism is causing a new revolutionary situation to arise. Otto Bauer, who only a few years ago joined with the other social democratic leaders in lauding the stabilisation of capitalism, was compelled to admit today:

"There is a ferment in the world. Capitalism has lost its stability. The confidence of vast masses throughout the world in capitalism is destroyed and cannot be restored. And the political confusion in the capitalist world today is only an accompanying phenomenon of the process of dissolution of capitalist world economy."

Thus the social democratic leaders are beginning to discern the approach of a new revolutionary wave. Their

first concern is to show that the conditions which, allegedly, helped the Russian revolution to victory in 1918, did not exist in Central Europe. As, however, these conditions were mainly geographical, namely the vast expanse of Russia, allowing the revolutionary armies to retreat when necessary, they will also not exist in the future in Central Europe. The references to 1918 are only intended to keep the workers today from imitating the Russian example.

Otto Bauer's arguments, however, were not very convincing. The second speaker in the discussion which followed his report declared that, the Austrian revolution of 1918 was "in spite of everything a revolution of neglected opportunities . . ."

Otto Bauer then resorted to a second tactical manoeuvre. He said "There is no disputing of the fact that many recent events have to some extent shaken faith in democracy. This is especially the case with some of our young comrades."

He bemoans the fact that among many comrades there exists a "sceptical attitude towards democracy", mainly as a result of the enormous unemployment, the bitterness of desperate unemployed masses, who regard democracy as responsible for their misery. Otto Bauer, however, is far from rejoicing at this disillusionment. On the contrary, he finds this mood dangerous, for the defence of democracy is the most important task of the social democracy at the present moment when we are in a counter-revolutionary situation. It is therefore a "great and glorious task of the Austrian proletariat to maintain here an island of democratic liberty", in contrast to the reaction in the countries bordering Austria.

One can describe this as the chief tactical idea of Otto Bauer in order to hold back the working class from the fight against capitalism, from the fight for the overthrow of this bourgeois democracy. To defend the Austrian Heimwehr democracy as "an island of freedom" was, one must say, a poor slogan, which was scarcely able to arouse any enthusiasm at this Party Congress consisting mainly of party bureaucrats.

The revolutionising of the working masses, however, is expressed not only in "scepticism" towards bourgeois democracy, but also positively in the strong will for the revolutionary united front. That the Party Congress would resort to a manoeuvre in face of this growing revolutionary militancy could be seen from a number of draft resolutions which were undoubtedly tabled by the leaders, and which were intended to create the impression that their originators wanted to bring about unity between the Labour and Socialist and the Communist Internationals. Otto Bauer endorsed these motions. But in order not to allow any doubts to arise regarding "unity" he had in mind, he, right at the commencement of this part of his speech, sharply attacked all the revolutionary organisations, such as the Workers International Relief, the Red Aid, the Friends of the Soviet Union, anti-fascist committees etc. which are built up on the basis of the united front. According to Otto Bauer there is only one way to the united front of the proletariat, and that is, direct negotiations between the II. International and the Communist International. It is true, he added, "the moment is hardly ripe for this".

New Attack on Bulgarian Workers Party.

Sofia, 19th November 1932.

The police have arrested six deputies of the Workers Party in Bulgaria and handed them over to the courts for trial. The exact charges which will be brought forward are not yet known, but it is reported that the trial will take place shortly. It is thought that the trial will be a preliminary to the suppression of the party. The government has obtained from parliament the permission to arrest and try these deputies. The Minister of the Interior Grginoff has declared in an interview given to the press that the government is considering the suppression of the Workers Party and the dissolution of its parliamentary fraction.

This new action of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie represents a further contribution to the history of bourgeois parliamentary democracy to which the socialist parties of all countries cling as their last hope of survival.

When does Otto Bauer think this moment will have come? When the capitalists commence their attack on the Soviet Union? Otto Bauer expects therefore that in the event of a war of the whole capitalist world against the Soviet Union, the Communist International will be compelled to submit to the conditions of the II. International. Compelled by whom? By the intervention armies. Thus Otto Bauer hopes that the II. International, supported by the bayonets of the imperialists, will be able as "victors" to dictate their terms of peace to the Communist International. This is what Otto Bauer calls the "united front".

Otto Bauer concluded his report by stating that events of the present year in Germany constitute the "beginning of a new epoch of the international labour movement". By this he means that the social democrats are no longer taking part in the government but are in opposition. But in the last few years the social democrats in numerous countries have ceased to be government parties and gone into opposition, without anybody maintaining that this means the dawn of a new epoch. The reason why Otto Bauer attaches so great importance to this is because, as he says, we are at the commencement of a period of severe and prolonged economic crisis. At the last Congress of the II. International in Vienna this idea was expressed much more plainly and sharply, and it was asserted that if to-day it should again come to a rising of the workers as in 1918, the social democrats would again have to place themselves at the head of the movement, of course, for the same purpose as in 1918. This is the new epoch of which Otto Bauer speaks. Hence the rejection of Russian methods and the defence of democracy, warnings against revolutionary means of struggle in a counter-revolutionary situation, and the rejection of the real united front. All this only as preparatory work for this new epoch, in which the social democracy must more than ever exert all its forces in order to hold back the workers from revolutionary struggles and so to manoeuvre at all times in order to retain the leadership and to be able to throttle these struggles.

In the speeches of many delegates there was expressed concern regarding the unemployed, not however, as to how to organise the fight of the unemployed but rather as to how to keep the unemployed in the party. As already said, Renner answered this question in his report on the social democratic economic programme. He elaborated a programme for reviving economy, chiefly by increasing building activity and by a "land reform". This programme, as well as the supplementary programme of the social democracy providing for the nationalisation of coal and iron production and State control of the banks, is to be carried out when the social democracy come into power, that is to say, when they have obtained the famous 51 per cent majority in Parliament.

Much more interesting than this report, to which hardly anybody referred in the discussion, was the handling of two motions in which was really to be heard the voice of the working class: 1. a motion submitted by the Brigittenau district organisation to elect a commission, which by the time of the next party congress should make proposals regarding such an alteration of the party statutes as would guarantee a suitable representation of the factory workers at the party congresses and in the party leadership. Julius Deutsch opposed this motion. The motion was rejected, only 6 votes being given for it. Another motion was scotched by Ellenbogen, a prominent member of the party committee. This was a motion calling for a limitation of the income of party functionaries to 800 shillings a month. He declared this motion to be an "exaggeration", which would lead to revolting and lying hypocrisy. He even emphasised with unintentional irony that it had always been the aim of the social democracy to increase incomes (a thing it has succeeded in doing so far as its functionaries are concerned). The motion was therefore rejected as "unnecessary".

If one were to ask what was the result of the party congress, it would be difficult to say. Just as capitalism is unable to find a way out of its crisis, so the lackeys of capitalism are unable to find a way out of the difficulties caused them by the capitalist crisis. The chairman, burgomaster Seitz, declared in his closing speech that the unemployed worker had been the "central figure" at this party congress. And nevertheless this party congress could only offer a few empty promises through the mouth of Karl Renner, a man who had already had the opportunity of realising them as Federal Chancellor in the post-war years. The only result of the Congress, therefore, was Otto Bauer's tactical manoeuvres. Truly a miserable result!

Organisational Questions

The Lessons of the Strike Struggles in Australia.

By Mingulin.

The economic crisis struck a particularly hard blow against Australian capitalism. Australia is an imperialist country of second rank which is to a great extent dependent financially, economically and politically on England and bound to the United States by its burden of payments on loans. Moreover Australia is predominantly an agricultural country (agricultural products making up 95% of all exports) and thus suffered acutely from the sharp fall in the prices of agriculture. Consequently the development of the economic crisis led Australia to the verge of financial bankruptcy considerably sooner than other countries and long before the financial crisis began to take on an international character.

The development of the crisis shattered the bourgeois and reformist legend about the absence in Australia of the "extremes" of capitalist exploitation existing in the older capitalist countries, and the tendency in Australia to a more equal distribution of the national income. The bourgeoisie of Australia, like the bourgeoisie of other countries is making ever more desperate efforts to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the working masses, in robbing the farmers by adopting methods of police repression against them and their organisations, and in intensifying imperialist activity in matters of foreign policy. This whole policy is being carried on with the active support of the Australian Labour Party, which headed the Federal government and the governments of a number of states during the early stage of the crisis. These governments initiated and carried out systematic wage cuts of 20—30% for workers and employees on a national scale. Unemployment has taken on mass proportions, and there is no general government system of unemployment insurance, the unemployed receiving only miserable charity doles while many of them get nothing at all. Lately the bourgeoisie has introduced a number of restrictions for the receipt of relief, as for example, proof that there is no source of income over an established minimum etc.

In answer to these attempts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working masses and to find a way out of the crisis by sharply lowering the standards of living of the masses and increasing their political oppression, the great masses of workers have launched struggles in defence of their daily demands, in the course of which they have run up against the entire apparatus of government coercion. The years 1929—1930 were years of tempestuous **mass strikes** of miners and of sailors. In these strikes the workers organised self-defence bodies which offered armed resistance to police attacks. The country witnessed large scale mass action on the part of the unemployed and the launching of a movement among the farmers.

Australian social fascism adopts "left" manoeuvres more than in any other country. The "left" wing of the Labour Party, under the leadership of **Lang**, that most shameless demagogue who until recently headed the Labour Government in New South Wales, constitute the bulk of the Labour Party. Not long ago this left wing split away from the Australian Federated Labour Party. Lang has restorted to the most desperate left manoeuvres. His campaign for refusal to pay the debts to England is well known, as well as his declaration that the Labour Party was for revolution against capitalism etc. Adherents of Lang in New South Wales during Lang's struggle against the Federal government and the British Governor in New South Wales got up at meetings of workers and vowed that the enemies of the Labour Government would meet with armed force if they attempted to overthrow the Labour government of New South Wales, that before they succeeded in that they would have to pass over their dead bodies, etc. The same sort of manoeuvres are being carried on with regard to fascism. It is a characteristic fact that it is in New South Wales that **fascism** has grown particularly strong, in the form of its leading organisation, the "**New Guard**". Here it has been most clearly revealed that social-fascism and fascism are twins. The fascists, taking advantage of the fear of the petty bourgeois elements with regard to the revolutionism of Lang and

still more with regard to the growing mass movement, developed widespread activity, directed in the last analysis not against Lang, but against the workers and against the Communist Party. Lang, in turn, holding up before the workers the bugbear of fascism, succeeded in getting the workers to support his government as an anti-fascist government. These left manoeuvres were evident also in connection with the question of strike struggles. At the end of 1930 and the beginning of 1931, when partial struggles began to develop, the Labour Party and trade union bureaucrats came forward with proposals for a general strike, so as on the one hand to sidetrack the workers from the development of partial struggles by the prospects of a general strike in the immediate future, and on the other hand to disorganise and betray the real mass movement which was growing among the masses for a general strike.

The Labour Party and the Labour Government in Australia prepared for the coming of the National Government to power. The **National Government** still more fiercely continues the actions of the Labour Government. The Labour Party which pretended to go into opposition in this way helped to rectify its shaky position among the masses, at the same time helping the bourgeoisie to carry on the attack on the working class with the same conscientiousness as when it was in the government. In 1932, the II Conference of Premiers decided to carry through a 10% wage-cut and the Australian Trade Union Council proposed to hand the matter over to the Arbitration Court. The working class in Australia will have to face still bigger economic and political fights. In these fights the only Party which defends the interests of the workers is the Communist Party, and the only T.U. movement which organises the economic fights of the workers is the Minority Movement and the organisations belonging to it. Very often the trade union bureaucrats do not oppose the commencement of strikes. Frequently they lead strikes for the very reason that the Communist Party and the Minority Movement cannot yet expose and isolate them sufficiently well and organise the struggle on the basis of independent leadership. The trade union bureaucrats are able to seize on the leadership of strikes in many cases, to disorganise and sell them. For this reason it is specially important to take into consideration the experience of strikes. In the recent period especially, for example in the big strikes of the railroad men and the sailors, the Communist Party and the Minority Movement have played a much bigger role than previously. In essence, these are the first serious steps taken by the Party and the Minority Movement to participate in strikes. Therefore it is important for the Communist Party and the Minority Movement to take account of the lessons of their strike work, so that in the future they can eliminate the shortcomings and mistakes which appeared and really lead the strikes of the workers and the whole struggle of the working class which alone can be the basis for converting the Communist Party into a mass Bolshevik Party and the Minority Movement into a mass revolutionary trade union movement.

In the recent period, the chief strikes were the **seamen's strike** and the **North Queensland railroad strike**. These strikes began under the leadership of strike committees organised by the workers themselves, while the Communist Party and the Minority Movement had considerable influence. At the beginning of the strikes, the workers elected strike committees at mass meetings. But as the strikes developed further, the trade union bureaucrats were able to seize the leadership of the strikes and betray them owing to the weakness of the work and the mistakes of the Communists and the supporters of the Minority Movement. **The absence or the extreme weakness in the organisation and leadership of the strike which had already commenced** was the chief shortcoming in the work of the Communists and the supporters of the Minority Movement during the strikes. It is characteristic that in a number of spontaneous strikes, especially in distant parts of the country where there are no reformist trade union organisations (e.g. the strike of the miners in Donbi or the strikes

where Communists and supporters of the Minority Movement were able to keep the leadership of the strike to the end), the struggle of the workers ended in complete or partial victory in the sense that the demands of the strikers were granted, the strike of the workers on the construction of the dam at Waiangal, the strike of the workers building the bridge at Sydney Port. This only shows how correct the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. was when it rejected all opportunist tendencies and ideas that strikes are impossible in the period of crisis, still less successful strikes. Successful strikes are possible and the success of the strikes depends above all on the correct work of the Communists, their close contact with the masses, their ability to expose and isolate the trade union bureaucrats.

The chief weakness in the strike work of Communists and supporters of the Minority Movement consisted of their failing to understand the basic task—to bring about the formation of **the united front of the strikers from below**. The work of the Communists suffered from the tendency to replace the method of convincing by commands to the masses, the tendency to divide the workers into militants and non-militants (which of course played into the hands of the reformists and could not help to rally the workers against the reformists and the employers). In short, there were tendencies of a sectarian character, at the same time resembling anarcho-syndicalist methods of struggle and approach to the masses. This made itself felt most particularly in the strike of the seamen, but the same weaknesses were felt in the line of the Communists in the railroad strike.

In such a situation it is up to the Communists to isolate first of all among the workers the agents of the class enemy. But the question is how this is to be done. There is only one means of doing it: A genuine united revolutionary front of all workers must be established, and all of them must be drawn into active participation in the strike movement. It is of the utmost importance that in the course of the strike an opportunity be given to the mass of the strikers to display initiative and activity by participating in mass picketing, protecting the strike from strike breakers and police, organising self-help in strike committees, seeing to it that energetic educational, agitational and organisational work be carried on all the time among the strikers on the part of party organisations and the revolutionary trade union minority movement.

In all the strikes, the explanatory work of the Communists for the purpose of bringing the workers together and counteracting the demagoguery of the bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucrats, was very inadequate. Naturally, this is closely connected with defects in the carrying through of the united front. The organ of the Party, "**Workers Weekly**", reacted very inadequately to the strikes, and the same applies also to the organ of the minority movement, "**Red Leader**". These organs did not play the part of agitators and organisers of the strikers, though this was their self-evident task during the strikes. The question of the setting up and composition of strike committees was also approached in a doctrinaire spirit. The erroneous slogan that no official trade union functionary can be elected to the strike committee was brought forward. This led to serious political mistakes, as in the Seamen's strike, when the followers of the Minority Movement left the strike committee because there were trade union bureaucrats among its members. Thus instead of remaining in the strike committee, exposing the traitorous work of the bureaucrats to the masses and mobilising the workers for their removal from the strike committee, our comrades, imbued with the sectarian spirit, removed from it not the trade union bureaucrats, but themselves, handing over the leadership of the **elected committees**—and therefore of the strike—to them.

In a number of cases the strike committees were of a very narrow character, they were not very energetic in drawing the workers into the struggle, and this was made use of by the trade union bureaucrats for demagogic agitation which was somewhat on this line: Communists predominate in the strike committees, it isn't really a question of defending the interests of the workers, but rather a question of the interests of the Communists which do not concern the workers in the least.

It has been recently characteristic of the strike struggle in Australia that big strikes took the form of solidarity strikes, as for instance the Seamen's and Railwaymen's strikes. The demand of the railwaymen was addressed straight to the government, for all the railways in Australia are State railways. The Seamen's strike was of such importance to the

whole economic and political life of Australia that the Sculler government took energetic measures against the strike, doing its utmost to stop it by threats and cajoling. Even the Federal parliament, the fascist organisations, etc., were mobilised against the strike. To put it differently, the political character and the political significance of the strikes is quite obvious. However, the Party and the Minority Movement, to put it mildly, did very little towards explaining to the workers the political meaning of the struggle, spreading it and revolutionising these strikes. Meanwhile, now, when capitalist stabilisation has come to an end and when a new cycle of revolutions and wars is upon us, the Communist Parties and the XII. Plenum are faced with the task of revolutionising all the actions of the workers and raising the struggle to a higher political level. But this demands of the Party special efforts with regard to the political education of the struggling masses, explanation of the revolutionary meaning of strikes, utilisation of all the phases of the development of the strikes for broadening and sharpening the slogans of the movement, and such leadership of the masses that will enable them to become convinced by their own experience of the necessity of persistent and many-sided struggle against the bourgeoisie, up to struggle for the overthrow of its rule.

A positive and Bolshevik feature in the strike activity, as well as in the general work of the Australian Communists and followers of the Minority Movement is the fact that they boldly entered into the struggle of the workers as soon as a struggle or a movement commenced, that they did not shrink from calling up the workers for struggle against the bourgeoisie, and as a rule, organised this struggle wherever this was possible, despite their weakness and unpreparedness. But in a number of cases Communists did not make use of the existing possibilities for a more correct preparation of strikes. Such correct work consists in establishing the workers united front from below, based on independent leadership of the struggle, in discussing with the workers the slogans and demands and how to conduct the struggle, explaining the traitorous manoeuvres of the bureaucrats, preparing the workers for the possibility of a left manoeuvre on their part, and in setting up **at the mass meetings** committees of action, commissions for the preparations of strikes etc. Likewise, Communists and followers of the Minority Movement were remiss in establishing contacts with the strikers that would not be lost **after the strikes**, they made no adequate provision for further work in this direction, in order to spread and strengthen their organisational and political influence among the workers, and prevent at any cost the attempts of the employers and trade union bureaucrats to disorganise the ranks of the workers by depleting them of the most advanced elements, Communists and followers of the Minority Movement first and foremost.

As a general weakness, one must call attention to the inadequacy of the work of Party organisations as trade union fractions during strikes. This must be specially emphasized because there is an idea in the Party that the Communist Party, and therefore also its central organ, are concerned with the political struggle, whereas the Minority Movement and its central organ concern themselves with questions of the economic struggle. Such division of activities is erroneous and dangerous. The Party is the vanguard of the working class in its whole struggle.

It must also be pointed out that no proper analysis, or a rather general one, is given of the lessons of the strikes led by the Party and the Minority Movement. In a number of cases an erroneous analysis was given. For instance, in connection with the lessons of the Seamen's strike, "**Workers Weekly**" and "**Red Leader**" published the following deduction: "the lessons of the woodworkers' strike, the lock-out in the collieries and the recent sailors' strike have definitely confirmed the hopelessness of non-coordinated strikes". The comrades confined themselves to a general statement, they did not explain why the strikes were non-coordinated, and why the Communists were isolated in the course of the development of the struggle. But this statement is quite erroneous also in substance. It is not correct to say that experience ostensibly demonstrated the hopelessness of non-coordinated strikes. In 1931, four strikes under the leadership of the Minority Movement in which over 1,000 workers participated, ended either in full or partial victory. More examples of this kind can be given. Experience shows that with perseverance and adequate organisation of the workers even a non-coordinated strike can and does end in victory. When there is a revolutionary upsurge, partial strikes,

interlaced with political strikes, play an important part, for they disorganise the ranks of the bourgeoisie and weld together the ranks of the workers. It is a "trade unionist" standpoint to say that the defeat of a strike is tantamount to failure of the struggle and weakening of the workers front. Although **the foremost direct task of every strike is the task of winning it**, one must not forget that during a revolutionary upsurge the strike struggle is the school of the workers class struggle. The strike can suffer defeat owing to the weakness of the workers' forces, but given correct Party leadership, the workers, profiting by the lessons of the strike, will come out of it more united and with a wider political outlook than when they entered it. Experience teaches this, and also Marxism-Leninism.

Communists and revolutionary workers must utilise the experience of these strikes for correct Bolshevist work before, especially during, and also after the strike. Communist influence is growing among the masses. Australian Communists do not shrink from the struggle, but the Bolshevist school of struggle demands combination of two elements in the struggle against the class enemy. Not only audacity, but also ability, i. e., ability in the Bolshevist sense of the word—ability to organise the struggle of the masses against the bourgeoisie as

a class struggle. The National Government sharpens its attack on the working class. It has still a strong agency in the working class—Australian Social Fascism. Not only is this enemy still strong, he is also very experienced in his help to the bourgeoisie, in his special business of betraying the interests of the workers. The Communists must direct their main shots against the conciliators in the ranks of the workers, but there are blank shots and also shots that hit and defeat the enemy. The communists must practice the latter kind, and for this there is yet another means—strengthening the contact with the masses, establishing the united front from below, leading the struggle independently, constantly exposing the manoeuvres of the reformists, agitating and rallying the members of basic trade union organisations and the members of the Labour Party against their leaders, so as to translate revolutionary words into revolutionary deeds. The end of capitalist stabilisation means that the economic and political struggles of the working class will expand and become more stubborn and sharp, that in these struggles against exploitation, political reaction and the menace of imperialist war and intervention, the working class will prepare for the struggle against the existence of bourgeois dictatorship.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of the Working Population of Italy.

By P. J.

1. Introduction.

Italy . . . the land of romantic dreams and longings sung by poets? No, the land in which the output of pig iron has sunk in the last three years from 60,000 tons to nearly 30,000 tons a month, where the output of crude steel has receded from 180,000 tons a month to 120,000 tons, where since 1928 foreign trade has declined 50 per cent, where bankruptcies have doubled and now amount to over 2000 a month!

The most terrible crisis rages in fascist Italy. And nevertheless, the Midland Electricity Company in Naples made a net profit of 59,089,530 Lira and paid a dividend of 7 per cent; the Banca Commerciale Italiana concluded its last business year with a net profit of 61,559,000 Lira and paid a dividend of 8 per cent; the Montecatini, Milan, the largest mining undertaking in Italy, closed its books with a net profit of 64,296,576 Lira and paid a dividend of 12 per cent.

The effects of the crisis are not to be sought among the big employers, the captains of industry, the big bankers and landowners—their standard of living has not changed; the crisis does not bring want and misery to them, for they still draw huge profits and their incomes still run to thousands of millions.

The whole brunt of the crisis is borne by the working population, the peasants and workers, the small holders, the clerks and employees, the lower officials. According to official figures the number of unemployed amounts to a million. As a matter of fact their number is much higher and amounts to nearly 2 million. And how many are receiving unemployment benefit? Only about a quarter of a million unemployed receive meagre unemployment benefit, and this only for a short time.

And the factory workers, the agricultural workers who are still in employment, the small employees and the middle strata? What did Mussolini say: "It is a fortunate thing that the Italian people are not in the habit of eating more than one meal a day."

The employed workers, just like the unemployed, are compelled to starve. Wages and salaries in Italy are lower than in England, in France, in Belgium and in the Scandinavian countries. The average weekly earnings of the proletariat do not amount to 50 Lira (about 15 shillings) that is what an Italian worker, a father of a family brings home at the end of the week. Many earn even less, and the families are large: the number of children per family in Italy is far higher than in Germany, England or France.

Whilst rates of wages per hour have fallen 25 per cent since 1929, and whilst, as a result of unemployment, and short time, the average weekly income has fallen about 50 per cent,

the cost of living, even according to the official statistics, has declined by about only 15 per cent.

The terrible results of the impoverishment of the working masses of Italy are becoming more and more evident; the health of the population is deteriorating, the number of deaths is increasing, the number of births is declining.

And the trade unions? What are they doing for the Italian workers? Fascism has robbed the working class, the clerks, employees and the peasantry of all their fighting organisations; it has corrupted the leaders and overpowered the masses of toilers by means of treachery.

And after this treachery there commenced a period of terrible exploitation of all toilers. To fight for higher wages, for increased salaries is designated as "treason" and cruelly punished with imprisonment or even death. Strikes are forbidden.

Fascism has not kept any of the promises it made. In 1919 it demagogically called for the rule of the people, just like the national socialists are doing in Germany at the present time. And what has actually ensued? A dictatorship of the big banks, the big industrialists, the big agrarians, more brutal than ever witnessed before in Italy. To expose this dictatorship in the press, in pamphlets or in leaflets is high treason and means banishment, prison or immediate death for those who venture to do so.

Thirteen years ago the fascists declared that the big concerns and trusts would be dissolved and industry be placed on a co-operative basis. But what do we see to-day? To-day Mussolini himself promotes capitalist trustification, and the workers and employees working in the trusts are continually spied upon.

In 1919 the fascists promised a just system of taxation, and above all the taxation of big capital—to-day ever heavier taxes are imposed upon the working population.

According to the promises made by the fascists 13 years ago, the working day was to be 8 hours. At the present time the working day is ruthlessly prolonged. If any worker dares to protest against this, he is immediately dismissed and thus handed over to starvation, as he is placed on a black list.

It is intended by this means to suppress any resistance on the part of the workers. Rendered weary and docile by fearful exploitation and severe punishment, they are to be kept from any class-conscious action. The women and children are treated just as ruthlessly as the men. Children commence work on the land at 8 years, and children of the same age are found in factories and in the mines.

Those who go to school have their minds systematically poisoned by religion and fascist teachings regarding the State. In the prisons we find young girls and lads who are there

for having attempted to found real fighting organisations against fascist finance capital. In the prisons are proletarian and peasant women who have refused blindly to follow the dictates of fascist finance capitalism.

But the workers and peasants are slowly, with great pains and in heroic struggle, building up their illegal fighting organisations against fascist finance capital. The Communist Party of Italy gives them aid, guidance and leadership in this work.

Strikes are becoming more and more frequent. But the toilers of Italy are still among the most enslaved, the most badly paid and ruthlessly exploited of the whole of Europe.

2. The Position of the Industrial Proletariat.

In Italy there are about 3 million industrial workers, whilst the number of persons engaged in agriculture amounts to about 9 millions.

The intensive industrialisation of Italy is of recent date. Nevertheless, Italian industries play a relatively great role on the world market. Italy, it is true, has no raw material industry, no coal or iron mines, but the automobile, the building and the shipping industry exploit hundreds of thousands of proletarians.

Fiat motor cars produced by the great Fiat motor works in Turin are to be seen in all the capitals of Europe. In normal times the Fiat works employ about 20,000 workers. To-day not more than half that number are employed. Wages have declined year after year. In the present year the Fiat works effected a wage cut of 10 per cent. At the present time the Fiat workers earn scarcely more than ten pence an hour, and very few of them work full time the whole year round.

In the other metal works and the remaining industries of Turin the situation is still worse. The result is a complete undermining of the health of the working population; there is a decline in the birth rate and an increase in the death rate. A comparison of the Turin figures for 1931 with those for 1932 shows this clearly.

There were born in Turin:

	1931	1932
March	1629	1478
April	1585	1391
May	1652	1523
June	1477	1429
July	1503	1321

There died in Turin:

	1931	1932
March	1507	1620
April	1290	1631
May	1247	1371
June	1131	1154
July	1240	1121

The number of deaths in 1932 has increased extraordinarily compared with 1931.

Turin, however, is only a single example. Everywhere the industrial proletarians are dying more quickly and in greater numbers than formerly, as a result of under-nourishment and sickness, and the number of births is declining.

It should be remembered that the position of the metal workers is relatively the best. In the textile industry wages, according to official statistics, amount on an average to fivepence an hour. In the chemical industry the workers, who are continually exposed to the risk of frightful accidents and whose bodies are eaten into by the most terrible poisons, are paid only ninepence an hour.

The average weekly wage of the building workers is about 39 shillings, that of the chemical workers also amounts to 39 shillings, whilst that of the textile workers amounts to 22 shillings.

How many workers are employed the whole year round? According to official figures the unemployed army numbers 750,000. In the metal industry alone there are over 100,000 unemployed.

In the meantime the employers are demanding fresh wage cuts and carrying them out with the aid of the fascist trade unions. In addition to wage cuts, however, the employers exploit the industrial proletariat by employing women and

children in place of men. In many cases the wages of the women amount to only half of those of the men, and the children receive still less.

But it is not only in the textile industry, where women have always played a considerable role, but also in the metal industry and of late also in the chemical industry, that women are being engaged in order to perform men's work of lower wages.

And the children? They are employed everywhere. The most frightful exploitation of child labour takes place in the sulphur mines, where hundreds of children less than 10 years old and thousands between 10 and 14 have to haul the trucks laden with sulphur. These sulphur mines are simply hells for the children.

Never was the misery of the industrial workers of Italy so great as it is at the present time under the double weight of the economic crisis and fascism. Starving and sick, unemployed or absolutely exhausted by toil, men, women and children lead an existence the misery of which it is hard to imagine.

3. The Position of the Working Masses in the Villages.

Mr. Knickerbocker, the well-known American journalist, has written a book on Italy. He is full of enthusiasm. In his opinion the Italians are better off than ever. He has found industrial workers who earn more than enough; in fact even the home workers, although it is true they had tired faces, "smiled" when they saw Knickerbocker and told him of the huge sums they earn.

But even Mr. Knickerbocker does not venture to write anything about the situation of the landworkers and share-croppers. Here the fraud would be too obvious, for the misery is so great that it cries to heaven.

Nearly ten million people are engaged in agriculture. Not many of them are farmers; the great majority are share-croppers and day labourers. The big agrarians own vast estates. Scattered over these huge estates one sees miserable huts and tumble-down houses. Here the share-croppers live. The big agrarian allows them the use of the land. They provide the agricultural instruments and above all the labour power. With the help of their wives, numerous children and their relatives, they cultivate the land. When the harvest is brought in, half of it belongs to the big agrarian.

The share-croppers are obliged to work day and night. Their sleeping quarters are damp, mildewy and full of vermin. If the harvest is good, then the family will have enough to carry on until the next harvest. If the harvest is bad, their share will not suffice them till the next year. The family must give up the holding. Perhaps they may be lucky enough to find work as day labourers. At first, however, they must leave the country and go to the town, where they wander about begging until harvest time comes round again.

Then the manager of the estate goes to the town. The unemployed gather together in the market. Day labourers for harvest work are sought—men, women and children. Wages vary. Some times they amount to over a shilling for 10, 12 and more hours work. Often the day labourers are engaged only for one day, sometimes for one to two weeks, but seldom longer.

The number of permanently employed landworkers is very small. Formerly there were thousands, but day labourers are cheaper and as fascism exists before all in order to guarantee increasing profits to the big agrarians, it has done everything in order to reduce the number of regularly employed landworkers and to increase the army of day labourers.

There is probably no other group of the proletariat and of the toiling masses in general to whom fascism has brought such misery as it has to the rural proletariat, to the agricultural workers. Here the old feudal conditions under which the landworkers and share-croppers are kept in slavery are deliberately maintained and extended.

But the Italian share-croppers, day labourers and agricultural workers, in a united front with the Italian industrial proletariat, will one day follow the example of the peasants in the Soviet Union, who in alliance with the industrial proletariat have driven out the exploiters and to-day are leading a new free life.