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CORRESPONDENCE

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The New Japanese Advance in the Far East

By Louis

The Japanese advance against Inner Mongolia has commenced. Japanese aircraft have already dropped bombs on the capital, Chachar. A Japanese army of 18,000 men, the Manchukuo army, commanded by Japanese officers, but which is so unreliable that its artillery and technical troops consist only of Japanese, and a Mongolian army numbering about 20,000, likewise organised by Japanese, wish to occupy the provinces of Inner Mongolia in order to link them up with the new territory of the puppet emperor Pu-Yi. The occupation of Kalgan, however, would mean an immediate threat to the Mongolian People's Republic.

At the same time, however, Japanese troops are also being concentrated on the frontier of North China at the passages through the Great Wall of China. The General Staff of the Kwangtung army is making all preparations for the military occupation of the province of Hopei, in which Peking and Tientsin are situated and in which also there are the mining works of the Kailan company, owned by English capitalists. It is not yet clear whether the Japanese military clique intend with the occupation of Peking and Tientsin to penetrate also the English sphere of influence. Parallel with the military preparations in North China, the Kuomintang militarists, who have sold themselves to Japanese imperialism, are also displaying activity. Japanese officers have gone to the province of Shantung, to the Chinese general Han-

futsju, and to the province of Shansi, to the general Yen-si-shen, and it is known that these two generals are the agents of Japanese imperialism in North China.

It is possible that the concentration of troops in North China is intended only as a means of pressure on the Nanking government in order to compel it to recognise Manchukuo de facto, or at least to restore economic relations between China and Manchuria. Since Pu-Yi's ascension to the throne, Japanese imperialism has been exerting all its forces in order to enforce the recognition of its robbery by the other Powers. It would, of course, be an important trump in the hands of Japanese diplomacy if the Nanking government were the first to sanction the occupation of Manchuria.

General Hanfu, the chairman of the North Chinese Political Council, who concluded the armistice with the Japanese and who is considered to be a Japanese agent, went to Nanchang where a meeting of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and of the Nanking government was held in order to obtain such a decision by the Nanking government. As the "Times" reports, the Nanking government adopted decisions which are calculated to bring about an easing of the situation. This means that Chiang-Kai-shek and his clique are ready to go still further on the path of national betrayal and disgrace, of capitulation to Japanese imperialism.

The military occupation of Inner Mongolia, the enforcement of the de facto recognition of Manchukuo and the further consolidation of Japanese influence in North China, are the programme of the Japanese clique for the next future in this part of China.

The situation of the Japanese occupants in Manchuria is, however, not a particularly pleasant one. The partisan war against the Japanese imperialists has recently assumed unprecedented dimensions. Japanese rule in Manchuria does not extend beyond the range of the Japanese artillery. The big towns and the most important routes of course are held by Japanese troops. In the open country, however, the partisan war is raging more fiercely than ever. It is under these circumstances that the Japanese military clique are making their war preparations in Manchuria. But the Manchukuo "Empire" still does not appear to be a suitable hinterland for the war against the Soviet Union.

In the meantime, the situation in Japan itself is becoming more confused. A new attempt at assassination has been discovered. The fascist conspiratory organisation was only preparing to murder the Prime Minister Saito, the leading personalities in the court camarilla, the directors of the two biggest Japanese concerns, to arrest the Ministers and thereupon proclaim a military dictatorship. The plan of the "legal" fascist circles is simpler: Overthrow of the Saito government and formation of a Hironyma government. The Saito government is already only a rump government. The Prime Minister has up to now been unable to find suitable candidates for the positions of Minister for Education and Minister for Agriculture. In addition, the War Minister Hayasi has had to resign because his brother is involved in an unsavoury corruption affair. As, however, the appointment of the War Minister in Japan can only take place with the approval of the so-called military circles, the fate of the Saito government now lies in the hands of the military clique. If the chief of the General Staff Prince Kanin and the higher generals see fit not to sanction the appointment of a War Minister in the Saito government, then the government will be compelled to resign.

Simultaneously with the fresh Japanese advance in the Far East, big manoeuvres of the American fleet are taking place in the neighbourhood of the Panama Canal, on the Atlantic side. More than a hundred naval units are taking part in these manoeuvres, and the Japanese press reports that after these manoeuvres the American fleet will return to the Pacific. The nervousness of the Japanese press is further increased by rumours that the United States government has replied to the Japanese offer to conclude a non-aggression pact for a period of ten years by a counter-offer. The Japanese newspaper "Nichi-Nichi" reports regarding the contents of this alleged American reply, that State Secretary Hull has proposed the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the United States, Japan, Soviet Russia, and China.

Japan wants to conclude a non-aggression pact with the United States in order to be free to wage war against the Soviet Union and China. And the United States impolitely proposes that Japan shall conclude a non-aggression pact also with China and the Soviet Union!

At the same time as Japan is again advancing in the Far East, the meeting of the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva has once again decided that nothing can be decided. At the end of April the Bureau, and at the end of May the General Commission, will meet. By that time the question of disarmament is to be settled between England and France and between France and Germany. The negotiations between London and Paris are, however, still at a deadlock. The increased military budget in Germany, and in particular the fact that Germany is increasing its navy and air fleet at a feverish rate, has, it is true, called forth a certain uneasiness in England, but the "national" government will express itself satisfied with the reply of the German government. This reply is, in fact, an affront to the English government. But the English inquiry was only intended to justify the English tactics in France and also to give the German government to understand that should Germany strengthen its navy, and especially its air fleet, too much, this would not promote good feeling towards it in England. There is only one man who is optimistic with regard to the prospects of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. This man is Arthur Henderson, one-time chairman of the Second International and at present chairman of the English Labour Party. It is true he receives a fairly generous remuneration for his optimism!

Politics

The Struggle of the Imperialist Powers for Armaments

By Louis

On 10th of April there took place a meeting of the Bureau of the "Disarmament Conference," which was only able to place on record that the negotiations between the governments had led to no results. The next session of the Bureau has been fixed for 23rd of May.

Meanwhile negotiations between Paris and London are continuing. It is already known that the English government has inquired in Paris under what conditions, and under what guarantees, the French government would be able to give its consent to a disarmament convention. At the same time one can see from the English press that England is not at all inclined to guarantee the present frontiers in South-Eastern and Eastern Europe; the Franco-German and Belgo-German frontiers have already been guaranteed by England in the Locarno Treaty. France replies to the English questions by counter-questions, and is interested to know what guarantees, what disarmament convention, are actually being referred to, and if these guarantees are to be valid for the whole of Europe or only for a certain part of Europe. From the French press it appears that the English disarmament proposal for France is as unacceptable as ever, and France will accept no security guarantees referring only to Western Europe.

In 1919 France endeavoured to make England and the United States guarantors of the Versailles frontiers. The United States flatly rejected this French proposal, whilst England would only declare its readiness to guarantee the frontier demarcations in Western Europe.

In 1924 France again attempted, in the so-called Geneva Protocol, to have the Versailles frontiers all over Europe guaranteed by England. The MacDonald government was ready at that time to accept the Geneva Protocol. After this government was overthrown the Conservative government which succeeded it rejected the Geneva Protocol.

Since that time the policy of English imperialism has confirmed more than ever Lenin's far-seeing prognosis:—

"England and France are both members of the League of Nations and are in duty bound to act unanimously; but in every essential question they combat one another."

The play of question and answer between London and Paris means that Hitler Germany is gaining time for its armaments. German fascism has increased its expenditure for armaments by about 1.5 milliards in the budget for the year 1934. This is the official expenditure for armaments. It need not be said that unofficially much larger sums will be expended for armaments.

Petty bourgeois democrats, played-out pacifists, and many parties of the Second International are hoping that a "miracle" will result from the solidarity of the "Great Western Democracies" against fascism. The Dutch social democratic leaders, at their party congress, took their stand for defence of native country, for the giving of support to the bourgeois government and for alliance with French imperialism. In France, in Switzerland, in Czechoslovakia, social democracy is pursuing the same policy. Naturally the slogan of defence of the bourgeois fatherland is camouflaged by a slogan against German fascism. The whole of the social democratic speculations on the solidarity of the "Western Democracies" have turned out to be an illusion, a deception. The interests of French and English imperialisms do not coincide as opposed to German imperialism, and there is no united front of the bourgeois democratic states against the fascist states. The actual formation of groups takes place from the point of view of imperialist interests, whereby French democracy is allied with Yugoslavian and Polish fascism, whilst English democracy co-operates with Italian and Japanese fascism in many questions, and supports German fascism against French democracy in the armaments question.

The League of Nations, however, has excluded itself from all disarmament negotiations for two months.

The Non-Aggression Pacts between the Soviet Union and the three Baltic States, Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia, have been prolonged for ten years on the initiative of the Soviet government. Finland has also joined this agreement. Poland, too, has expressed

its willingness to agree to the prolongation of the Non-Aggression Pact. The co-ordinated German fascist press is somewhat dissatisfied with this fact, and asserts that the Soviet Union is supporting the maintenance of the Versailles frontiers. It need scarcely be said that the Soviet Union is not supporting the Versailles Treaty, but is combating the substitution of the Versailles Bandit Agreement by another and even more predatory treaty, by means of a new imperialist war. Even Mussolini does not care for German fascism as a neighbour, and it is easily comprehensible that the Soviet Union adopts an adverse attitude, to put it mildly, towards the attempts of German imperialism to subordinate the Baltic States to its power. It is no secret that at the present time the Reichwehr and the Storm Troops are being given political instruction, and in the course of which it is impressed upon them that war between Japan and the Soviet Union is inevitable, and that Germany will intervene in this war in order to combat world Bolshevism. And the Reichwehr soldiers and Storm Troopers are obliged to listen to incredibly imbecile "arguments," supposed to prove that the Japanese army is superior to the Red Army, and that it will be an easy matter to defeat the Red Army.

Agreements, treaties, and non-aggression pacts with capitalist States afford no guarantee against attacks and wars. This is a platitude. But treaties often give expression to the existing relation of forces, and the non-aggression pacts with the Soviet Union formulate, so to speak, the respect felt for the Red Army.

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The negotiations between the Japanese and English textile industrialists have been unsuccessful. Osaka and Manchester have not been able to come to any agreement about the division of the textile markets. Now the two governments are conducting negotiations on this question. At the same time a campaign has commenced in Japan against the further fortification of Singapore. Since the conference in Singapore, since the decision to develop the North Australian port Darwin into a first-class naval base, Japan has been regarding with much nervousness the English war preparations in the Pacific Ocean. The rumours that an agreement has been made between Holland and England with regard to the protection of Indonesia have further intensified the misgiving and opposition in Japan. In England, on the other hand, much disquietude is felt on account of Japanese activities in Siam, and the rumours that Japanese capital is going to build a canal through Siam, reducing the value of Singapore both from the military and economic standpoint, are highly disquieting to the nerves of the British Admiralty. The Nanking government is carrying on negotiations with an international banking combine with regard to an extensive loan, and Japan is protesting against these negotiations. The Japanese press is spreading the report that the Foreign Minister, Hirota, is about to offer the United States a non-aggression pact for 10 years. At the same time the Japanese army is advancing from the direction of Dolonor towards Kalgan. In Manchuria a fresh wave of partisan struggles is rising against the Japanese occupation, and fresh Japanese attacks are expected in North China, for Peking and Tientsin.

The attempts to restore the Anglo-Japanese alliance encounter the resistance of the English dominions, and also come up against the antagonisms between Japanese and English imperialism. Japan's somewhat clumsy attempts at a rapprochement to the United States bring fresh disturbing factors into Anglo-Japanese relations. In the Far East spring is commencing with storms. Whilst in Europe nothing is left of the Versailles Treaty but the frontier demarcations, Japanese imperialism has cancelled even these in the Far East, and abolished the frontiers laid down in the Washington agreements. England is supporting Japan in its aggressive attitude to the Soviet Union. England is stirring up the antagonisms between Japan and the United States. But the appetite of Japanese imperialism is so great that anxiety is being felt in London with regard to the fate of English relations in the Far East, and the interests of British imperialism in China.

The Reformist C.G.T. of France—the Best Tool of Fascism

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

For a number of months now and in particular since the events in February when the fascist danger showed itself clearly for the first time, and to-day in the struggle against the hunger decrees of the government a powerful united front of action is being formed between the workers of all shades of opinion. The leaders of the reformist trade union federation (C.G.T.) are being swept off their feet by the revolutionary fighting spirit of the workers.

Despite the promise made by the secretary of the C.G.T. Jouhaux to Prime Minister Doumergue on February 10 that the strike on February 12 would be peaceful and dignified, the movement with its street demonstrations, its collisions with the police, and its shouts in favour of the Soviets was in fact unusually active and powerful and accelerated the fraternisation of the reformist and Communist workers and demonstrated to the former that the latter are always to be found in the forefront of the struggle. Many of the trade unions affiliated to the C.G.T. have joined the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement against fascism and war. The continued silence of the C.G.T. in face of the government emergency decrees and the refusal of the C.G.T. to issue any slogans of action did not prevent the officials and the employees in the public services from acting in accordance with the instructions of the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.), stopping work and demonstrating on the streets and in their offices, etc.

The demonstration of the victims of the emergency decree on March 15 was intended by the reformist leaders to be a sort of safety valve in order to avoid an outbreak of anger on the part of the workers. This demonstration was of considerable size and was greatly influenced by the revolutionary elements. In many cases the members of the C.G.T. compelled their leaders to let representatives of the revolutionaries speak from the platforms.

Jouhaux and his friends, who can feel their influence declining, are now on the look-out for other means with which to hamper the elan of the workers and break down their unity of action. Since the outbreak of the economic crisis in France Jouhaux and his friends have attempted to deceive the workers with a sham panacea, "organised economy" which is to bring about the co-operation of all forces in the work of reconstruction. And at the same time they have systematically betrayed the struggles of the employed and unemployed workers. Now that millions of toilers have joined together in a firm block against misery and fascism, the C.G.T. has taken a decisive step in support of the capitalist reconstruction at the cost of the masses, in support of fascism and in support of the propaganda in favour of the fascist ideology.

On April 7 Jouhaux gathered the "Councils of Labour" in conference. These councils are composed of carefully chosen reformist supporters and no delegate of the revolutionary workers can find his way into them. The aim of this conference was to approve a plan for "the complete reversal of the economic situation by the authorities" according to a plan adopted by the C.G.T. on April 7. This plan is thoroughly utopian and aims at harmonisation of production and consumption in the general interests of the people under the guidance of the State which is to introduce economic democracy.

In this plan and in the speeches of the reformist trade union leaders which accompany it one finds the worst anti-Marxist and petty-bourgeois fantasies: a worship of the plan itself, a denial of the contradictions of capitalism, a complete failure to recognise the State as the tool of the dictatorship of the ruling classes, all, by the way, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the last session of the I.F.T.U. concerning "the transformation of the capitalist economic system into a system of production for use" along the lines of Roosevelt's experiment!

No single word is said against the emergency decrees and against the government which is preparing the way for fascism. The fundamental fascist principles are found in this plan, the alleged community of national interests, the State which stands above the classes, and the principle of the corporative State in the shape of a national economic council which is to include the repre-

representatives of the financial oligarchy together with the representatives of the emasculated organisations of the workers.

Under the pressure of the economic crisis and of the revolutionary movement amongst the masses of the workers the French bourgeoisie is encouraging the development of fascism energetically. In these circumstances it is the aim of the C.G.T. to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie that it would be a better weapon for the carrying out of fascism:

"Unless those who are socially progressive take up a clear and unambiguous attitude to those vital questions which will shortly face the whole country if it is not to plunge into the abyss, *then other men will do so.*"

It is thus a question of a competition between the C.G.T. and fascism as to which can best serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. Are not the "socially progressive" persons at the head of the C.G.T. better suited to organise a fascist economic system than the fascists themselves who have not yet succeeded in winning a broad social basis for themselves? Without beating about the bush the social-fascists are offering the French bourgeoisie to take the place of the fascists. The leaders of the ex-soldiers have also come forward with a plan for economic reorganisation and for a State reform. The old renegade Paul Boncour welcomes this joint action warmly.

The "Councils of Labour" were unable to avoid adopting a resolution against fascism which disputes with the C.G.T. as to the best means for perpetuating fascism. This resolution expresses opposition to "coups d'état" and to civil war, and recommends instead "free rein to the democratic constitution." In other words, fascism by peaceful means, for Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in accordance with "the democratic constitution of Weimar! The leaders of the reformist C.G.T. prefer this method to the method of Mussolini under the pretence of avoiding civil war, and they put the militarist and armed bands organised by the fascists into the same category with the mass defence organisations of the workers. They demand that the government should take precautionary measures against violence although they know only too well that any such measures taken by the Doumergue government will be directed not against the fascists, but exclusively against the workers and their revolutionary organisations.

It is being demonstrated very clearly that the only enemy which is to be crushed is Communism. On April 8 the C.G.T. was to have held a big meeting in Paris in order to present its social-fascist plan to a carefully sifted audience. The Communists and the revolutionary unions appealed to the masses to attend the meeting in order to support the unity of action of the workers against the emergency decrees of the government and against fascism. After a new discussion with Doumergue, Jouhaux then decided to call off the meeting and the organ of the C.G.T., "*le Peuple*," immediately began a poisonous campaign of slander against the Communist Party and against the Soviet Union whilst the leaders of the reformist miners' union in the Pas de Calais refused to take part in the local general strike on the day of the burial of the Communist Fontaine who was murdered by the Camelots du Roi.

Jouhaux and Belin want to make the C.G.T. into a fascist organisation immediately. In their opinion Leipart and Grassmann made a mistake in waiting too long before offering Hindenburg to let the German trade unions be integrated in Hitler's totalitarian State and they are anxious to avoid this tactical error. The situation was never so favourable for an approach to the workers organised in the C.G.T., to organise a broad action with them and to defeat and destroy the influence of the treacherous reformist leaders.

On April 14 the C.G.T. held a meeting of the employees of the public services in Paris. The reformist marshals, organised and led by renegades from the revolutionary C.G.T.U., were given instructions to prevent revolutionary workers attending the meeting and speaking there under all circumstances. However, the workers present at this meeting, including the reformist workers, compelled the election of a representative of the revolutionary union into the presidium of the meeting and despite the hateful provocations of the reformist leaders several speakers spoke on behalf of the revolutionary C.G.T.U. This is a sign that the workers of the reformist C.G.T. are not prepared to follow Jouhaux on the path of capitulation to fascism.

Left Wing of Irish Republican Army Breaks Away

By Aodh MacManus (Dublin)

"The crisis is developing in the social democratic parties."—O. W. Kuusinen, at Thirteenth Plenum E.C.C.I.

Not only in the social democratic parties are crises and disintegration taking place. In the nationally-oppressed countries the petty bourgeois nationalist organisations are in a similar state. The shaking of the foundations of capitalism by the general crisis, the rise of fascism and the upsurge of the workers are having profound effects on these organisations also.

Almost the entire Left-wing of the Irish Republican Army has now broken away and initiated a call for a united front of workers and farmers in the struggle against capitalist imperialism. The crisis has been simmering in the I.R.A. since 1931, when its newly-launched political wing, *Saor Eire* (Free Ireland), was attacked by the Catholic clergy and banned by the Cosgrave government. *Saor Eire* was formed as a "Left" party, a halfway house at which the Irish masses were asked to stop instead of going on to Communism. It analysed capitalism as the basis of imperialist rule in Ireland, called for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and declared for the Workers' and Farmers' Republic. Unfortunately for it, the bourgeoisie took it more seriously than some of its sponsors, and it did not survive its baptism of fire. Since then the I.R.A. leadership have not risked burning their fingers again, and have steadily retreated to a "purely military" position which in fact meant objective political servitude to the De Valera government and passivity in the face of the Blueshirt fascist menace. In pursuance of this policy, republicans have been kept out of the anti-fascist struggle, leading officers of the I.R.A. gagged by "purely military" orders, and Communist members of the Army expelled on "purely military" grounds.

The revolt against this policy came to a head on April 8, when prominent I.R.A. members and other republicans from many parts of Ireland held a secret meeting at Athlone, and broke with the official leadership by issuing a manifesto calling for a national congress of workers and farmers to plan immediate activity around the slogan of the united Workers' and Farmers' Republic.

The statement, which is signed by Peadar O'Donnell, George Gilmore, Frank Ryan, and Michael Price, outlines the position in Ireland as these republicans see it:—

"We believe that a republic of a united Ireland will never be achieved except through a struggle which uproots capitalism on its way. We cannot conceive of a free Ireland with a subject working class; we cannot conceive of a subject Ireland with a free working class."

This teaching of Connolly represents the deepest instinct of the oppressed Irish nation:—

"The republican movement in the Free State area must see that Irish capitalism is the holdfast at this end for the imperial connection and that the forces which defend Irish capitalism are the forces in which the final push for freedom will be called out to maintain the connection with an economy of British lives."

"The lip-service paid to the republic by leaderships that are tethered to Irish capitalism can therefore only confuse sincere republicans and withdraw them from their struggle for freedom."

The forces to be rallied for the national struggle are declared to be: (1) the industrial working class; (2) the peasant farmers; and (3) the people of the Gaeltacht, the poverty-stricken Irish-speaking western seaboard. The manifesto concludes:—

"A congress of republican opinion must be assembled to make the republic a main issue dominating the whole political field and to outline what are the forms of activity to move to its support.

"Into this congress will come anti-imperialists from North-East Ulster, representing sections of workers who have hitherto held aloof from or have even been hostile to the national struggle.

"As the republic when established will be a republic of the workers and small farmers, the forces that will achieve it must be drawn from these sections of our life. In order that these forces may be drawn forward to their task, we, on their behalf, call for a republican congress and pledge ourselves to take up the work necessary to build it."

The Communist Party of Ireland immediately issued a statement declaring that the revolt of a large section of the I.R.A. is a reflection of the growing discontent alike with the Fianna Fail government and the policy of the I.R.A. leaders; that the policy of the present I.R.A. Council "is one of political servitude to Fianna Fail, complete passivity in the face of the fascist threat, and isolation from the workers' and farmers' struggle against the effects of Fianna Fail's capitalist policy"; and declaring that the Irish Communists will work wholeheartedly for a national republican congress of workers and farmers from all organisations to form the united front against fascist imperialism.

At the same time the Secretariat of the C.P.I. points out "certain important defects" in the "Left" republican manifesto: the failure to name the organisations betraying or hampering the struggle; the avoidance of any indication that the present action means a decisive political break with the I.R.A. Council; and, most important, the obvious uncertainty as to the objectives—whether a united front movement or another political party on the lines of Saor Eire is to be built up.

The most burning need in Ireland to-day is a mass united front movement that will rally the workers and farmers against fascist imperialism and break through the barriers to action erected by the De Valera government and the I.R.A. leadership. Trade unionists, republicans, Labour Party and Fianna Fail supporters, and large sections of the Northern population—the Nationalist population suffering from a renewed persecution at the hands of the Craigavon government, together with thousands of Protestant workers who are no longer deceived by Craigavon's sectarian Union Jackery—can be won to this united front.

Any attempt to set up another political party, on the other hand, would destroy the possibility of such a united front, and reduce the National Congress to the unrepresentative farce that launched Saor Eire. There is no place for another party "catering" for the workers and farmers, but not springing from their ranks. The party is the supreme representative and leader of the class. For every class there can be only one leadership, one theoretical direction; for the working class that leadership and direction can come only from revolutionary Marxism, from the Communist International and the Communist Party. Any other party at this stage in Ireland could be established only as a barrier between the masses and the Irish Communist Party, and the C.P.I. would fight vigorously any such attempt. It is clear that a section of the leadership of the breakaway have such a perspective; they must be warned that they will be opposed and defeated on this issue.

Irish Communists, militant workers and sincere republicans must see that the National Republican Congress fulfils its purpose: to rally the workers and farmers of all organisations for the immediate tasks.

The Communist Party of Ireland calls for energetic work to ensure that the working masses, North and South, and of every organisation, are represented fully at the Congress. In the words of the Secretariat of the C.P.I., "the Congress must be the biggest hosting of anti-imperialist working men and women this country has seen since the Anglo-Irish war."

The C.P. of Spain—the Vanguard of the Strike Struggles

By Vicente Uribe (Madrid)

In Madrid the atmosphere is one of extreme tension. The dissatisfaction of the masses of the people is increasing, and is finding expression in strikes, demonstrations, etc. Besides this, there is a slow fermentation going on, likely to break out at any moment.

The ruling classes are resorting more and more to fascist methods of government, and are increasing their endeavours to suppress by all available means the growing revolutionary movement. But the proletarians and the working peasants of Spain observe with ever-increasing clearness that the sole solution to the problem lies in the abolition of the rotten bourgeois-landowning system.

Three months of the Lerroux-Gil Robles government have opened the eyes of thousands of the exploited. Lerroux and the

Right have spoken of "pacifying" and of satisfying the needs of the people. But what they have done is precisely the contrary. The path which they have taken has been that of brutal attacks on the standards of living of the workers, of the rapid fascistation of the governmental apparatus, and of the open promotion of the fascists.

There is no sign of improvement either in the industrial nor the agrarian crisis. The million and a half unemployed are receiving no assistance whatever. Unemployment is increasing. Hundreds of industrial workers are being thrown into the streets every week in Asturia, in the Basque country, and in Catalonia.

When Lerroux came into power, he governed at first with the aid of the state of emergency, and now with the aid of the state of alarm, by which the whole freedom of the press and all right of combination and assembly are suppressed. Social offences are brought up for trial before summary courts composed of professional judges, the trials by jury being done away with. In the course of three months the summary courts have sentenced 1,500 workers to a total of 3,500 years of imprisonment and 405,600 pesetas in fines. Many hundreds of prisoners are still waiting for trial on remand in custody, and thousands have been taken into preventive custody.

In the arch-reactionary parliament a number of laws are being discussed, as, for instance, the law on the church estates; the so-called amnesty law, whose sole object is to release the monarchist-fascist officers, the monarchist politicians, and the large-scale defrauders; the Bill against strikes envisaging compulsory arbitration, throwing great difficulties in the way of strikes by public employees and workers of vitally important undertakings, and placing severe penalties on the trade unions' leading strikers and strikes according to the law created by the socialist ex-minister Largo Caballero; and the law on public peace and order, another achievement of the socialists.

The reintroduction of the death penalty, alleged to be directed solely against crimes and outrages (express mention is made of bomb outrages, attacks on railway trains, and attacks with arms), is also directed chiefly against the revolutionary workers.

Without observing any formality, the government simply deposes town councils which have been elected chiefly by workers, and replaces them by appointing confidential agents of the bourgeoisie.

These actions on the part of the government are supplemented by a number of economic measures. The prices of mass articles of consumption are increasing; the price of potatoes by 100 per cent., and the prices of meat, bread, and vegetables. Eighty million pesetas have been allotted for the development of the navy. Railway fares are to be increased by 15 per cent.

The government has drawn up a fantastic plan for public works, intended to bring in enormous profits for the big banks and the capitalists. It has also a plan for a monopolist shipping traffic, for which the 80 million pesetas stolen from the people are to be used. The wages of agricultural workers have been reduced in many cases by 30 to 40 per cent. during the last eight months. In a number of branches of industry the nominal wages, too, have been reduced. Real wages have been reduced everywhere.

But neither the state of alarm nor the terror, neither the summary courts nor the murders, neither the increase of the military forces nor the betrayals by the socialists and the anarchists have been able to hold back the strike avalanche. In spite of the state of alarm, and in spite of the bloody repressive methods used since the movement between 8th and 15th of December, there is no cessation of the strikes; they have become innumerable during these last three months. Only a few of the most important are enumerated below:—

Two general strikes in the Basque country, entirely under the leadership of the C.P. General strikes in Catalonia, Toledo, Castellon, and Segovia. The political general strike under the leadership of the C.P. of 19th February, taken part in by more than 130,000 workers. Innumerable demonstrations and partial strikes in all parts of the country. Two building workers' strikes in Madrid, the strike of the typographical workers in Madrid, the strikes still continuing of the metal workers in Madrid. The strikes of the electricity workers, the railway workers, and the

waterworks workers in Catalonia, the strike of 16,000 miners in Asturia. At the present time the general strikes in Malaga and Saragossa, the strikes of the electricity workers in Valencia, of the car-drivers in Madrid, etc.

The strike movements above enumerated include in themselves approximately 820,000 strikers. The total number of strikers in these three months exceeds 1,900,000.

The majority of the great strikes are political, whilst others are waged for higher wages and shorter working hours. The strikes are dominated by the idea of the united front, in spite of the fact that the reformist trade union leaders are doing their utmost to prevent the united front. Many of the strikes are being successful, but not thanks to the activities of the reformist leaders; thanks to the action of the masses and of the C.P., and also to that of the revolutionary trade union organisations. The electricity workers and the railway men of Catalonia achieved improvements in their economic position. In spite of the treachery of the socialists, the building workers of Madrid have gained the 44-hour week and a small improvement of their daily wages. The waiters of Sevilla succeeded in getting their demands granted without a strike, a tremendous success for the C.P. and the Red trade unions.

The demonstrations against fascism follow one another continually in Madrid and in the provinces. The unemployed of the Basque country, of Madrid, and of Andalusia, storm the department stores and seize upon the food; they have organised great demonstrations in which many women have taken part, thus enforcing the retention of the old bread prices. In the rural districts there are strikes and confiscations of plots of land, and in many cases widespread mass movements have broken out. In the prisons there are mutinies among the prisoners, who come out on hunger strike against the prison regime, and demand their release.

It is true that the C.P. of Spain is not yet the sole leader of all the struggles of the masses of the people in their various forms; nor has it the support as yet of the majority of the proletariat. The C.P. is thoroughly conscious of the importance of the role which it plays, and is making every endeavour to combat all the deficiencies and shortcomings in its own ranks, both the danger of Right opportunism and that of sectarianism, which has always existed in the C.P. of Spain. The severest blow being dealt social fascism and anarchism is the growth of the revolutionary united front under the leadership of the C.P.

The S.P. had commenced a demagogic campaign, in which it even spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and maintained that it was the champion of the united front; this demagogy has however, been so thoroughly exposed that the S.P. no longer speaks of the united front, but seeks once more to establish its influence against that of the revolutionary organisations.

The strike of the typographical workers of Madrid was betrayed by the socialist leaders, who were determined to oppose the slogan of the C.P. for the extension of the strike into a general strike. Nevertheless, the C.P. has been successful in gaining a foothold among the reserves of the S.P. in Madrid, and also in gaining influence among the members of the reformist trade union federation (U.G.T.).

Unbridled terror has been let loose against the C.P. and against the revolutionary trade unions. Almost the whole of their press is prohibited, their offices and premises are closed. An illegal press has, however, at once sprung into being. In Madrid alone the following papers are being published "Bandera Roja" (Red Flag), central organ of the C.P., weekly edition of 10,000 copies; "Joven Guardia" (Young Guard), central organ of the Y.C.L., 5,000 copies; "El Soviet," "El Bolsheviq," "Este Rojo" (Red East), organs of the Madrid districts; "Vida Obrera" (Workers' Life), organ of the revolutionary trade union federation (C.G.T.U.); "El Tambor" (The Drum), organ of the pioneers; and other periodicals of the trade unions, oppositional groups, cells, etc.

The C.P. is also gaining the confidence of the masses in the strikes in the provinces and in the mass actions. It is still weak in the field of organisation, especially in the committees of the rank and file workers and of the peasants. But it will overcome these weaknesses, and will lead the masses on the path leading to the seizure of power, to the Soviet government, in Spain.

Big "Espionage Affair" in Czechoslovakia

By Viktor Stern (Prague)

For weeks the police have been carrying out a large-scale action in the whole of the Republic. No less than 221 house-searches and 43 arrests have been made.

Every report regarding this action has been suppressed by the censor. Only the papers which support the government were allowed to drop a few hints, from which it could be gathered that the police were on the track of a big, widely-ramified and cunningly-constructed "Communist spy organisation."

At last the police themselves issued a report, in which they announced that the authorities had observed an "increased subversive activity" in the whole territory of the Republic. This activity, it is alleged, aimed especially at bringing about a revolt in the army and spreading unrest in its ranks. As a result of a large-scale police action, the existence of a whole system of espionage and anti-militarist propaganda is said to have been discovered, which is particularly active in the garrison towns. One of the chief organisers is said to have been the former baker and late editor of the "Rovnost" in Bruenn, Hampl. The illegal organisation, the police report, was cunningly constructed. The members did not know each other. A secret printing press and material for the publication of an illegal Communist periodical for soldiers and a copy of an important military document are alleged to have been found. The military document is said to have been taken from the dossiers of the Olmuetz municipality, and for this reason the head of the economic council of the Olmuetz municipality and his two secretaries have been arrested.

Shortly after this report, the Bruenn police published a report of their own, in which it was stated that in the Bruenn district also a very active subversive activity had been carried on. A large quantity of illegal material had been produced, including leaflets as substitute for prohibited Communist newspapers.

Of course, the whole of the press which supports the government eagerly seize upon these reports in order to develop an anti-Communist incitement and to produce a pogrom mood against the Communist Party. Although both police reports only refer to facts which have nothing to do with espionage, namely, revolutionary agitation in the army and production and distribution of illegal revolutionary literature, and although the majority of the arrested have had to be released, the whole of the press is writing about the "wholesale arrest of Communist spies." Some papers even maintain that over twenty emigrants have been arrested as spies, although there is not a single emigrant among the arrested.

The so-called socialist press is foremost in this anti-Communist incitement. Every answer to these shameful slanders in the few legal oppositional newspapers is ruthlessly suppressed by the censor.

It is not due to chance that this alleged espionage activity has been discovered precisely now. The economic situation is such that the bourgeoisie is compelled to resort to increasingly desperate measures in order to keep its head above water. On all sides, by the open fascists and also by the so-called democratic, alleged opponents of fascism, there is being carried on a systematic campaign for a fascist alteration of the constitution, in which the creation of a "corporative economic parliament" plays the chief role, and to which is to be handed over the whole of the political and economic legislation. The introduction of labour service camps for the youth according to the Hitler pattern has been practically decided on, and is being propagated with particular enthusiasm by the social democrats. Fear of the resistance of the workers and the oppressed nationalities to the policy which the bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to adopt, and the rapid rate at which the war tension in Europe is increasing, compel the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, supported by the social fascists, to accelerate the process of fascisation still more and to prepare for open and complete fascism.

Before all, the bourgeoisie need a pretext for proceeding even more drastically against the Communist Party, the Red trade unions, and other proletarian mass organisations. The appropriate Bills for this purpose, especially the Bill for the dissolution of parties hostile to the State, have long since been prepared, and the whole spy incitement is only intended to create the necessary atmosphere for passing these measures.

Germany

Ernst Thaelmann—A Bolshevik Leader

By P. M. (Berlin)

Ernst Thaelmann, chairman of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. and prominent member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has been in prison in Hitler Germany for over a year, where he is tortured and constantly in danger of being foully murdered. Monday last was Comrade Thaelmann's forty-eighth birthday, which he spent in prison. Of the forty-eight years of his life, Thaelmann has spent thirty-two in the revolutionary German labour movement.

Thirty-two years—what an abundance of faithful, self-sacrificing work, what a wealth of experience, what a political development Thaelmann must have undergone until he, who for many years was a simple rank and file member of the old social democratic party, finally became the recognised and universally beloved leader of a Bolshevist Party.

The Marxist unity of theory and practice occupies first place in the development of Thaelmann to the leader of the revolutionary proletariat.

Just as Karl Liebknecht voiced the demands of the youth, and just as the Spartacus League, the germ cell which later became the Communist Party, recruited its members in the first place from the working youth, so Thaelmann in his practical activity within the old social democracy was always the spokesman of the go-ahead youth. As a son of the Hamburg social democrat Jan Thaelmann, an old fighter and founder of illegal trade union bodies under Bismark's anti-socialist law, Ernst Thaelmann already in his early youth, at the age of 16, joined the social democratic organisation, and at 18 was a member of the transport workers' union and was one of the founders of the youth sections in the trade unions before the war. Against the will and against the obstinate resistance of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, he succeeded in obtaining for the youth full right of self-administration in Hamburg, from there serving as an example and giving direction to the fight of the trade union youth against the ossification of the trade union leaders who were only concerned about their funds.

Ernst Thaelmann's way to Bolshevism then led through anti-militarist work, which was fiercely combated by the reformists. Long before the war he was an organiser of anti-militarist circles. From such a circle there emanated the leaflets to the sailors in the German navy, which already in the year 1908 were found on the ship of the line "Kaiser Karl der Grosse." There is no need to say that Ernst Thaelmann, right from the first hour of the fratricidal slaughter of 1914 up to 1918, fulfilled his duty as a revolutionary opponent of imperialist war. As a simple soldier who himself served two years at the front, he had connections with the "Left" radical circles gathered round the "Bremer Bürgerzeitung" and was engaged in the illegal distribution of anti-militarist leaflets and pamphlets.

Thaelmann made the factory his chief field of activity. Whether as a coal trimmer, transport worker or laundry worker, he was always in the first place the spokesman of his workmates. We know, for example, that the staff of the big laundry firm of Welscher, in Wandsbek, where Thaelmann worked for many years before the war, constitutes a revolutionary advance-guard among the Hamburg enterprises. The employer soon realised what a tenacious opponent he had in Thaelmann. As he did not succeed in corrupting him by offering him a better paid position as branch manager and overseer, he proceeded to victimisation. Thaelmann was placed on the black list and was out of work for two years. Thus already before the war he became acquainted with the misery of unemployment. His trade union colleagues wished to elect him to a paid position in the trade union, but he declined, as he did not wish, by accepting this post, to approve the reformist policy of the leaders of the union hitherto combated by him nor lose contact with his workmates and their factory organ. Thus out of a sense of proletarian duty he acted always in accordance with the slogan: Every factory a revolutionary fortress, long before it became the chief slogan of the Communist Party.

It is characteristic of the formation of Thaelmann's personality as a leader that the attention of the Communist Party was at-

tracted to him in the first place because, in the first years after the November revolution in 1918, he himself a worker on the Abwrack wharf, became the recognised leader of the Hamburg dock workers, this revolutionary elite troop. One cannot think of the revolutionary fights in Hamburg, up to the famous armed revolt in 1923, without this elite troop and its leader, Ernst Thaelmann. And this reputation which, especially after the barricade fight in the year 1923, spread far beyond Hamburg, caused him to be elected to the Central Committee of the C.P.G. at the Frankfurt Party Congress in 1924.

Also in the trade union question Thaelmann, right from the beginning, stood head and shoulders above the average social democratic trade union politician. He is, so to speak, a living example demonstrating that petty work in the trade union by no means leads to the swamp of reformism, but, quite on the contrary, can and must contribute to the improvement of revolutionary work. In 1929—two years later he was expelled from the transport workers' union—he was given a diploma of honour for his 25 years' trade union activity.

It is thanks to the revolutionary policy of Thaelmann, who during and shortly after the war belonged to the independent social democratic party but maintained the best relations with the Spartacus League and worked with them, that it was precisely the Hamburg organisation of the independent socialist party which at the Halle Party Congress in 1920 went over almost 100 per cent. to the United Communist Party.

Since the year 1924 the Party has rightly put forward Thaelmann as the candidate of all the toilers. Since then he has also always headed the list of candidates of the Communist Party for the Reichstag. In 1925 he ran for the first time as candidate of the German workers for the Reichs Presidency. At that time the social democratic party represented him in a leaflet as a transport worker, on whose shoulders Hindenburg was being carried to the Presidential seat. In 1932 this same Hindenburg was the candidate of the social democratic party, and in 1933 this social democratic party candidate handed over the government power to his alleged opponent, Hitler.

When the Red Front Fighters' League, which was afterwards prohibited by Severing, was founded in 1925, it was a matter of course that Ernst Thaelmann became chairman of this organisation. Just as rapidly as the cry "Red Front" spread over Germany and became popular, so the popularity of the president of the Red Front Fighters' League, who was at the same time the leader of the C.P.G., increased.

As leader of the Party, Ernst Thaelmann in the last ten years has given theoretical directives. We know the programmatic declaration issued in August, 1930, on the social and national emancipation of the working people of Germany, which was drawn on the special initiative of Thaelmann. We know also that it was on his initiative that the programme of Peasants' Relief was drawn up. We also know of his personal share in the working out of the united front with the social democratic and Christian workers in the immediate fight against fascism. Everyone still remembers how, in the course of this fight against chauvinism, Thaelmann made a speech to the Paris workers at a mass meeting held on October 31, 1932, at which he renewed the revolutionary brotherly alliance of the German and French proletariat for the common fight against war and fascism and Versailles.

We know also, however, his firm consistency in the fight against all conciliators, capitulators and splitters. We know how in this connection he opposed any glossing over of the unbridgeable antagonism between the Communist Party and the social democratic party of Germany, how again and again he most aptly described the role of social fascism. Events have proved the correctness of his analysis that fascism has grown organically out of the Weimar democracy of the social democratic party of Germany.

The fascist hangmen know whom they are keeping in prison in the person of Thaelmann. But the working people also know what they possess in Thaelmann, this proletarian leader, who is blood of their blood and flesh of their flesh. We know how greatly the working masses reckon it to the credit of Ernst Thaelmann that he has not forsaken his post for one day. It is this fact of Thaelmann's close intimacy with the working masses which before all makes the fight for his release a question of honour for the German and the world proletariat.

Diehl's Resignation

Goering has suffered a heavy blow in his fight for power. His right-hand man, the vile careerist Diehls, a creature who has succeeded in worming his way into the good graces of almost all parties at one time or the other, is not to return from his sick leave and take up his post again as inspector of the Secret State Police. It will be remembered that last autumn Diehls was compelled to resign from his position as leader of the Secret State Police, but Goering then took up the offensive on his own account, took over the leadership of the Secret State Police and re-appointed Diehls as his representative. However, the role of the chief of spies, informers and torturers, seem to be played out, at least for the moment. The fact that Goering's influence has been limited can also be seen from the fact that Goebbels has issued a decree placing all the State Theatres throughout the country under his control although previously Goering had reserved for himself the control of all theatrical matters in Prussia. The decree issued by Frick concerning protective arrest is, although its text is not yet available, in all probability a further step to limit Goering's powers.

On the one hand the deposition of Diehls is a blow on the part of the Hitler-Goebbels clique against the Goering clique, but on the other hand it is also a confession of the failure of the Secret State Police in its struggle to exterminate Communism. If Goering and Diehls had been able to achieve any considerable successes in the work of the Secret State Police then it would not have been so easy to get rid of Diehls, but now Diehls must go because the failure of his terrorist campaign of espionage, torture and murder against the revolutionary movement has become too clear. The national socialist authorities are compelled to admit that the activity of the Communist Party is on the increase despite the fascist terror and that the anti-fascist mass movement is extending. This is an admission of the defeat of the Secret State Police and its leaders Goering and Diehls who announced in the autumn of 1933 that the utter destruction of Communism and the Communist organisations was soon to take place.

In the meantime a worker is to suffer for the struggle between the national socialist cliques. The police needed two weeks in order to find someone who could be charged with the national socialist outrage in the Unter den Linden. There is no doubt that the outrage was one committed by national socialists and directed against national socialists. However, it was not quite clear which clique had organised it and against which clique it was directed. According to one version the attempt was directed against the Goebbels' man storm detachment leader Ernst, and another version declared that it was directed against Goering's man General Daluegue.

The official communiqué issued by the Police President of Berlin, Levetzow, shows how anxious the fascists are to cover up the traces of the outrage. The communiqué declares—

"The outrage, which might have endangered the lives of numerous fellow citizens, men, women and children, was not directed against any particular person."

How peculiar! At that time nothing was known about the details of the outrage. All the police knew was that the hand-grenade was probably thrown down from a building into the street. Nevertheless, one thing the Police President knows immediately, namely, that the outrage was not directed against anyone in particular. Obviously this report was intended as a counter-blast to the reports which have appeared in the non-German press concerning the national socialist leaders implicated in the outrage.

A worker named *Ervin Schulz*, a house painter, has been arrested "under strong suspicion" of having been the culprit. Schulz lives in the "Maikovski" Street in Charlottenburg, and was one of the 150 workers engaged on the building at the time. The only grounds for the suspicion would seem to be that Schulz is the only one who cannot prove a satisfactory alibi for the time in question. However, a fellow-worker insists that Schulz did not leave the room in which he was working at the time of the outrage, a room which is some distance away from the spot from which the hand-grenade is alleged to have been thrown. However, the detectives declare that it is quite possible that Schulz might have left the room for a moment or two without anyone having noticed him. Why wouldn't that apply with equal force to the other 149 workers who were engaged on the job at the time? Simply that Schulz was a member of the Red Front Fighters' League in 1928 and 1929 and that he is said to have been a member of the Com-

munist Party up till the autumn of 1932. In addition he comes from the notorious Wall Strasse, now re-christened "Maikovsky" Strasse which the national socialist storm detachments raided on the "Day of National Renaissance" on January 30, 1933, and where the national socialist storm detachment leader Maikovsky was shot down and killed by one of his companions.

According to the police investigations up to the present no one saw the hand-grenade falling from the building. The very considerable reward which has been offered for information leading to the clearing up of the affair is intended to induce one or two national socialists to perjure themselves along the lines of the Reichstag fire trial. The urgency with which the Police President appeals to the general public to co-operate in the clearing up of the crime suggests that the pedestrians who were on the street at the time prefer to have as little as possible to do with the murder machine of the national socialists.

Work must be begun immediately to mobilise the German proletariat and the anti-fascist masses all over the world against the legal murder which is already being prepared against the worker Ervin Schulz. Whether Schulz is or was a Communist, he is in any case a worker who is to suffer the same fate at the hands of the fascists as van der Lubbe suffered.

For days he denied steadfastly that he had had anything to do with the outrage, but at last, according to the police reports, the notorious investigation methods of the fascists have broken down his will and he has "confessed." However, the national socialists will not succeed in convincing the world of their innocence in connection with this provocation any more than they did in connection with the burning of the Reichstag.

Severing's Denial and the Disgrace of the S.P.G.

By J. L.

After press notices on the Severing pamphlet "My Way to Hitler" had appeared in a number of newspapers in Germany and abroad, and the social democratic press, assuming the truth of this notice, attempted to represent the case of Severing as being individual and of no political significance, the Amsterdam social democratic paper, "Het Volk," publishes a declaration from Severing denying the truth of the notice on his pamphlet. Now the social democratic central organ, the "Neuer Vorwärts," seizes on the opportunity to express its moral indignation:—

"The vile intention to represent Severing as a renegade, in order to set him aside and to deal a blow to social democracy, has been destroyed."

The moral indignation and satisfaction of Severing's consorts is however a little out of place. For what has actually been denied, and what remains as fact? The pamphlet with the sensational title has not appeared, and the memoirs on which Severing is working, and which are to be published by Ullstein, do not contain, according to Severing, the sentences quoted by the "Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung." Even if we assume that the fascist paper invented the sentences attributed to Severing, either on the basis of information it received about Severing's book, or on the basis of its knowledge of the political role played by Severing, still the fact remains, confirmed by Severing himself, that this leader of social democracy, representative of social democratic policy in the most important governmental position for more than a decade, is able to live unmolested in fascist Germany, and to write and publish his autobiography there. Were this autobiography the description of the life of a proletarian fighter, of an anti-fascist, if it contained only the faintest trace of Marxist spirit or only of a sincere democratic viewpoint, who would believe that it could be published by the incorporated Ullstein publishing office, or that it could be written undisturbed by an author living legally in Germany?

If Severing is writing his autobiography under these circumstances, what else can it contain but the description of his decades of consistently conducted fight against the revolutionary workers, his betrayal of the Ruhr workers fighting against Kapp in Bielefeld, his "national" policy, by which he helped fascism to form its organisation, his deadly enmity against revolutionary Marxism, his confession of faith in bourgeois nationalism, in German imperialism? It may be that the "Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung" has invented quotations, but it is not necessary for the fascist paper to invent Severing's career, his constant betrayal of the workers, his service as executioner to the bourgeoisie, his support of fascism, for these are generally known and incontestable facts.

The social democratic newspaper now reports that Severing is suffering a severe nervous collapse, brought on by the slanderous notices appearing in the press. But how excellent were the nerves of this same Severing, when he went out with General Watter in 1920 to massacre the revolutionary workers of the Ruhr district! Nor did his nerves fail him in 1921, when he collaborated with Hörsing in initiating the punitive expedition against the central German proletariat. His nerves gave way for the first time on 20th July, 1932, when he learnt from his masters that they no longer needed his services against the working class.

We are brutal enough not to believe in Severing's weak nerves. This "nervous collapse" is intended to protect Severing from further nervous inquiries. He does not want to carry his denial so far that he falls under the suspicion of his fascist patrons.

The honourable editors of the "Neuer Vorwärts" do not appear to notice this contradiction. They themselves report continually of the entire lack of justice in the Third Reich, of the cruel persecutions suffered by all those regarded as the enemies of fascism, and yet they themselves state that Severing and his son carry on telephone conversations with social democratic editors abroad from their home in Bielefeld, and that Severing requests the fascist press not to disturb him in his work on his autobiography by publishing quotations beforehand.

Stampfer, Wels, etc., express their solidarity with Severing; to them he is **no renegade!** What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? If these gentlemen of the social democratic party committee had been permitted to live unmolested in Germany, they would have thought as little as Severing of "fighting" against Hitler fascism; they would have drawn as peacefully as he a pension granted by the Third Reich, and would have done business with fascist publishers. Now they are hurling revolutionary phrases against Hitler despotism from abroad. Why? Because Hitler and Goering have not permitted them to co-ordinate themselves and their organisation. But Severing, the honest citizen of the Third Reich, remains their friend. It may be that he has not written the pamphlet entitled "My Way to Hitler," but he has none the less taken the path to Hitler. This is proved by the fact that he is able to live in freedom and without danger in the Third Reich.

Thaelmann, the leader of the C.P.G., is lying in chains in one of the death cells of the Secret State Police, tortured and threatened with death by the fascist executioners. Severing, the leader of the S.P.G., is sitting comfortably in his home in Bielefeld and writing his memoirs for the co-ordinated Ulstein publishing firm. No more is needed to justify our indictment: Severing—that is social democracy, Severing—that is the embodiment of the betrayal of the working class!

Austria

The Toiling Peasants and the Agrarian Policy of the Dollfuss Dictatorship

By Martha Schindler (Vienna)

The situation of the Austrian small and middle peasants is best characterised by the fact that their debts amount to 300 shilling per hectare, including barren plots.

The Dollfuss dictatorship was very generous in promises. Nevertheless, it has been unable to bring the least relief to the toiling peasants. On the contrary, it has seriously worsened the position of the toiling peasants by a number of measures; it is only a section of the big peasants and big landowners that is profiting by its policy.

The agrarian policy of the Dollfuss government is determined by the desire for "autarchy" or self-sufficiency as a necessary part of the preparations for the coming war. For this reason the cultivation of grain has for years been promoted by direct subsidies and high customs duties. The Dollfuss dictatorship increased the import duty on grain from 8 to 12 gold crowns. As a result of this protectionist policy Austria covers the whole of its requirements of oats, barley and rye, and 50 per cent. of its requirements of wheat. Two-thirds of the grain is supplied by the big peasants and big landowners. The small peasants use almost the whole of their grain to meet their own requirements. The middle peasants supply 15 per cent. of the market production. The subventioning of grain cultivation is therefore a direct gift to the big peasants and big landowners, whilst in the mountain valleys

the peasants are forced to live on cabbage and potatoes because they cannot afford to buy bread.

The second policy of the Dollfuss dictatorship is the subventioning of the co-operatives, which play a big role as political and economic organisers of the peasants, and also as the main instrument for the plundering of the peasants by finance capital. In the remote districts and valleys the dairy co-operatives, as well as the cattle breeders' co-operatives, play a big role. (The Lower Austrian Dairy, for instance, one of the biggest dairy firms in Vienna, obtains milk from 120 co-operatives embracing 16,000 members, mostly from small peasants with daily milk supplies of 20 to 30 litres.) In addition, there are the Raiffeisen Banking Institutes, which have in their hands a large portion of the peasant credit operations, and the warehouse co-operatives, which purchase the products of the peasants and sell them the articles they require.

The co-operatives are seeking to an increasing extent to capture the agricultural trade and the credit operations in agriculture. The great sums which they require for this purpose are placed at their disposal by the National Bank and the Post Office Savings Bank.

The co-operatives are becoming an important auxiliary means in the system of monopolies and cartels in agriculture, in the centralisation of exploitation. By means of this system not only the urban consumers but also the small and weak middle peasants are being exploited.

The third policy of the Dollfuss dictatorship consists in the efforts to render the sale of agricultural products a monopoly of the big peasants and the big landowners. Thus in regard to timber the government gives premiums of 4 shilling per cubic metre, which covers almost half the costs of production. But only those who hew more than 1,000 metres receive this premium. As, of course, no small or middle peasant is able to hew such a quantity of timber, this measure only means a subvention to the big peasants and big landowners.

In order to shut out the competition of the small peasants in the supplying of milk to the large cities the government declared already eighteen months ago that milk supplied to Vienna, Linz, or Graz must be pasteurised. The peasants are thus compelled to sell their milk at ruinously low prices to the big dairies instead of direct to the consumer. Since September last milk-price commissions have been set up which determine minimum and maximum prices for milk. This measure has resulted in an increase in the price of milk by 6 groschen per litre, which is pocketed by the big dairies.

The case is the same in regard to pig-breeding. As a result of the law regarding the sale and purchase of cattle and the quota policy of the government, which keeps prices high, deliveries of home-grown cattle to the markets increased in 1932. In 1933, however, they fell off again. The decline in the consumption of beef and pork was 18 per cent. in the first six months of 1933. The Austrian mountain peasants have been squeezed dry; they have sold all their marketable cattle and have no money in order to purchase fodder. On the other hand, the Lower and Upper Austrian big peasants and big landowners are going in for rationalised pig-breeding. In Lower Austria large-scale pig-breeding establishments have been set up, which are capable of delivering 150,000 pigs a year. There are too many pigs, as the workers are unable to buy them. Only a certain number of pigs are allowed to be brought to the protected markets. There are 40,000 pigs left over, which are sold outside of the protected markets at lower prices. They are mostly the pigs of the small peasants.

In order to keep up the price of pigs the government, instead of prohibiting large-scale industrial pig-breeding, has decreed by emergency order that nobody shall be allowed to keep more than two pigs who has no land, or only rented land, or is engaged in farming only as a spare-time occupation. The big tenant farmers are excluded from this provision. This means a severe blow to the village poor and all those people who manage to eke out an existence by the sale of one or two pigs a year. At the same time, the government has placed a tax on feedstuff which was formerly imported free of duty, and has now increased this tax threefold.

In order to increase the profits of the sugar manufacturers a sugar cartel has been formed. The price of sugar has risen by 6 groschen a pound in Vienna and in the provinces still more; in Vorarlberg, for instance, by 13 groschen. The sugar cartel is de-

manding that the tax on saccharine be increased in order thereby to increase the consumption of sugar.

The attempt of the butter cartel to increase the price of dairy butter has proved a miserable failure. As a result of the increase in the price the consumption of butter in Vienna declined by 50 per cent., with the result that the price had to be reduced again. The Dollfuss government intends shortly to issue new regulations regarding the sale of milk and to establish a margarine and butter monopoly, in anticipation of which the margarine manufacturers are already raising prices. The aim of Austrian fascism is the same as that of Hitler fascism in Germany: autarchist policy, organised exploitation of the small peasants, throttling of production, maintenance of high prices of food for the benefit of a handful of big landowners and big peasants. In order to corrupt a section of the mountain peasants, the government is preparing a "relief action." It is connecting this relief action with the salvaging of the creditors and the agricultural credit and mortgage banks.

Relief will be given to small and middle property owners in certain districts, but only to such of them as are not too deeply in debt and give a "personal" guarantee that they will manage to get on their feet again. The poorest peasants who are already ruined and those whose political views do not please the fascists can simply perish.

As the economic relief promised the mountain peasants has not yet materialised, the fascist dictatorship has not a great number of followers among this section of the population. It is indicative of the mood of the working peasants that during the February revolt they remained neutral for the most part, and in fact there were cases where peasants were ready to help the workers with weapons in hand. In Upper Styria the majority of the peasants adopted a waiting attitude. In Upper Austria the poor peasants in many districts were only waiting for the insurrectionary movement to spread in order to join it. In Tyrol, where the ideological influence of the christian socials and of the Heimwehr is still strong among the peasants, most of them, it is true, refrained from taking any part in the revolt, but at the same time did not take any action against the workers. In addition, in many cases the brutality with which the government proceeded against the workers made a very bad impression. Only in those cases where the peasants are relatively better off and the Peasants' League possesses firmly established organisations have they gone over in large numbers to the Heimwehr formations.

The Communist Party has now good prospects of gaining ground among the working peasants. In a number of localities in Carinthia the Party organisations already report that they have won recruits among the peasants. The Communists must point out to the peasants whether capitalism and fascism lead, and by supporting the demands of the toiling peasants set up the workers' and peasants' alliance.

Otto Bauer's "Register of Sins"

By Gustav (Vienna)

Following the practice of members of the Catholic Church, Otto Bauer, after the February revolt, attempted by a confession of sins to receive absolution. His register of sins has appeared in the form of a pamphlet ("Austrian Democracy Under Fire"). This pamphlet is intended to create the impression that the social democratic party and Otto Bauer himself are engaging in self-criticism:—

"Undoubtedly, we made mistakes; only those who remain inactive make none. . . . It is all the easier for me personally to confess our mistakes, for I can do so without throwing the blame on anyone else, since I am more responsible than anybody else for the mistakes that were committed."

Self-criticism means, however, the serious desire to discover the real mistakes which one has committed and so to analyse their causes that these mistakes shall be avoided in the future. Only a Bolshevik Party can exercise such self-criticism to-day. Otto Bauer's "self-criticism" is therefore not a genuine self-criticism, but only a hypocritical confession of sins in order to divert attention from the real mistakes.

Otto Bauer wishes to free himself from two charges: the charge brought by the bourgeoisie that the social democratic party wanted the revolt, and against the charge brought by the workers that the social democratic party is responsible for the defeat.

He refutes the first charge in the most convincing, unassailable manner. The greater part of his pamphlet is devoted to this task, and it is at the same time a confirmation of the accusation which the Communist Party have again and again made against the social democratic party of Austria: that in its collaboration with the bourgeoisie it has developed to social fascism. Otto Bauer gives in the most shameless manner a detailed description of how for fifteen years the social democratic party of Austria disorganised the proletariat and sapped its strength until the bourgeoisie, driven by the economic crisis, was able with the aid of brutal terror to set up the fascist dictatorship.

Bauer once again takes credit for the act which the overwhelming majority of the Austrian workers to-day already recognise as the original cause of the fascist dictatorship: the defeat of Bolshevism in the November days of 1918.

"The Austrian social democrats succeeded without violence, and by peaceful persuasion, in calming the wild excitement of the men who had returned from the blood and filth of the trenches, only to find starvation waiting for them at home, and in mobilising it for peaceful constructive work. When Austria lay between the Soviet dictatorship in Bavaria and Hungary, it remained an island of peace, whilst blood was flowing in torrents to the East and to West."

Bauer here deliberately falsifies history when he talks of "peaceful persuasion." The twenty workers killed in the Hoerl-gasse on June 15, 1919, the workers who were killed on Green Thursday in front of parliament, the dead in Graz, Linz, and Klagenfurt, are bloody testimonies to the "peaceful persuasion" of the social democracy. It was also by means of brutal violence that the social democratic party of Austria prevented the union of Austria with the neighbouring Soviet dictatorship, which could have become the starting point for the revolution in the whole of Central Europe. By saving capitalism in these years Otto Bauer laid the foundation for fascism.

Otto Bauer also takes credit for rescuing the Austrian bourgeoisie a second time, namely, on July 15, 1927. He defends himself against the charge that the weapons in the possession of the workers were intended to be used for an armed revolt.

"Have not these weapons remained stowed away in their hiding places for fifteen years, even in periods of greatest excitement—even at the time of the 1918-19 revolution and after the sanguinary carnage of July 15, 1927?"

All this was done in the name of "democracy" as the bloodless, safest way to socialism. For at that time the bourgeoisie exercised its dictatorship in the form of parliamentary democracy. When the bourgeoisie, as a result of the economic crisis, turned to fascism the social democracy did likewise. After Hitler came into power, Dollfuss established himself as fascist dictator. "The workers looked to their party for help and protection. . . . They demanded that the dictatorship should be resisted. . . . Thus the feeling in favour of revolution against the dictatorship spread to wider and wider circles of the working class."

The social democrats, however, supported the fascist dictatorship by holding the workers back from the fight and negotiating with Dollfuss regarding the form in which they could collaborate with him.

"We therefore made every possible effort to avoid a violent issue."

"Our people offered to enter into negotiations with him (Dollfuss) with a view to reaching an understanding. . . . Dollfuss promised to open such negotiations at the end of March, 1933."

He submitted "conditions." The social democratic party was prepared to consider these conditions.

"When he declared that he would not negotiate with the existing leaders of the party, other and more acceptable negotiators were proposed to him; but Dollfuss refused to receive even them."

The social democratic party still persisted.

"We repeatedly made representations to the President of the Republic. Our comrades outside of Vienna who sat side by side with christian social and members of the 'Landbund' in the Provincial Governments, used their personal relationships with the provincial Christian-Social leaders for the purpose of bringing about discussions with the party as a whole. They encountered many peacefully inclined individuals in the bourgeois camp, but all their efforts broke down against the rigid intransigence of Dollfuss. . . ."

"We drew the attention of bourgeois politicians, and through them of the Federal Chancellor himself, to all these disturbing symptoms. We implored them to put an end to the violent campaign against social democracy. . . ."

"The Religious Socialist League and a certain number of Catholic democrats, not members of the party, appealed to the Church to intervene."

They were even prepared to accept open fascism.

"We offered greater and greater concessions with a view to making a peaceful solution possible. We let Dollfuss know that we would be prepared to grant extraordinary powers to the government, in a Constitutional manner, for two years. . . . We declared that we would be prepared even to make concessions to the notion of a 'corporative' organisation of society and of the State, in order to make an understanding possible."

The crowning act of treachery, however, was the continuation of negotiations already at the moment of revolt.

"Even on the morning of Monday, February 12, social democrats of Lower Austria were conferring with politicians of the christian-social party on the possibility of avoiding the catastrophe at the last moment. A few hours later these same social democrats were arrested."

We know to-day from the revelations made by the christian-social governor of Lower Austria, Reiter, that on this day the social democrats proposed to him the formation of a coalition government. At the moment when workers were lying dead in the streets, when the Schutzbundlers were fetching their weapons, the social democrats were negotiating over ministerial seats! Otto Bauer does not regard this as a mistake. But the workers will not forget how they were left in the lurch and how the social democratic leaders wished to sell them to fascism.

In the second part of his brochure Otto Bauer attempts to exonerate himself and his party from the blame for the defeat of the February revolt. According to his version, the workers were partly responsible, but the main cause of the setting up of the fascist dictatorship was, he maintains, the objective conditions. In the first place the workers had not followed his shrewd counsel only to commence the fight after the government had violated one of his notorious "conditions."

"The party executive sounded a warning note. It wanted to avoid fighting until the government committed one of those acts which would have stirred the feelings of the entire mass of the workers and excited popular passions to the highest pitch. But the excitement of a large section of the workers was already so great that the warnings of the executive were no longer effective."

The workers realised quite correctly, as Otto Bauer himself admits in another passage of his pamphlet, that the government "was endeavouring to destroy the fighting strength of the labour movement" before it committed one of those acts; that the workers "would no longer be in a condition to fight by the time that one of the four points materialised."

Secondly, the workers, in particular the railwaymen, the typographical workers and others, failed; they became "anxious and faint-hearted." Not a word against the trade union bureaucrats, who did not issue the call for the general strike, but, on the contrary, issued the slogan of resumption of work; not a word against the party executive, which had throttled all strikes against the fascist dictatorship, or had led them to defeat, thereby destroying the fighting strength of the workers. And Otto Bauer's farewell greeting is mingled with a certain malicious joy because "the workers will learn by bitter experience how a triumphant reactionary movement treats members of the working class."

After slandering the workers in this fashion and screening the party and trade union bureaucrats, Otto Bauer proceeds to deal with his own mistakes. These, he says, were "deviations," two "Left" and one "Right."

The "Right deviation" consisted in not choosing the favourable moment for the fight, which was in March last year, when Dollfuss established the open fascist dictatorship.

"The attempt made on March 15 to carry on the work of parliament was forcibly prevented by Dollfuss. We could have responded on March 15 by calling a general strike. Never were the conditions for a successful strike so favourable as on that day. . . . At that time we might have won. But we shrank back dismayed from the battle. We still believed that

we should be able to reach a peaceful settlement by negotiations. . . . It was a mistake. . . ."

Even when admitting this mistake Otto Bauer maintains silence regarding many things. He does not mention that the Communist Party at that time made a united front offer in which it clearly pointed to the necessity and the means of the fight against the fascist dictatorship. The social democratic party scornfully rejected this offer. The belated recognition of this mistake smacks of hypocrisy, the more so as Otto Bauer at the same time regrets not having more openly supported one wing of fascism and thus avoided the outbreak of the fight. This is what he calls the "Left" deviations. The first of these occurred in April, 1932, when, after Hitler's election victory, the Pan-Germans resigned from the government.

"If at that time we had shown ourselves ready to vote in the National Council against the ordering of fresh elections and if we had at the same time assured the Buresch government . . . that we were prepared to 'tolerate' it in the same way as the German social democrats had tolerated the Bruening government, we might, perhaps, have succeeded in preventing the formation of a coalition government between the christian-social party, the 'Landbund,' and the Heimwehr." The second "Left" deviation took place on March 4, 1933, when Renner resigned his position as President.

"Thus, through Renner's resignation, we supplied the Dollfuss government with a pretext for eliminating parliament. This was undoubtedly an error—another 'Left' deviation."

Nevertheless, Otto Bauer finally consoles himself with the question:—

"After the victory of fascism in Germany, would it in any case have been possible to prevent the Austrian counter-revolution?" The answer is obviously "no," for the "evolution of Germany has always determined that of Austria."

Otto Bauer thus finds a scapegoat for his sins. The objective situation in Germany is to blame for everything. What can we humble members of the social democratic Executive Committee do against this development? In Italy, Hungary, and also in Germany the social democracy suffered defeat, in spite of the fact that it pursued other tactics. "The causes of the defeat of the working class clearly lie deeper than in the tactics of its parties or than in this or that tactical mistake."

The Austrian proletariat will not display such christian charity towards the social democratic party of Austria as Otto Bauer does. It, too, has judged the social democratic party and its verdict is "guilty." The causes of the defeat lie "deeper than in this or that tactical mistake." They lie in the interconnection of the social democratic party with the capitalist-fascist system. They lie in the fact that hitherto the workers have followed a party which is an agency of capital, the main social support of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the working class. The workers of Austria are now turning away from this party; they are flocking to the Austrian Section of the Communist International, the only revolutionary world party of the proletariat. Together with the old Communists they are creating the Bolshevik mass party which will overthrow the fascist dictatorship of Austria and set up the proletarian dictatorship.

The Release Action for Thaelmann and the Anti-Fascist Prisoners Copenhagen, April 12.

A meeting held to welcome the working women's delegation returning from the Soviet Union, attended by over 500 persons, adopted a message of greeting to be sent to Dimitrov, thanking him enthusiastically for his message to the Danish workers, and promising to exert their utmost powers in order to enforce the release of Thaelmann and the other political prisoners.

Paris, April 13.

The workers employed at six of the largest railway stations in Paris have sent by registered post a letter of sympathy to Thaelmann, undertaking to redouble their efforts for his release. A delegation elected at several anti-fascist meetings in the 13th Paris district has entered protest against the continued imprisonment of Thaelmann to the German Embassy. The trade union of the customs officials at Marseilles (not affiliated to any trade union federation) has sent a sharply-formulated protest to the German Embassy in Paris, demanding the immediate release of Thaelmann and announcing that a proletarian inquiry commission is to be sent to Germany.

Great Britain

The New "Sedition" Laws in Britain

By T. H. Wintringham (London)

Fascism develops in Britain along paths that are somewhat different from those adopted in other countries; yet each stage in the process, each change in the aim of the ruling class, each trick and manoeuvre towards the "totalitarian state" has its exact parallel in the history of Italy and Germany. The new "sedition" Bill just introduced into the House of Commons is thus of a nature hitherto completely unknown in any so-called "free" and "democratic" State; yet its aims, the reasons for it, and the position of parties and classes in regard to it are a classic example of the gradual process by which fascism grows under the camouflage of capitalist democracy, until the phase changes and fascism can become the State.

The new Bill, ostensibly, is only meant to repress anti-militarist propaganda among the armed forces: propaganda that can "seduce members of His Majesty's forces from their duty or allegiance."

The actual effect of the Bill goes far beyond this alleged aim. Any person who "has in his possession or under his control any document of such a nature that the dissemination of copies thereof among members of His Majesty's forces would be an offence," may be sentenced to two years' imprisonment. To obtain evidence "general" warrants can be issued, allowing the police to search any named house or office "and to seize anything found."

It will at once be obvious that any revolutionary literature of a general nature (including fiction as well as pamphlets, books and journals) can be considered to be "of such a nature" that members of His Majesty's forces might be "seduced from their duty and allegiance" by it.

But although the main aim and purpose of the Bill is thus far wider than that expressed, we must not dismiss, as only a mere cover for other aims, the declared intention of the capitalist class to suppress all anti-militarist propaganda in the forces. There are sound reasons for their concern with this question. The mutiny of the Fleet at Invergordon in 1931 was the severest blow to the international status of British imperialism since the lost battles of the spring of 1918. Invergordon had also a wide effect on the British working class, particularly the unemployed.

The mechanisation of fighting forces has an equivalent effect on the men within them as rationalisation and the introduction of new machinery has upon factory workers: far more is taken out of them than previously. There have not been lacking signs in the Army and Air Force, as well as in the Navy, that this has affected the rank and file. Another factor in the same process has been the growth of an anti-war movement along the lines of the world movement established at the Amsterdam Conference.

The capitalist class finds it impossible to believe that unrest, and what might be called political inquisitiveness, in the forces is due to the men's own conditions and to the conditions of their friends and families in "civil life." They attribute all unrest to Bolshevik influence, just as in the factories they believe that all strikes are due to the activity of Communists.

Therefore, one of the first uses of the new Bill will necessarily be an endeavour to suppress revolutionary propaganda among the armed forces, by the imprisonment of those revolutionaries whom the police suspect—for one reason or another, or for no reason that any sane mind can imagine—are carrying on this propaganda. Possession of a motor-cycle, or even the ability to ride one, will in some cases be sufficient grounds for their action: they will raid the suspect's house and discover there anything from a pamphlet against war to the utopian novel by William Morris, "News from Nowhere." That will be enough.

In Northern Ireland, where the acute class struggle is becoming even more acute because of the national struggle merging into it, the government has secured the passing of a law under which it can forbid a "suspect" to possess a motor-car or motor-cycle and

can imprison him for any period on suspicion alone. This shows the line towards which development goes.

The police chiefs have doubtless secured a small amount of information about anti-militarist propaganda from their spies: they believe that they know more than in fact they do: doubtless they boast to the government that they know even more than that. Perhaps they even pretend that they know enough to stop this propaganda. They have informed the government, and the Attorney-General has announced, that 17 different "perverse pamphlets" were published to soldiers and sailors in 1932, and 11 pamphlets in 1933, the total being estimated as something like 100,000 copies. The Attorney-General, throughout his speech, took the position that the police authorities knew of houses where "there was a quantity of this literature which was going to be used in a few days to incite the troops." How curious that the police, with this knowledge at their disposal, and with their known and admitted practice of raiding without any warrant at all, rooms, houses and offices wherever they choose, on arresting a man (a practice only checked in January, 1934, when the National Unemployed Workers' Movement won a case by proving "gross illegalities" committed by the police) and with their legal rights under 68 separate Acts of Parliament to enter workers' houses for some reason or other—how curious that the police allowed these 100,000 pamphlets to reach the distributors without ever seizing them at the printers, or in the houses or offices of those who handled them in bulk.

Sir Thomas Inskip spoke of the police having "precise information" on these points. If they had precise information is it conceivable that they would not have acted on it in 1932 and 1933? They had all the powers of arrest, search and inquiry they could need. The only possible reason for their failure to act is that they were in the dark.

The new Bill makes it easier for them to try "shots in the dark" in order to stop this propaganda: to try the plan of arresting half a dozen known Communists here or there almost at random in order to see what effect it has on the distribution of "perverse" literature.

Sir Thomas Inskip—the most self-righteous lawyer who ever worked for his guineas—referred to the power to search houses embodied in the Bill. "That power," he said, "would not be abused so long as he had the honour to occupy his present position."

How old the trick is: "the word of an English gentleman" was the famous phrase in the 1926 betrayal of the General Strike. But the Labour Party in Parliament made no unkind remarks on the wisdom of allowing a capitalist government tyrannical powers on the strength of a promise that these powers would not be "abused." Instead, the Labour Party, through Mr. Banfield, one of its spokesmen, said:—

"If the Communist movement in this country was growing, and was so tremendously active that it was likely to be a danger to society, he could understand the reason for this Bill. But the Communist movement was getting weaker." "Times," 17-4-34.)

And the Labour Party's first and principal speaker on the Bill said that no section of the House had any objection to Clause 1 of the Bill (which makes it an offence to "seduce" soldiers, etc.). "He had a contempt for people who gave soldiers advice which would get them into serious trouble while those responsible for giving the advice did not share that trouble."

Another Labour speaker boasted that the Communists had always been excluded from the conferences of the Labour Party.

Thus the Labour "opposition" to the Bill consisted in approximately equal parts of agreement with its main features and slander of the revolutionaries against whom it is directed. Our Severings follow their German colleagues fast.

In the Labour press an additional manoeuvre has been em-

ployed: the Bill has been claimed to be against "fascism and Communism." It was so described even on the "Daily Herald's" placards. Here is the "theory of the lesser evil" that led direct to "vote for Hindenburg and keep Hitler out." The government is acting against the "extremists" and will use its powers against fascism as well as against the misguided Communists. Along this line the "Daily Herald" succeeded in announcing the Bill in such a way that its working-class readers got no idea whatever of its real character. The "Sunday Referee," a semi-reformist paper whose principal contributors include Bertrand Russell and many of the literary intelligentsia, actually welcomed the Bill as strengthening the law on incitement to mutiny.

The second main aim of the Bill is to provide an efficient pretext for the arrest and imprisonment of Communists whose general activities (quite apart from any question of anti-militarist propaganda) have become a nuisance to the government. The capitalist class has felt the need for such a pretext ever since the full weight of the world crisis was felt in England. They have felt the need in particular to arrest the leaders and organisers of the unemployed **Hunger Marches** that have roused the workers. They have used on occasion a law many hundreds of years old which enables them to imprison, for a limited time, anyone whom they suspect might in the future be guilty of a "breach of the peace." But this law was so old, so completely "undemocratic" in its nature and inception, that its use roused a violent feeling in the working class (the Tom Mann case) and even woke sections of the petty bourgeoisie to protest.

More recently they have used the common law charge of "sedition," but this is so vague that any basic criticism of the government can be defined as sedition, and the cumbersome procedure gives good opportunities to the defence. Also sections of the working class and of the intelligentsia view all "sedition" trials as political persecution. By arresting those with "dangerous thoughts" for "tampering with the army" the government hopes to get fewer protests from the working class, and to see that the defence has no chance to raise major political questions in such trials.

The point of time at which this Bill is brought forward is very significant. As I write the **Chancellor of the Exchequer** is introducing a **budget** in which certain concessions are to be given to the working class from the surplus wrung out of them in the past year. These will, I expect, include pay concessions to the armed forces, and to sections of the working class which have shown militant organisation. It is obvious that this Bill is to be put through under cover of these (mainly illusory) concessions. The procedure is: first cut the workers' standard of life below starvation level; second, restore a portion of these "cuts"; third, under cover of the "general rejoicing" rob the workers of some of their few remaining "rights," so that it shall be harder for them to organise resistance to future cuts and to war.

The Bill as it stands makes it immediately possible for the government, without further legislation, to treat as illegal (and to imprison all members of) every militant working-class organisation. Pressed in the Commons (not by Labour or Liberals, but by an "Independent") the government's spokesman refused to accept the plea that "pacifist" literature should be excepted from its scope. "In the case of a student," insolently replied the Solicitor-General, "or of an ordinary man with an interest in political science or in political matters who happened to have a book of Tolstoy's advocating non-resistance, it was not suggested that that was not in his possession without a lawful excuse."

Tolstoy is permitted! The tone and nature of the reply makes it clear what will happen if the "perversive" writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin are found in any comrade's house.

Against this threat of complete illegality—doubtless to be applied gradually, but as fully as under the Tsar Nicholas or the Viceroy of India—the working class movement of this country will reply. The Labour Party leaders will scarcely even pretend opposition. But among the rank and file of the movement opposition will grow to the passing of this law and still more to its enforcement. In fact it is clear that one of the principal reasons why the Bill is being hurriedly brought forward is because of the tremendously growing mass movement in Britain demonstrated in the great Hunger March and Congress, the growing strike movement, etc. And whatever methods are used, the government will find that repression can strengthen Communism as well as drive it underground.

The Splitters of International Solidarity

By Alun Thomas (London)

The exposure by the I.L.D. of the methods of administration of the **Special Austrian Workers' Fund of the National Joint Council** has resulted in a big oppositional movement developing within the trade unions against the T.U.C. General Council. A considerable number of trade union branches and other organisations have passed protest resolutions. Two big reformist trade union secretaries have raised the question with the T.U.C. The I.L.P., which previously gave considerable support to the Fund, is now exposing and fighting against it, and along with other individuals, some of whom are connected with the Socialist League, and contacts in Austria, are attempting to split the solidarity movement through the building of independent distributing machinery in Austria.

The following are a few concrete examples of the developing rank and file opposition.

No. 1 Branch of the Workers' Circle decided to levy their members 1s. each for the T.U.C. Fund. A total of £27 was raised. At the next meeting of the branch a big discussion arose about the maladministration of the T.U.C. Fund, and it was decided to forward the money to the I.L.D. Fund. After considerable discussion on the splitting role of the T.U.C. Fund, the Kentish Town Branch of the Assurance Workers forwarded a £2 donation to the I.L.D. The same applies to a whole number of other trade union branches throughout the country.

The No. 15 Branch of the **National Furnishing Trades Association** took the initiative in organising a meeting, which was later, under the guise of support from the London Management Committee, taken out of their hands. The branch had previously fixed speakers, which included a speaker from the I.L.D. The London Management Committee approached A. M. Wall (secretary of the London Trades Council), George Hicks (secretary of the Builders' Union) and Herbert Morrison, all of them well-known reactionaries, to speak. They would not speak with an I.L.D. speaker, and the London Management Committee cancelled the engagement. This was carried by four votes to three.

The No. 15 Branch drafted a resolution calling for support of the I.L.D. campaign and condemning the treachery of the Management Committee, and decided to send £2 to the I.L.D. Fund. The Management Committee prepared a resolution for support to the T.U.C.

On the night of the meeting the I.L.D. distributed a leaflet to the workers, explaining the position. The consequence was that the reformists were driven from the platform, a member of the No. 15 Branch spoke from the body of the hall, and the resolution supporting the I.L.D. was passed unanimously. The N.A.F.T.A. 15 Branch have decided to organise a big central meeting on the 26th April without the support of the Management Committee, and an I.L.D. speaker has been invited to attend.

Whilst considerable successes have been achieved, the I.L.D. has not been able to divert the support that is being given to the T.U.C. Fund into the channels of the Austrian Solidarity Committee. The campaign has not yet assumed a sufficiently mass character.

The following is a copy of the correspondence that has passed between the I.L.D. Austrian Solidarity Committee and the Trades Union Congress:—

Dear Sir,—

"At a recent meeting of the above committee attention was drawn to the disquieting reports appearing in the press concerning the distribution of relief to the victims of Austrian fascism. It was decided that we should communicate with you and take up the following points affecting the development of the Austrian campaign in Britain. . . .

We feel that up to the present insufficient has been done to rouse the working class of Britain into solidarity action with their brothers in Austria against the fascist terror, for the release of the political prisoners and for the support of their dependants.

For the purpose of developing a nation-wide campaign and winning broad sections of the British working class into more energetic forms of protest action, we make the following proposals:—

(1) That immediate steps be taken to build Austrian Solidarity Committees on the widest united front basis, embracing all sections of the organised Labour Movement, and

sympathetic movements throughout the country. These committees to be built under the slogan of Social Democratic, Communist and non-Party workers fought together, were killed together, are in prison together—Labour Party, I.L.P., Communist and non-Party workers must create a united front of solidarity with the victims.

(2) That immediate steps be taken to organise conferences in important areas to select a representative delegation of British workers to Austria, to investigate conditions in prisons and concentration camps, fascist judicial methods, etc.

(3) That preparations be made for the organising of a central London mass protest meeting, from which a deputation shall be sent to the Austrian Legation to present our demands. Similarly all local Austrian committees and other organisations be asked to organise demonstrations and deputations to the Austrian Consulates.

(4) That a delegation of British lawyers be sent to Austria to assist in the defence and hold a watching brief on our behalf.

(5) That every effort be made to build up the Austrian Solidarity Fund into a mighty weapon of international working-class solidarity. We are informed, and also note in the press, that monies raised by your Council have been handed over to the Society of Friends for distribution in Austria. This Society is operating with the permission of the Dollfuss government, and a portion of the money is used to support pro-fascist elements, supporters of the Dollfuss-Fey dictatorship who fought against the workers. This Society is also "riddled with the spies of Dollfuss," and the majority of the workers who are in desperate need will not go near the Society because they fear arrest and imprisonment in a concentration camp.

In justice to the British working class and the whole Labour Movement, we suggest that monies raised by your Council should be pooled with the world fund of the International Labour Defence, to which the workers of the Soviet Union have contributed £50,000 to be distributed by the organisation most capable of effectively carrying through this task, the Austrian Section of the International Labour Defence.

We may add that the I.L.D. is a non-party organisation, whose ranks are open to all for membership, and which distributes relief to all the victims of the fascist terror, irrespective of political, trade union or religious affiliation. Should your Council accept this proposal, then we can assure you that we would welcome your co-operation in seeing that the monies would be distributed to those who fought for the working class and to those who have suffered most as a consequence of the fascist terror, who to-day receive no support from the Society of Friends.

(6) That we systematically fight for the right of asylum for political refugees, and demand that the British government gives full right to such refugees.

Trusting you will co-operate with us in carrying this plan through, we await your early reply.

I.L.D. Austrian Solidarity Committee.

The following is a copy of the reply received:—

Dear Sir,—

As a matter of courtesy I am acknowledging your letter.

Will you please note that further letters sent by your committee will not be acknowledged.

Yours faithfully,

Walter Citrine.

To which the Austrian Solidarity Committee replied:—

Dear Sir,—

Your letter of the 28th March, rejecting our offer for united action in defence and support of the heroic Austrian workers clearly indicates your Council's complete betrayal of the struggle of our Austrian brothers and shows that you are determined to continue to spend the monies of British workers to support fascist assassins, and through your refusal to arouse the British workers into protest action you are condoning and supporting the Dollfuss-Fey dictatorship, the murderers of the Austrian workers.

We, for our part, will go forward on the plan submitted, and do our utmost to arouse the British workers into solidarity action with their Austrian brothers, at the same time exposing your treacherous betrayal of their heroic struggle.

Annual Conference of the I.L.P.

By Pat Devine

The I.L.P. Conference at York on March 31, 1934, one year after the 1933 Derby Conference decision to approach the Communist International with the view of finding out how the I.L.P. could co-operate in the work of the Comintern, met at a time when the membership was divided up into two solid groups, one favouring sympathetic affiliation to the Comintern and the other (Sandham) favouring a return to the Second International, from which the I.L.P. had disaffiliated at Derby, with the N.A.C. struggling to maintain a neutral position in words, whilst in deeds always supporting the out-and-out Right wing.

Following upon the Derby Conference decision to approach the Comintern, which was arrived at against the opposition of the national leadership, the N.A.C. under the leadership of Brockway and Maxton instituted an intensive campaign of slander and demagoguery against the C.I. The Lancashire and Welsh Divisional Councils flagrantly violated the Derby Conference decisions. Isolated branches throughout the country, spurred on by the continued association of the N.A.C. with the fragmentary groups of the seven "Left" socialist parties and the idea of a Fourth International, openly championed the cause of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. Other branches, influenced by the C.I. letters, closely collaborated with the Communist Party.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee, which had been the driving force in carrying through the Derby decision, practically disappeared during the year. Its leadership (Gaster, Smith, etc.), whilst attempting on occasion to appear "Left," to all intents and purposes solidarised themselves with the reactionary leadership of Brockway and Maxton.

Disgusted with the petty-bourgeois vacillation of the R.P.C., the genuine revolutionary elements in the I.L.P. formed an organisation, "The Affiliation Committee," and took a stand for unconditional affiliation to the C.I.

Under the above conditions the I.L.P. definitely entered into a stage of disintegration. Many of the leaders (Wallhead, McLure, Fraser, etc.) left the party and returned to the Labour Party; Paton, the general secretary, resigned his position, and hundreds of rank and file members either returned to the Labour Party or just dropped out of activity. A mere handful joined the Communist Party.

The York Conference, meeting at a time of such confusion and chaos, with the clear revolutionary policy of the C.I. letters striking death blows at "Left" reformism, also faced the pressure of the tremendous swing towards the Labour Party and a third Labour government, as well as the friendly gestures from Henderson and Smith of the Labour Party Executive.

The Conference opened with James Maxton, M.P., in the chair. The secretary announced that 154 delegates were in attendance, representing 176 branches, federations, and Divisional Councils, with a voting strength of 185. (In 1933 there were 177 delegates, 23 more than this year.)

The decisions on the important questions before the Conference were as follows:—

	For	Against
(1) Unconditional sympathetic affiliation to the C.I. (Balham Branch)	34	126
(2) Sympathetic affiliation with guarantees (Poplar Branch)	51	98
(3) Co-operation without affiliation (Birmingham Branch)	56	101
(4) Support for a Fourth International	20	137
(5) Definite ruling out of any new International (London Div. Council)	64	107
(6) The National Administrative Council proposal	102	64

The N.A.C. proposal which was carried reads as follows:—

"The objects of the I.L.P. in this respect (International Associations P.D.) are:

- (1) To bring about the unification of all genuinely revolutionary sections of the working class in one international.
- (2) To secure international common action on immediate issues by all sections of the working class.

"In furtherance of the first of these objects the I.L.P. will continue:—

- (a) To oppose the formation of a new International.
- (b) To associate with the independent revolutionary parties with a view to influencing them to work for the establish-

ment of an all inclusive revolutionary international.

"At the same time, despite the attitude of the E.C.C.I. which makes affiliation or sympathetic affiliation impossible under the present circumstances, the I.L.P. is ready to associate with the C.I. in all efforts which, in the view of the I.L.P., further the revolutionary struggles of the workers.

"In furtherance of the second object the I.L.P. will take every opportunity of approaching the two Internationals and all the other sections of the working class to urge united front action against fascism, war and capitalist attacks."

In moving the N.A.C. proposal, J. McGovern, M.P., said:—

"I believe there was no genuine desire on the part of the Communist International to take us in as a sympathetic or an affiliated party, for I believed logically there was only one door open and that was by joining the Communist Party of this country. There the united front would be used to destroy the I.L.P., with the object of bringing it into the Communist Party.

"It seems that we cannot get into the Communist International unless we are prepared to sign away our complete freedom of action. We are asked to close our eyes and go in blindfold without knowing the terms. The last message from Moscow is to close and bar the door against the I.L.P. We must preserve a measure of self-respect. We can't go groveling on our stomachs at the doors of the British Labour Party, or at the gates of Moscow. We have been treated in this matter like school children, and every form of intimidation has been used against us. I am not prepared to be a gramophone record to Arthur Henderson or Joseph Stalin.

"The Comintern might have shown us a little of the courtesy which it has shown to the capitalist diplomats of the world."

Many and varied were the resolutions on the united front. The London Divisional Council proposal strongly recommending the United Front was defeated by 89 votes to 76. At the same time a resolution from the openly right wing East Anglian Divisional Council declaring that the present policy of association with the Communist Party was disastrous was also defeated and the following proposal of the N.A.C. was carried:—

"The National Council of the I.L.P. wishes to further common working-class action on all issues, particularly amongst militant organisations with a view to building up a united revolutionary socialist movement. After surveying the results of co-operation with the C.P. during the last year the N.A.C. recommends that the national co-operation of the two parties be based on specific objects, as agreed upon by the representatives of the two parties from time to time. Every section of the movement will be required to carry out such a minimum basis of co-operation. The N.A.C. recognises that the extent of co-operation beyond this minimum must depend upon local circumstances, and leaves the discretion to the branches."

The frantic efforts of the Right Wing and the "Left" reformists to prepare the way for a return to the Labour Party were sharply brought to the fore in the debates around the question of parliamentary democracy and Workers' Councils.

From the London Divisional Council there came a resolution for the establishment of Workers' Councils, which should be used as an instrument to challenge parliament and used "for the attainment of power and as a foundation for the dictatorship of the working class necessary to maintain that power." This resolution was opposed by Brockway in the name of the N.A.C. (despite the fact that the Derby Congress decided for Workers' Councils and the idea was included in the "New Policy" adopted by the N.A.C. in August, 1933), and defeated by 86 votes to 66.

Thereafter the Conference, with complete contempt for consistency and in order to maintain its demagogical "Left" position, overwhelmingly defeated a resolution moved by Middleton Murry (Norwich branch) in favour of parliamentary democracy.

The Right wing anti-Soviet tendencies of a considerable section in the Congress were revealed in the discussion around an N.A.C. proposal on the struggle against fascism. Greeting socialists and Communists fighting fascism in Germany and Austria, the proposal pledged the I.L.P. to:—

"Maintain the struggle, in common with the revolutionary socialists in all countries, until the power of capitalism and fascism is overthrown everywhere and the workers of all lands are able to join with the workers of Soviet Russia in the task of constructing the new socialist society."

The delegate from Townhead moved an amendment, proposing the insertion of greetings to "the socialists, anarchists, and syndicalists of Spain" and the deletion of the reference to the workers of the Soviet Union. Although defeated, this amendment received some support in the Conference, which proves that the I.L.P. is becoming a breeding ground for open counter-revolutionaries.

A lively discussion took place on the question of the parliamentary candidature of Sandham, N.A.C. member for Lancashire, who has been the leader of those elements openly calling for a return to the Labour Party and the Second International.

During the past year Sandham has consistently opposed the united front and violated even the mild I.L.P. constitution. After a sharp discussion, in which the reference back of Sandham's candidature was carried by the Conference by 88 votes to 71, the N.A.C., with its "tongue in its cheek," calmly announced that "of course the N.A.C. would consider this decision in its proper time," and that it did not really mean the withdrawal of the candidature of Sandham.

An illuminating debate took place on the question of illegal work in connection with the fight against war. C. A. Smith, Wood Green branch, supported a clause proposed by his branch calling for:—

"The careful planning of the organisation for such work (fight against war) during a period of illegality."

Smith was vigorously heckled when he said: "Of course a socialist is illegal and seditious in a capitalist country." The constitutionalists would have none of this. Sandham, in opposing illegality, said:—

"If we indulge in illegalities we are giving the biggest stick to the capitalist class they ever had to whip us." It was foolish to talk of insurrection when they had not the control of the forces, he said. Continuing in an ironical strain, he sneered: "We—the three tailors of Tooley Street—are going to set all those forces at defiance."

The resolution for illegal work was defeated by 79 votes to 63.

Another resolution, of which much more will undoubtedly be heard in the future, amending the rules in order to give the N.A.C. power to deal with refractory branches without waiting for the recommendation of the Divisional Council was carried. This amendment to the rules will be used against the Affiliation Committee members and those branches supporting their policy.

Throughout the Conference the Affiliation Committee, ably led by Comrade Whalley, threw the searchlight of keen analysis and exposure on the reformist policy of the leadership, and capably and fearlessly espoused the revolutionary policy of the Communist International. The N.A.C. may try to get rid of this troublesome thorn in its side.

Efforts by the open Right wing in the Conference to tie the hands of the Guild of Youth, which is moving towards the Young Communist International, were overwhelmingly defeated by the Conference.

That the official Maxton-Brockway anti-Comintern line will be continued during the next year was clearly seen by the almost unanimous re-election of the old officials as follows:—

For Chairman: Maxton 157, Sandham 18 votes; Treasurer: Jowett 119; Smith 59 votes; For four National members of the N.A.C.: Jenny Lee 121, Campbell Stephens 107, C. A. Smith 99; the fourth member is unknown at the moment.

From the above short resume of the conference it is clear, that whilst the Brockway, Maxton, Sandham leadership have been able once more to side-track the delegates, the support for revolutionary co-operation with the Communist International has been consolidated. The clear line of the Affiliation Committee has superseded the wavering policy of the Revolutionary Policy Committee and the choice—revolutionary or reformist road—squarely placed before the rank and file membership.

Whilst it would be premature to say that Brockway and company will rush to the Labour Party, it is already clear that they are following the historical parallel of 1920 when MacDonald carried out his manoeuvres. Henderson has already stretched out a "friendly hand."

The rank and file workers of the I.L.P. will clearly see that Henderson's is not a friendly, but a bloody hand, and they will, with the fraternal active support of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist International strive to find the clear revolutionary path of struggle against fascism and war and for Soviet power.

First of May

Appeal of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.

Workers, women workers, young workers of the whole world!

Comrades! May First is approaching—our International Proletarian Day of Struggle against capitalist oppression and violence.

This year, May First, will have special significance in the development of the struggle of the international proletariat for socialism. Never before has the world of rapidly-developing socialism been so sharply counterposed to the world of decaying capitalism. The wave of revolutionary upsurge is rising stormily. In fear of the oncoming revolution, the bourgeoisie entrusts power to the bitterest enemies of the working class—to the fascists. Never before has the terror against the toiling masses been so fierce, never before has the reaction been so furious. Fascism drowns in blood the towns and villages of the capitalist countries! Fascism is raising its head everywhere. But, on the other hand, the workers of a number of countries are rising for counter-attack, the workers of France declare a general strike, while the workers in Austria, with rifle in hand, fight against fascist tyranny. Anti-fascist demonstrations are growing in all countries. The bourgeoisie is concentrating all of its forces on suppressing the revolutionary ferment in the masses. The imperialists are preparing a war against one another, they are seizing foreign territories, as was done by Japanese imperialism in China, they are preparing for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union and are carrying on a war against the toilers of their own countries.

What has fascism brought and what does it bring to the toiling masses? In Germany fascism promised all to all. What has it really given? Wage-cuts, abolition of social insurance, smashing of all working-class organisations, bullets, the headsman's axe and tortures for toilers, and—millions of government funds for trustified capital. The same can be seen in Italy, Poland and other countries.

There is only one country in the world where there are no fascist organisations and where there can be none, where there is no mediaeval reaction, because in this country there is no exploitation of man by man, because in this country capitalism has been uprooted and its last remnants are being eliminated—this is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That is why the eyes of all oppressed and downtrodden in the capitalist and colonial countries are turned towards the land of the Proletarian Dictatorship, where the working class firmly holds the power in its hands and builds socialism, despite and against the international bourgeoisie and its reformist lackeys.

And what does international reformism, in the person of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, do in face of ferocious fascism, reaction and the rage of monopolist capital?

The Amsterdam International, which from the very first days of its existence (1919), waged a fierce struggle against the working class of the U.S.S.R. and socialist construction, which tried to dissuade the workers from the path of revolution, which sabotaged all economic and political actions of the working class, this International has shown, by the examples of Germany and Austria, where the policy of the reformist trade union bureaucracy leads.

Gritting their teeth, with deep hatred in their hearts, the workers of Germany and Austria now remember the policy of their trade union leaders. They have now convinced themselves from their own experience of the degree to which the Red International of Labour Unions was right, when day in and day out it tried to prove that international reformism meant defeat for the working class, that the slogan: "Through democracy to socialism," actually meant: Through democracy to fascism, that the trade union bureaucrats fulfilled the social orders of the bourgeoisie, organising in all countries a fierce struggle against the revolutionary trade union movement.

Workers! Women Workers!

Consider the present situation. On the one hand—unemployment, starvation, poverty, suicides, growing prostitution, bloody fascist terror, brutal exploitation—either open or screened by democratic phrases—this is the dictatorship of capital, on the other hand—prosperity of the national economy, the absence of unemployment, the growth of culture and improved welfare of the broad

masses of workers and toilers—this is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the one hand—the path of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, the path of Germany and Austria, on the other hand—the path of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions, the path of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The path of Austria and Germany or the Soviet path—this is how the question is dictated by the course of the class struggle, this is how it is dictated by developing events! Every worker must seriously think over these two paths. It depends upon this—will the working class rapidly march towards victory, towards socialism, or will it suffer defeat after defeat, sacrifice after sacrifice on the altar of the domination of monopolist capital?

The past year was an especially stormy one in the development of the world revolutionary movement. Side by side with the U.S.S.R. the Soviet Chinese Republic grows and strengthens, uniting one-sixth of the Chinese territory with a population of fifty million; the working class of Japan is rising for the struggle against plundering Japanese imperialism—this provocateur of war against the U.S.S.R.; the broad masses of India seethe with hatred; the French proletariat replied with a general strike to the impudent attempts of the fascists to seize the streets, the workers of Austria took up arms, and despite their social-democratic leaders and the strike-breaking policy of the trade union bureaucrats, heroically fought against the strong forces of the enemy; the workers of Germany carry on a relentless struggle against the bloody fascist reaction; the workers of Spain, by means of continuous gigantic strikes, shake the bourgeois-landowning dictatorship, which is covered by the banner of the socialist party. The working class of Cuba came forward in the struggle against its foreign and native exploiters; the workers of the U.S.A., England, Poland, the Balkan countries, of distant Australia and Canada, are rising for the struggle against the dictatorship of capital, against fascism and imperialist war.

The higher the wave of revolutionary resentment and wrath amongst the masses, the lower do the reformists bow their heads to the power of capital! Open betrayals and "Left" cunning manoeuvres—such is their policy in face of growing fascism and the menace of war.

However, in spite of thousands upon thousands of betrayals and open going over of the most outstanding leaders of the German social democracy and trade union bureaucrats of Austria to the camp of the fascists, despite the daily and hourly betrayals on the part of the trade union bureaucrats in England, France, the U.S.A., in Czechoslovakia and other countries, there are millions of proletarians who still have faith in the social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucrats, who still listen to them and wait for "democratic" socialism to rid them of poverty, starvation and misery. However, they wait in vain. International reformism up till now has not brought anything except defeat, and cannot bring anything else to the working class, and woe betide those who rest their hopes in the traitors, who brought the working class of Germany and Austria to such unprecedented disaster.

Workers and women workers! May First this year must be turned into a monster demonstration of the power and force of the oppressed and exploited masses! By means of meetings and demonstrations, by means of mass political strikes, the workers of the whole world must manifest their will to fight against fascism and imperialist war, against capitalism, for Soviet Power, for socialism!

Members of reformist trade unions! Do not listen to those who will try to dissuade you from demonstrating on May First! It is these same people who dissuaded you from the struggle against fascism, only for the purpose of handing you over, bound hand and foot, to the fascist murderers. It is these same people who try to set you against the revolutionary workers, it is these same people who smash the united front of the workers in order to establish the united front with the capitalists and landlords.

Do not listen to those, who, instead of struggle, call on you to bow your heads to the unbridled fascist beast, who propose to you to beat back the attacks of monopolist capital by peaceful means, who call on you to rest all your hopes in bourgeois democracy and "democratic" socialism!

Do not listen to them! They lie and lead you to defeat.

Remember the fighters on the Vienna barricades, who could have won if it had not been for the social democracy, if the trade union leaders had not dealt them a blow in the back, if it had not been for the trade union leaders who broke the general strike, when the workers came out with arms in their hands against their enemies.

Workers and women workers, who by force and hunger have been driven into the fascist unions! Remember, that May First is not a holiday for the unification of labour and capital, but is a day for labour to struggle against capital, a day of struggle against the fascist murderers, against the fascist agents of trustified capital, against the instigators of imperialist war.

It is a day when the workers must manifest their class unity, their will to fight!

It is a day on which the alarm must be sounded in all factories, at all mills, in all workers' districts!

For the united front over the heads of the strike-breaking leaders, for the struggle against capital! Unity of action for the struggle against fascism and imperialist war! The united front for the struggle against dismissals, against wage-cuts, for higher wages! For State unemployment insurance! The united front for the liberation of the prisoners of capitalism. For the united front between the workers of the imperialist countries and the toiling masses of the colonies for the independence of the colonial countries! For the united front in action, in mass demonstrations, in all battles against fascism, against imperialist war, for the U.S.S.R., for Soviet China, for the Soviet Power throughout the world!

Down with bloody fascism and its reformist agents!

Down with Japanese imperialism—seizer of Chinese territories!

Down with the Amsterdam International—the organiser of the defeat of the working class!

Long live the Red International of Labour Unions!

Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Preparations for the First of May in Czechoslovakia

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, in its May Day appeal, has issued the slogans: "The First of May will be a day of the Red united front against fascism and imperialist war and for the Soviet power."

In these days of preparation for the First of May demonstrations, the working class of Czechoslovakia is under the fire of a fascist attack of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie in all spheres.

The bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia has become hopelessly entangled in the antagonisms and conflicts of its rule. It is seeking a way out of the economic crisis with the aid of inflation, the way of shameful pillaging of the working people. In its endeavours to set up the fascist dictatorship it is resorting to desperate means in order completely to suppress the working people and to overcome and suppress the panic moods and conflicts in its own camp. By sabre-rattling, arming, militarising the whole of the public life and chauvinistic incitement, it is seeking by this hazardous game to free itself from the noose which it has placed round its neck.

The policy of the Czechoslovakian parties of the Second International, as well as the policy of the Czech national socialists, is exactly similar to the policy of the German and Austrian social democracy. It is a policy of wholly and entirely supporting all the demands and acts of the bourgeoisie. It is a policy of direct participation in the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship, of unrestricted participation in the preparations for a new imperialist war, a policy of splitting and crippling the working class, a policy which directly delivers the workers of Czechoslovakia over to the knife of the fascist dictatorship.

In this situation the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, in its May Day Appeal, rightly declares:—

"Only the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia shows the masses the way out, the way of the revolutionary united front, the way of fight against fascism and imperialist war, the way of fight for the Soviet power.

"The government and the social fascist parties of Czechoslovakia want to convert May Day this year into a chauvinistic war parade. The honest socialist workers must not allow themselves to be misused for this purpose.

"Their place, just as that of the whole of the working people, is in the Red Communist May demonstrations, which are demonstrations of the revolutionary united front against fascism and imperialist war and for the Soviet Union."

The reports from the various districts of Czechoslovakia show that the mass movement against fascism and imperialist war is powerfully developing and that the building up of the anti-fascist and anti-war front has already made considerable progress in the few weeks since the Prague Conference. In the Moravian-Ostrau district no less than 15 united front conferences against fascism and imperialist war are being held. It is worth noting that among the social democratic workers in this district an extraordinarily strong movement for the united front has arisen. Thus, for example, it recently came to a powerful demonstration of 1,500 workers of the Tatra works in Nesselzdorf, of whom the greater part are members and supporters of the social democratic party. The demonstration lasted an hour and led to the fulfilment of all the essential demands of the workers. In Budweis, on March 25, there took place a splendid united front conference against fascism and war, attended by 120 delegates. Among the delegates there were three social democrats, five Czech national socialists and 40 non-Party workers. The conference elected a unity committee of 15 members for the Southern Bohemian district, and in addition three district committees.

United front conferences against fascism and war have already been held in Central Moravia. The movement is likewise proceeding successfully in Carpathian Ukraine. At Easter, in numerous districts of Czechoslovakia, youth demonstrations took place which were effective demonstrations against the intended setting up of labour service camps and against fascism.

Anti-war and anti-fascist committees of the Youth have already been set up in a number of localities and factories, among others in the Papirografia and Inwald factories in Prague, in the Poldi smelting works, in the Max pit in Kladno, in the towns of Bodenbach, Kladno, Brünn, Ostrau, etc. Youths of various political parties and organisations are on these committees.

The movement against fascism and war is, of course, being used for the purpose of supporting the action to rescue Thaelmann and the other anti-fascist fighters. At all meetings and demonstrations protests and demands for the release of these comrades are being adopted and sent to the German Embassy.

Under these circumstances there exist all the prerequisites in order that the Red First of May shall embrace great masses of the working population under the Communist banner and Communist slogans.

To the extent that the activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia increases and its influence among the working masses grows, there also increases the campaign of persecution against the revolutionary movement. In the last few days the whole of the bourgeois and social fascist press has been full of dirty articles inciting against the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, accusing it of "espionage for a foreign Power," seeking to degrade it in the eyes of the masses to a conspiratory organisation, and against which the vilest provocations after the pattern of Goering, Hitler and Goebbels are planned, solely in order to have a pretext for the intensified terror and for the contemplated dissolution of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia. It is characteristic of the despicable role of the social fascists that in connection with the police discovery of part of the anti-militarist activity of the Communists in the bourgeois army, it gave the cue to the bourgeois press hacks and designated this revolutionary anti-militarist work as ordinary espionage. The working population, however, is drawing the only possible conclusion from all these attacks, and on the First of May will follow the appeal of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and demonstrate under the slogans: For the emancipation programme of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia! Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! For the Soviet power in Czechoslovakia!

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Progress of the Smelting Industry in the Soviet Union

By N. Ossinski

The task of the smelting industry of the Soviet Union in 1934 consists in the production of ten million tons of pig iron, 9,800,000 tons of steel, and 6,600,000 tons of rolled iron. The significance of these figures is shown by the following table, which gives the production figures for 1913 and for the last four years:—

	Pig Iron	Steel	Rolled Iron
	(In million tons)		
1913	4.22	4.25	3.51
1930	5.09	5.72	4.68
1931	4.87	5.32	4.16
1932	6.16	5.88	4.29
1933	7.13	6.83	4.91

It is to be seen from this table that in the year 1934 2.4 times more pig iron is to be produced than was produced in 1913; that the output of pig iron must be increased to 40 per cent. more than that of last year (1933), and that the increased production in 1934 alone must amount to three million tons, i.e., one and a half times more than the increase in the three preceding years, 1930 to 1933. As regards the production of steel, an increase of 2.3 times that of 1913 is contemplated, an increase of output of 43 per cent. compared with the year 1933, and an absolute increase of the output of steel by three million tons compared with the increase of one million tons in the years 1930 to 1933. Finally, in regard to rolled iron, it is intended to increase production to 188 per cent. of that of 1913, which means, compared with last year, an increase of 34 per cent., and, in absolute figures, an increase of 1.7 million tons, an increase which is four and a half times greater than that achieved in the years 1930 to 1933.

The tasks therefore are enormous. Hence it is of great importance that the smelting industry of the Soviet Union should now proceed to the fulfilment of these tasks. The Soviet press publishes each day the production figures for pig iron, steel and rolled iron. Let us take the period from the 21st to 31st March. There was produced (in thousand tons):—

On March	Pig Iron	Steel	Rolled Iron
21	27.2	25.5	18.8
22	27.6	25.1	18.5
23	27.3	24.0	17.7
24	26.3	24.5	16.8
25	26.0	25.2	19.6
26	26.8	25.1	18.8
27	28.1	26.1	20.3
28	27.1	25.6	19.0
29	27.1	24.8	18.4
30	28.0	24.3	18.3
31	28.5	25.0	21.0

With regard to this table it should be remarked that the daily output of raw iron must amount to 27,400 tons in order to achieve the year's task of ten million tons. In order to achieve the output of 9.8 million tons of steel laid down in the Plan, 26,800 tons of steel ingots a day must be produced. And, in order to fulfil the Plan task of 6.6 million tons of rolled iron, an output of 18,300 tons a day is necessary. In the last ten days of March there were four days on which more than 27,400 tons of pig iron were produced. Further, there were four days on which the production was at most only 300 tons below this standard, and, finally, only three days on which less than 27,000 tons were produced. In the last ten days of March an average daily production of 27,300 tons was achieved, nearly as much as is necessary per day in order to fulfil the year's plan. On the last day of March 28,500 tons of pig iron were produced.

In regard to rolled iron the situation is even better. Here

the fluctuations in the output were greater, but in the last ten days of March the average daily output was 18,800 tons, which is above the daily output laid down in the Plan, and on some days the output was 20,000 tons and more.

On the other hand, steel production is lagging behind, and at the moment is the weakest branch in the metal-producing industry. Since March 21 the average daily output has been 25,000 tons as against 26,800 tons laid down in the Plan. Nevertheless, even in regard to steel production, certain successes are to be recorded, which is best to be seen if we compare the average daily output of pig iron, steel, and rolled iron in various periods:—

	Pig Iron	Steel	Rolled Iron
In 1933 the average daily production amounted to	19.5	18.7	13.6
In January, 1934, the average daily production amounted to	23.6	22.2	15.7
In February, 1934, the average daily production amounted to	25.2	23.7	16.8
In March, 1934, the average daily production amounted to	26.3	24.7	18.0
In the first quarter of 1934 the average daily production amounted to...	25.0	23.5	16.8
The task for the first quarter of 1934 amounts, per day, to	26.7	25.6	17.8
The task for the year 1934 amounts, per day, to	27.4	26.8	18.3

This table shows quite clearly that, although the Plan for the first quarter of 1934 was not fulfilled, although even in March the standard laid down in the Plan was not attained, and although the daily output of steel still lags behind, nevertheless, taken as a whole, there is to be recorded a definite upward movement and an approach to the level which is necessary in order to fulfil the tasks for 1934.

According to the returns for the month of March, which are still incomplete, the total output in the first quarter of 1934 amounted to 2,254 thousand tons of pig iron, 2,116 thousand tons of steel and 1,513 thousand tons of rolled iron. Even if there were to be no further increase in production in the coming months (which, of course, is quite inconceivable) an output of 9 million tons of pig iron, 8.5 million tons of steel, and 6.1 million tons of rolled iron would be assured. One can say, therefore, that the smelting industry of the Soviet Union is able to record a big advance, that the efforts of the last year or so are at last beginning to bear fruit. The whole country is attentively following the production figures for pig iron, steel, and rolled iron—which are published every day in the press. There is every prospect that in the coming months, in which new furnaces, Martin ovens, rolling mills will commence working and the old machines better utilised, that the standard of output laid down in the Plan will be surpassed, and the fulfilment and surpassing of the Plan for 1934 thereby assured.

The fulfilment and surpassing of the production Plan for 1934 means, in fact, the fight for the first place in Europe in regard to the output of pig iron and steel. In Germany last year there were produced 5.3 million tons of pig iron and 7.6 million tons of steel. In France the figures were 6.4 million tons and 6.6 million tons respectively. Whilst in the worst years of the present capitalist crisis the Soviet Union occupied the first place in regard to the output of the smelting industry, this place has now been taken by Germany. Among other things, therefore, it is our task to make the Soviet Union once again the leading country in Europe in regard to the production of pig iron, steel, and rolled iron.

We Greet You, Soviet Airmen!

By Karl Radek

Is there in the whole of our vast country, from the Berezina to the Pacific Ocean, from the Arctic to the Pamirs, a place where hearts did not beat faster when the news was announced over the wireless that the last of the Chelyuskin people had been rescued? Through the whole country there swept a great wave of joy, which united all the peoples of the Soviet Union into one family.

There was something great, something of historic importance in this joy.

Never was the old Russia united by any common feeling. If the Tsarist Government had sent an expedition to the Arctic and this expedition had met with disaster, various institutions would have discussed and argued for weeks as to whose business it was to undertake the task of rescuing it. The newspapers in the capital town would doubtless have made a big set-out, but the cries for help from the members of the expedition would not have reached the ears of the masses of the people. Those workers or peasants who chanced to learn from the newspapers something of what had happened, would simply have spit and said: "The scoundrels are letting the people perish, they don't even know how to organise an expedition!" The people viewed with the profoundest mistrust every step, every undertaking, of the hated ruling class. Now, however, even the school children and pioneers studied the Behring Sea, pored over the maps, measured the distances separating the Chelyuskin people from the mainland, and knew the names of all the aircraft which were hastening to the rescue of the expedition.

In the year 1917, General Alexiv Plechanov related how, when he tried to keep the soldiers at the front by telling them that the Germans would take away great slices of territory from Russia, the soldiers replied: "We are from Rjasan, they will not come as far as that." Nowadays the cotton campaign in Usbekistan, or the output of our oil workers in Baku, immediately concerns every peasant in the Central Black-Earth District. To-day, the people speak not only of "our" Vladivostok, but they are also deeply interested in their Kamtchatka and the barren districts inhabited by the Tchitchkens, whom our friends Kamanin and Molokov, with the aid of their "steel birds," have connected with far-off Moscow.

In the civil war the red-army man traversed our country from Archangel to Baku; he has "appropriated" this country. When the Lugansk fitter, Voroshilov, led the regiments across the barren fields, the red-army man crossed the Ural mountains, measured the whole of Siberia with his strides, and cleared it of the Koltchaks, Kappels and Semjonovs. He "appropriated" it up to Vladivostok. And over the fields, which are fertilised with the bones of our fighters, there marched later new, big regiments. The workers and peasants of the whole of the Soviet Union built the Turksib railway, built a Magnitogorsk, a Kusnetz, and are now building factories on the Pacific Ocean. . . .

This is our vast country, which the masses of our people, inspired by the genius of our Party, by the genius of Lenin and Stalin, have drenched with their blood and their sweat. Therefore this country is a vast whole, and therefore it knows only common pain and common joy. And when Stalin said: "We do not want an inch of foreign soil, but we will not yield an inch of our own soil to anybody," he thereby proclaimed to the whole world not only our determination, not only our will, but also a fact, namely, that this country is really *ours*. It is ours not on the basis of diplomatic documents, not by inheritance, but on the basis of our work, our blood, our love.

Our great proletarian fatherland rejoices not only because we have rescued the Chelyuskin heroes, but because we have rescued them with our own forces, with our own organisation, with the means of our own technique. When the history of the Chelyuskin expedition comes to be written, it will be a magnificent epic of courage, coolness, endurance, perseverance and knowledge. It is

these qualities that ensured the success of our revolution. Our aircraft flew from Chabarovsk through snowstorms, over mountains and rivers, thousands of miles, to rescue our comrades in the ice of the Arctic. This heroic air campaign shows plainly and unmistakably to the whole world what a tremendous response there will be when the cry is raised: "Our socialist fatherland is in danger!" Just as the Leningrad workers toiled day and night in order to fit out the "Krassin," to accelerate its departure, so the whole country will work when it is a question of repelling an imperialist attack.

The foreign press and the world bourgeoisie followed our fight in the Arctic with great interest. It is interested, so to speak, in the "sporting" aspect of the matter. They should try to grasp its deeper meaning. The Soviet Union has forces which overcome all distances and all difficulties in order to defend its work of peaceful construction. We greet our heroic airmen, the heroes of the workers and collective farmers in the Soviet Union, the heroes of the world proletariat!

Another Magnificent Victory!

THE "PRAVDA" ON THE RESCUE OF THE
CHELIUSKIN CREW

A leading article published in the "Pravda" describes the great battle against the forces of nature fought out in the icy wastes of the Arctic, a battle which ended in a magnificent victory for the Bolsheviks.

"The Bolsheviks were victorious because they faced the bursting ice masses with unshakeable solidarity, revolutionary determination and iron discipline. The close relations of the Bolsheviks with the non-party members of the expedition and the close relations of the whole country with the Cheliuskin crew demonstrated this to the full. The documents of these historic days will become memorable, the government reports and the wireless messages from the Schmidt camp. The laconic, brief, and simple messages demonstrating the iron will of the leader of the party and of the country will become immortal. The country felt that iron will in the lines of the official messages and millions shared the firm confidence in the final victory. This confidence was also felt by the little group marooned on the ice floes of the Arctic."

The "Pravda" then describes the preparedness of the working masses of the Soviet Union to assist the workers isolated on the ice. "Our Soviet airmen did their duty without heed of the great danger. They were conscious of their great responsibility for the fulfilment of the instructions given to them by the government and they developed the utmost pitch of technical skill. Lapidevski, Levanevski, Molokov, Kamanin, Slepnev, Vodopianov and Doronin performed wonders of air heroism and showed what a country of 175 millions of people is capable of when it is called upon to defend its home and its Fatherland.

"The overwhelming majority of the toilers all over the world followed the struggle with bated breath and deepest sympathy. The Cheliuskin expedition was dear to them not only because they were human beings in distress, but because they were fighters for the Soviet Union. It is not necessary to conceal the fact that there was a small minority who wished us ill and hoped that our gallant flyers would not succeed. Our enemies prophesied disaster and could barely conceal their pleasure at the prospect. The victory of the Soviet flyers was not merely a defeat of natural forces, it was also a defeat for our enemies. Had the Cheliuskin expedition been sent out by a capitalist country, the fate of its members would have been sealed. They would have been killed not so much by the Polar ice as by the scepticism and the indifference of the bourgeois world. When the Soviet Union took up the struggle against the forces of nature, experts shook their heads and declared that it was hopeless, the aeroplanes would never be able to reach the marooned party. At the utmost they would be able to throw down food and medicines. They worked out the cost of a rescue in Dollars, Pounds, Francs and Marks

and found that it was not worth while. Bolshevism has once again upset capitalist arithmetic. Scepticism, unbelief and fear have no place in the activities of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government gave its instructions, and although no one had ever flown before under such frightful conditions, the instructions were carried out to the letter. No one had ever succeeded in flying over the Anadyr mountains, but the Soviet flyers did. The situation on the costs side was the same. The personality of an explorer is not worth much in bourgeois society. How many gallant explorers have perished because the bourgeois governments refused to spend the sums necessary to rescue them and because bourgeois society remained indifferent to their fate? To save the Cheliuskin expedition under capitalist conditions would have meant to charter ships, charter aeroplanes and weigh up heroism against gold."

The "Pravda" then recalls the tragic death of the Polar explorer Sedov, who perished because the Czarist government was not prepared to go to the necessary expense to rescue him, and continues:—

"In the Soviet Union each and every fighter is of value. The rescue of the Cheliuskin expedition demonstrates to the world once again how the Bolsheviks are conducting a war. Unlike capitalist governments, the Soviet government has not to bother about chartering ships and aeroplanes or to secure the services of assistants by payment. The Soviet government is master in its own country. No one may coin profit from the misfortunes of others. No one may make the rescue of human life into a source of private profits. Soviet public opinion does not need to urge on the Soviet government, and the Soviet government does not need to glance anxiously at public opinion to see whether it is favourable. This division, inevitable in capitalist society, does not exist in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party is indissolubly bound up with the working masses of the whole country, and in this fact lies the strength of the Soviet Union. The two months' struggle to rescue the members of the Cheliuskin expedition will go into the history of the proletarian revolution for all time. It was an unforgettable time, not only because of the general welling up of sympathy for the Cheliuskin crew in its misfortunes, but also in the general review of our preparedness to deal with any situation. The Party and the millions of non-Party workers felt in these days the iron and unbending will of the leadership and it gave strength and confidence. And in this way a magnificent victory was won."

In the International

The Political Situation in Ireland and the Tasks of the C.P.I.

The following is the text of the main resolution adopted at the recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland. The C.C. of the C.P.I. also adopted a further resolution accepting in their entirety the conclusions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Communist International.

The period since the last C.C. meeting of the C.P.I. (Nov., 1933) has witnessed a steady growth of the discontent among the working masses, the steady growth of the fascisation of the State apparatus, North and South, and the virulent drive of the imperialist bourgeoisie for the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship.

The unemployment problem is growing in acuteness in both areas. In the North the imperialists are striving furiously to take away the social insurance standards which the workers have won and the scales of relief gained by the October (1932) struggle; while in the Free State the national bourgeoisie is seeking to evade the demands of the impoverished workers by a new Bill aiming at a spreadover of the relief cost at the expense of the employed and the unemployed workers with large families in the big boroughs.

The policy of the British imperialist bourgeoisie is to strengthen its position at the expense of the Northern Irish and British working class and its foreign rivals, through economies at the expense of the workers, the operation of the tariffs and trade restrictions, and

depreciation of the pound—all of which measures are intensifying the class struggle and the general crisis of capitalism.

The national bourgeoisie is applying in the area of the twenty-six counties similar protective measures to those of the Northern and British imperialists, under the slogan of "national self-sufficiency." A small section of the capitalists are benefactors from this policy, with mass impoverishment of the broad masses of the workers and peasantry (150,000 on outdoor relief, 96,000 registered at the labour exchanges, and less than 20,000 drawing unemployment insurance).

Accentuating all this oppression of the working masses by the capitalist class is the prosecution of the economic war by Britain and the Northern Ireland imperialists against the Free State. The criminal penal enactments of the imperialists are placing terrific burdens on large numbers of workers and farmers in both areas.

These are the many factors driving the working masses in growing intensity along the path of bitter anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist activity, North and South.

The mass opposition to imperialism and fascism encounters the bitterest hostility of bourgeois nationalism, represented by the Fianna Fail government and the Nationalist sectarian politicians in Ulster.

The difference in the relation of forces in the areas consists in the fact that in the north the open imperialist reaction, the representatives of big finance and industry, wields the apparatus of State oppression against the workers and the nationalist minority; while in the south the repression is being wielded by a government raised to power on the strength of the national and class hostility of the working and peasant masses against British imperialism and the rule of the Anglo-Irish bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois nationalists in Ulster ("Irish News," "Derry Journal") have come out for increased police terror against the workers' organisations (Unemployed Movement, F.S.U., etc.). The De Valera government is coming into ever-sharper conflict with the labouring masses. The intensity of the crisis has steadily sharpened the relations with British imperialism—the inner conflict between the national and imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie—but has brought forward as never before the contradiction between the bourgeoisie as a whole and the working class and peasantry. (On the economic field this is demonstrated by a constant and increasing number of strikes in the small industries—Drogheda and Dundalk factories, Polikoff's clothing factory, Dublin; Kilkenny woollen mills; by the outcry of the nationalist manufacturers at their conference against "wages for idleness"; and from the increasing criticism making its way through the trade unions, the Cuman Na mBan, "An Phoblacht," etc., against the slave conditions in the new factories.)

The conflict between the working masses and bourgeois nationalism (represented by the Fianna Fail government) manifests itself most sharply in the mass struggle against the imperialist fascists. The De Valera government has exposed itself as the chief enemy of the masses in the fight against fascism by the use of its special powers against the workers, the use of troops and police to protect the fascists, its persecution of the Republican press, and its latest proposals for a pact with the imperialist fascists directed against the revolutionary workers and farmers.

These measures constitute the greatest danger to the national independence struggle and the further advance of the working class movement against the capitalist dictatorship. The country is developing towards conditions making for a revolutionary crisis, for which the imperialist bourgeoisie is preparing by the organisation of its open fascist bands, and in which the State apparatus is being prepared by the national reformists to strangle the revolt of the workers and peasants, and open the way to a regime of open fascist dictatorship.

The tremendous mass ferment against the imperialist fascists, the mass disillusionment and discontent with the Fianna Fail government, the class bitterness among the impoverished unemployed masses against their intolerable conditions of existence—the organisation and leadership of these powerful revolutionary forces in a united front of action against fascism, against the fascist decrees of the Fianna Fail government, for the revolutionary road out of national subjection and social misery, for the establishment of Soviet power in a United Workers' and Farmers' Republic—such are the problems standing before the Irish Communist Party and the revolutionary workers and peasants in the national and labour movements.

The united front mass action of the workers against fascism is taking place spontaneously, as instanced by the powerful mass action of the workers at Drogheda against the Blueshirt parades, action which only military action could quell, and Tralee, where the workers organised a general strike for the release of the anti-fascist prisoners, which only the personal intervention of De Valera was able to stifle and side-track. The burning problem for the Party is to find its way to this anti-imperialist ferment and to organise it around its revolutionary propaganda with concrete slogans and definite grouping of the militant elements into a broad united front organisation, such as the Labour League Against Fascism.

The main obstacle to be surmounted by the Communists in the building of a mass Party and in the struggle for the realisation of a united front of action against fascism and the economic needs of the workers is the existence of bourgeois ideology among certain strata of the workers, nurtured by the Labour, Nationalist and Orange officials.

The Party must sharpen its propaganda against these reigning ideas in the ranks of the organised workers, and in particular combat continuously the Labour reformist slogans of "no politics" in the Trade Unions, making clear that this has meant and means the bondage of the workers to bourgeois nationalism and Orange imperialism. At the same time, the work of the Party in these mass organisations must at every step be linked with the economic day-to-day interests of the workers, on wages, victimisation, short time, etc.

Labour reformism in Ireland, as elsewhere, is the main social prop of capitalism within the working class, and the chief hindrance to the unity and action of the working class against imperialism. Because of the limited strength of reformist labour in bourgeois politics, the virtual political monopoly of the imperialist and nationalist parties of the bourgeoisie, the C.P.I. has tended to fall into the error of not conducting a sufficiently sharp struggle against social reformism. The reformists control the key positions in the trade unions, conduct all negotiations with the employers on the vital questions of wages, hours, conditions; are in control of the finances of the working class movement, and from these points of vantage are in a position to sabotage every action of the workers against the capitalists.

Irish reformism is now as in the past acting the part of a faithful servant of the national and imperialist bourgeoisie. The Northern reformists, under the cloak of socialism, and the Southern reformists, under the mask of national Labourism—each loyally serve the interests of their respective capitalist groups. Northern reformism is silent on the questions of the arbitrary arrests, savage sentences and deportations of revolutionary workers and nationalist opponents of Craigavon, and in the South the trade union leadership remains neutral on the question of fascism, while the Labour leaders in the Dail loyally support the De Valera government in its coercive measures against the anti-fascist masses (Davin calls for repressive measures against the Republicans).

The C.P.I. must take up an energetic fight against reformism on the basis of practical work in the unions around the everyday issues and secure the leadership of the branches and committees for class struggle against capitalism.

The petty bourgeois Republicans, while on the one hand forced by the feeling of the masses again to attack Fianna Fail and to publish pseudo-socialist articles in "An Phoblacht," are actively assisting to keep the Republican masses chained to the reformist De Valera government (prevention of independent anti-fascist action, expulsion of Communists, organisational measures against discontented members, etc.).

The C.C. raises before the Party membership the urgent necessity for fulfilling the tasks laid down at the November meeting of the C.C. The Party is able to register some advance in the carrying out of these tasks, but the majority still remain unfulfilled; the Party membership remains almost stationary, the revolutionary workers are not being attracted to membership in sufficient numbers; the Party works in practical illegality in all but an area of Belfast.

Such successes as have been achieved prove that the Party can overcome the difficulties and rally the workers to its support, provided it applies itself with earnest revolutionary endeavour to its

tasks. The continuous publication of the "Irish Workers' Voice," despite pogroms and boycott, the getting of the paper once more to a number of shops in Dublin with poster displays, the organisation of dock, rail and factory sales, the securing of worker correspondence on housing and factory conditions, the sales by a number of members on the jobs and in the union branches—all are practical proof of the possibilities for fulfilling the tasks of the November resolution.

The C.C. emphasises that the Party as a whole, and the Dublin district in particular, is guilty of the grossest underestimation of the importance of the "Workers' Voice" in the building of the Party as reflected in the scandalously low sales of the paper, and places the task of a mass sale of the paper as the foremost problem facing every Unit and individual member of the Party. In view of the conditions under which the Party organ is being produced and circulated, the C.C. directs every Party Committee and Unit leader to take up the question with each and every member and organise them as enthusiastic agents in the spread of the sales of the "Workers' Voice."

The Party can record a further progress in the direction of work among the organised workers in the unions. The winning into Party membership of Trades Council delegates in Belfast, the securing of Party representation on the Executive of one of the important unions, the steady progress in the work of the F.S.U. in lectures, addresses to union branches and the building of an active branch of the I.L.D. are evidence of the influence of our Party among the workers, and the willingness of the workers to fight with the Communists, under Communist leadership. But the very successes in this work only serve to emphasise the weakness of the Party in relation to the possibilities. The Party membership, which should reflect the growing influence among the workers, is not growing, is subject to heavy fluctuations. The devoted work of the active Party members in the penetration of the ranks of the industrial workers is not being reflected in political and organisational growth.

The wide attraction of Republican and non-Party workers to the lectures organised by the Dublin Units, the steady growth of Communist literature sales and the popularity of Party leaflets against fascism, etc., issued and distributed to the railway workers, dockers and other sections, the response to the "Workers' Voice" exposures of sweating conditions in some of the factories and jobs—all these are convincing proof that only opportunist passivity holds back the Party from the mass of the workers and from rolling back the lying propaganda of the class enemy against Communism. The initiation of the organisation of the Labour League Against Fascism, the approaches to the union committees and branches mark a step forward in the building of the united front, but the League is in the gravest danger of being still-born by its failure to launch out into mass propaganda against the fascist menace, to get into active touch with the anti-fascist prisoners and to conduct a campaign for their release. Opportunist "waiting until the organisation is perfect," a capacity to see only obstacles and difficulties, is at the bottom of the failure of the Party members to make greater successes in the work of this important united front organisation.

The situation can be summed up thus:—

(a) That the country is approaching to conditions making for the development of a revolutionary crisis.

(b) That there is increasingly bitter hostility against capitalism on the part of the broad masses of the workers and poor farmers, who in spite of the sabotage of the Republican and Labour leaders are heroically fighting the fascists at every step.

(c) That the organisation of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' front against fascism lags far behind the organisation of the imperialist fascist front.

One of the main reasons for the backwardness of the organisation of the labouring masses against the imperialist and nationalist bourgeoisie is the failure of the Party to come forward openly as the leader and champion of the working masses in all their struggles. The Party is being seriously influenced by the retreat, sabotage and hesitation of the reformists and Republican petty bourgeoisie.

The first result of this is that, despite the mass ferment and in-

creasing influence of the Party among the industrial workers and Republican rank and file, the membership, both in Belfast and Dublin, registers little advance; revolutionary proletarians are outside the Party in both capitals.

The second is that the Party is completely illegal in all provincial centres and in conditions of semi-illegality in Dublin and a large part of Belfast and Derry. This spirit of "illegality" pervades all the work of the Party: in the unemployed movements in Belfast and Dublin, in the united front organisations (Dublin), and colours the whole character of the Party's mass work.

While opposing resolutely any tendency to "Left" sectarianism, the C.C. calls to the Party for a determined struggle against all Right opportunist tendencies and practices, which now represent the main danger to the Party's growth and development of the revolutionary mass struggle against fascism. The C.C. calls for a really powerful effort from the entire Party for the winning of new revolutionary workers to the Party from the ranks of the trade unions and out of the workshops.

The C.C. lays down to the Belfast and Dublin organisations the immediate task of bringing forward and developing new cadres of leadership and to train a strong group of able propagandists and agitators. A totally unsatisfactory state of affairs exists in both districts, and in Dublin there is a strong opportunist antipathy to this vital form of mass work. The C.C. calls for the enlistment of every Party member as a canvasser for the "Workers' Voice" and the sale on a mass scale of the literature of the Party and Communist International.

The C.C. calls for the greatest vigilance on the part of the Party for the carrying out of the decisions of the C.C., the highest organ of the Party in the country, and similarly with the decisions of all organs of the Party. Here the C.C. directs every leading comrade and every organ of the Party to take steps to raise the Party consciousness of all members, and secure the support of the entire Party for the enforcement of the strictest Party discipline.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the C.I. characterised the world situation as entering on a period of revolutions and wars. Ireland is bound up with the crisis of the capitalist world; revolution and counter-revolution are growing. The C.P. of Ireland must, in the time now given it, build its membership and influence over the broad masses and show itself worthy of the proud name of Communist and a section of the great Communist International.

Declaration by Comrade Heinz Neumann

The C.C. of the C.P. of Germany has written us the following: Comrade Heinz Neumann has given us the following declaration:—

After a serious examination of my past standpoint on a number of most important political and organisational questions of the German Party, I want to declare the following:—

(1) The entire factional struggle which I conducted against the Central Committee of the C.P.G. from 1932 up to March, 1933, was, from the beginning to the end, a chain of the most serious mistakes and transgressions against the line and discipline of our Party. This struggle which I began with sham "Left" formulations ("strike the fascists wherever you find them" among others), in order to form an oppositional group in the Party and the Y.C.L. against our Bolshevik leadership, with Comrade Thaelmann at the head, of necessity ended with the positions of Right opportunism, of the Right defeatist deviation from the line of the Comintern (standpoint against the correct tactics of the C.P.G. during Hitler's coup d'état, etc.). Inasmuch as I disregarded the numerous warnings and the unmistakable decisions of the leading Party and Comintern organs, inasmuch as I came forward as the chief initiator and chief organiser of the factional struggle, and thereby also did not shrink from the methods of so-called "double-bookkeeping" and of discrediting attacks, the entire weight of the political and Party responsibility for this attitude fully applies to me.

(2) My letter to Comrade Remmele of March, 1933, is a crass anti-Party, factional document, in the worst sense of the word, and I not only consider this as a mistake but as a crime, and that the contents of this letter are incompatible with membership in our Party. My appeal to Comrade Remmele "to play the role of

Karl Liebknecht" represents an irresponsible and anti-Party appeal to intensify the factional struggle. Comrade Marty correctly characterised this letter at the Thirteenth Plenum. It stands to reason that I did not reach such an anti-Party step by accident, but that it was the result of my basically wrong attitude on the political questions, in principle, and arose from the anti-Leninist logic of the factional struggle.

(3) For this reason I was correctly made to answer for all the opportunist and defeatist conceptions which Comrade Remmele represented in a number of documents; the theory of the "defeat of the C.P.G.," of the necessity of the armed uprising at the time of the coup d'état, of the "epoch of fascism," of the "dictatorship of the lumpen proletariat." They served as weapons against our Party in the factional struggle, the leadership of which was in my hands. Hence I am undoubtedly to blame for the spreading of these opportunist conceptions.

(4) One of my most serious mistakes consisted in the fact that I made the entirely inadmissible and absurd attempt to differentiate or even to make a contrast between the Stalinist line of the world proletarian revolution on the one hand and the leadership and the policy of the C.P.G. on the other. This mistake, which I have deeply recognised, was bound to lead me to false, anti-Party conclusions. My struggle against the leadership of the C.P.G. at the same time signified that I was abandoning Stalin's revolutionary line, which presupposes the irreconcilable hatred against opportunism of every sort and the most ruthless safeguarding of the iron Bolshevik Party discipline and of the unshakable Bolshevik Party unity.

(5) On account of all these reasons, I declare myself to be fully in agreement with the sharp condemnation of my mistakes by the leading organs of the C.P.G. and the C.I., as well as with the measures taken against me. I repeat my unconditional acceptance of the historic resolution of the E.C.C.I. of April, 1933, regarding the German question. Down to the last fibre of my being I feel permeated by the correctness and the far-reaching revolutionary significance of all the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern and of the Session of the Political Bureau of the C.P.G. which followed. In connection with the grandiose perspectives of the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., these decisions form a united whole and contain the weapon for the approaching decisive struggles of the proletariat in war and revolution, the forerunners of which are the latest events in Austria and France. The C.P.G., which before and during the Hitler coup d'état carried through the only correct Leninist tactics, to-day, under the most bestial terror of the fascist hangmen, gives the entire world an example of Bolshevik firmness, death-scourning bravery and unyielding persistence as the true leader of the masses of millions of German workers, in the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, for the overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of Soviet Germany. Under Thaelmann's leadership, the C.P.G. is becoming the second shock brigade of the world revolution at the side of the C.P.S.U. Any oppositional struggle, any factional action against our Party, against its leadership and its line, means to render service to the counter-revolutionary social democracy and its agents—Trotsky, Brandler, Guttmann and company. Every doubt and hesitation on the German question, which to-day denotes the most important test for every Communist, brings grist to the mills of the panic-mongers, the capitulators and deserters, who are the mouth-piece of the class enemy.

In condemning my mistakes and making a break with my false conceptions, I am fully aware that not words and declarations, but only Bolshevik Party work in practice, can give the proof of this

Heinz Neumann.

So much for Comrade Neumann. He has now done the same thing that Comrade Remmele has already done before—that is, that he also wants to return to the line of the C.P.G. and the E.C.C.I. However, as he has already made similar declarations before and, despite that, continued the factional struggle, then such a declaration does not suffice, but he must first prove his faithfulness to the line of the Comintern and the C.P.G. by practical work for a considerable period.

C.C. of the C.P.G.

The White Terror

The Trial of 26 Revolutionaries in Lutsk

By X (Lemberg)

The Lutsk trial, in which the accused proletarians have to fight for every word of defence, has already been going on for over a month. Judgment is to be pronounced shortly. The Lutsk trial already has its history. The arrest of the accused took place in 1930, after the bloody "pacification" of the Western Ukraine by the Polish occupation government, which endeavoured to destroy the national revolutionary movement of the masses of the Ukrainian people with fire and sword. Over 300 workers, peasants and intellectuals were arrested on the charge of being members of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine.

The examination of the accused and the preparation of the trial lasted for 3½ years. Many of the arrested have already been sentenced by various courts (Lemberg, Tarnopol, and Przemyśl). There now stand before the court 56 workers, peasants and intellectuals whom the Public Prosecutor describes as leaders of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and accuses of preparing an armed revolt for the separation of the Western Ukraine from Poland. The work of examining the accused and preparing the case was carried out by the examining judge, Demant. Whilst the Lutsk defence, at the head of which is the notorious police commissar, Zaremba, cruelly tortured and mishandled the arrested comrades, the investigating judge, Demant, made it his task to supplement the methods of the Lutsk defensive by keeping them in prison for years waiting trial, with all the moral torture thereby involved.

Right from the first days of the trial our comrades converted the dock into a revolutionary tribune. They came forward as accusers, they exposed the cruel system of fascist terror in Poland, and in particular in the occupied areas. What could the Public Prosecutor bring against the accused? The whole indictment is based entirely on the statements of police witnesses. The accused, one after the other, definitely withdrew the statements extorted from them by means of cruel torture.

Regarding the tortures, one of the accused, Comrade Schächter, declared before the court:—

"I was arrested in Lemberg and brought to Lutsk. I was kept for 48 hours without any food. I was retained with other prisoners in the office of the defensive. The investigation began at night. They read out to me all the crimes I was supposed to have committed. I declared that the whole thing was a provocation. I was fettered, thrown to the ground, a stick was placed behind my knees, my shoes were taken off and I was beaten with rubber truncheons on the heels. The police then asked me whether I was now ready to confess my crimes. I made no reply. They now declared that they would talk 'Uruguayan' or 'Chinese' to me. (The 'Uruguayan' method consists in pumping a few pints of water or urine up the nose of the victim. The Chinese method consists in beating him on the sex organs.) The police chose the Chinese method. They stripped me and struck me with rubber truncheons on the sex organs. I became unconscious."

Similar evidence was given by Comrades Bilavka Stoloczuk, Golan, Ekstein, Kuszko, and Szcyrba. Rosa Soekulanz, a woman comrade, was violated. Another woman comrade, Platonova, suffers spinal paralysis as a result of the methods employed by the investigating authorities. The accused further stated that on the eve of the trial the political prisoner, Sziija Girgier, was murdered in the Lutsk prison and that the authorities tried to represent this murder as a case of "suicide."

But the fighting spirit of the comrades remained unbroken. The heroic attitude of the undaunted champion, Dimitrov, filled them with courage and strengthened their will to fight. The Polish juridical authorities forbid the use of the Ukrainian language in the court room. Nevertheless, the accused made their declarations in the Ukrainian language. Comrade Pavlyk, the chief accused, described the terrible conditions in the Western Ukraine under Polish rule, the colonial exploitation and national oppression in all spheres of public life. He declared:—

"I am a member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, the only Party which is fighting for the social and national emancipation of Western Ukraine."

The women comrades, Stupp and Knoll, exposed the role of the social fascist parties, of the P.P.S., the Ukrainian social democratic party and of the Jewish "Bund," these main supports in the working class of the system of occupation.

The accused, Kuszko, Danyszczuk, Szcyrba, and Stepanjuk, dealt with the treacherous role of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie as the ally of the Polish occupation regime. They stigmatised the war provocations of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, their national, anti-Communist campaign of incitement, which led to the attempt on the life of the secretary of the Soviet Consulate in Lemberg.

The Polish fascists made a mistake when they thought they would be able by means of the Lutsk trial to discredit the Communist Party of Western Ukraine in the eyes of the masses. They have done the exact contrary. The demonstration of 3,000 Lutsk workers on the occasion of the funeral of Comrade Girgier is the best proof of the sympathy which the Communists enjoy among the masses of the workers.

The fascist newspaper, "Kurier Codzienny," used the most abusive and violent language against the Paris lawyer, M. Vienney, who, as representative of the International Jurists' Association, came to Lutsk in order to be present at the proceedings.

Polish fascist justice wishes to wreak vengeance on the 56 prisoners. The international proletariat must hold powerful mass demonstrations in order to free the 56 proletarian class fighters from the grasp of the Polish hangmen.

The Labour Movement

The Decisive Phase of the Strike of Verviers

By R. Julinska

The heroic strike of the 17,000 Verviers textile workers and of the transport workers who have joined them has now lasted over six months and has called forth the anger of the textile capitalists. The Summer season is approaching; the continuation of the strike is seriously affecting the business of the textile barons. The publication of the "22 conditions" of enslavement, which constituted the latest attempt to intimidate the strikers, was of no avail; the workers replied to it by the extension of the struggle. The reformist leaders were not able to break the united fighting front of the textile workers; the central strike committee, elected by the workers, remains the only strike leadership of the masses. The repressive measures of the government have not intimidated the masses, who, under the leadership of the Red Trade Union Opposition, are demonstrating in the streets against the arrest of their fellow-workers, against the terror of the police and gendarmerie, against any attempt to crush the strike.

Therefore the textile barons resorted to fresh provocation: they called upon the workers to resume work by April 15 at the latest and declared that the mills would start working again on the basis of the 22 conditions if a sufficient number of workers was willing to resume work; should, however, the number of workers not suffice, then all workers would be dismissed.

The reformist leaders are adopting fresh measures against the strike: they announce that strike pay must be reduced and are already preparing for complete cessation of strike pay. By this means they wish to break the will of the workers to continue the strike. The collapse of the social democratic Belgian Labour Bank serves them as a pretext in order to make out to the workers that they are unable to render them any further financial assistance.

The government is also coming to the assistance of the textile barons and the trade union bureaucrats by resorting to fresh repressive measures, arrest of strikers, the suppression of the strike bulletin.

The central strike committee explained to the workers the full implications of the fresh provocations and called them to the struggle for the strengthening of the strike pickets and for the extension of the strike to all branches of industry in Verviers.

On March 29 the central strike committee convened a conference of all strikers in order to discuss the further methods of struggle. At the same time the central strike committee addressed an open letter to all trade unionists and local branches of the trade unions calling upon all workers effectively to support the strike. Personal invitations were sent to the trade union leaders as well as to the general secretary of the reformist textile workers' union to come to meetings of the strikers and discuss with them openly.

But the reformist bureaucrats did not venture to appear before the strikers. On the other hand, numerous factory groups of trade unions, among them being reformist trade unions, have replied to the open letter and sent letters to the Trades Union Federation protesting against the strike-breaking policy of the reformist leaders.

On March 26 Lemans and Lambert, the two Communist members of the municipal council of Verviers, made an interpellation in support of the demands of the strikers, for the withdrawal of the police and gendarmerie, for the supply of meals to the children of the strikers at the cost of the municipality, etc. During this interpellation 600 strikers gathered in front of the town hall to demonstrate their solidarity with the demands raised by the Communist town councillors.

A similar demonstration took place a few days later in front of the court building in order to protest against the sentence of imprisonment and fines imposed on three workers.

The manoeuvre to fix 15th of April as the last day for the liquidation of the strike means a provocation of the whole of the working class of Belgium. On April 17 the second cut in the wages of the textile workers of Ghent by 3 per cent. is to come into force. In the middle of April the wages of the Belgian miners are also to be reduced.

The Red Trade Union Opposition is exerting all its forces in order, by uniting all these struggles, to frustrate these plans of the employers to defeat the various categories of workers piecemeal. The victory of the textile workers of Verviers, and in connection therewith the possibility of frustrating the offensive of the capitalists against the working class of Belgium, depends to a considerable extent upon the support given by the international proletariat.

The Peasant Movement

The Struggle of the Peasants in Brazil

By L. C. Prestes (Rio de Janeiro)

Brazil is one of those countries of Latin-America in which the remnants of feudalism are most plainly apparent. On the large feudal estates on the river Amazon, and in the provinces of **Matto Grosso** and **Goyaz**, on which the enslaved masses of Indians and Mestizos (Spanish or Portuguese half-caste) are starving, on the large **Maté** (tea) plantations in the South of **Matto Grosso**, and in the province of **Parana** there exist remnants of a slave and serf system, intermixed with new forms of capitalist wage labour.

In the so-called North-Eastern district, in which there are ten million inhabitants, mostly Indians, and in the coast district, where the population is mainly Negroes, there prevails a semi-feudal system. The country is divided into large latifundia, frequently belonging to one and the same family, which in this manner controls a vast territory of hundreds of thousands of square miles. Almost every large landowner is at the same time a colonel in the army and political leader to whom all the local authorities are subordinate. The peasants do not receive money wages, but only commodities from the stores of the large landowners. The permanent agrarian crisis in this district is the result of the decline in the sale of sugar and cotton, the main products of this district.

The misery prevailing in North-East Brazil has produced peculiar phenomena, such as religious mysticism and "Cangaco." This mysticism has led to the gathering together of thousands of holy pilgrims. At the end of last century the government troops for many years conducted a regular warfare against these pilgrims and killed thousands of the followers of Antonio Conselheiro in Canudos. To-day "Padre Cicero" in Joazeiro is another such "holy pilgrim leader." He has a big following among the peasant masses, whom he misuses for the interests of one clique of large

landowners against the other. (Travora, the agricultural minister of the Vargas government, has the support of "Padre Cicero.")

The "Cangaceros" are more or less numerous groups of peasants who are persecuted by the feudal lords or the government, and who conduct permanent guerilla warfare. One of their most famous leaders is "Lampeao," who for more than a decade has waged a successful fight against all the armed forces sent out against him.

The present crisis in North-East Brazil, which has been intensified by the drought lasting already more than a year, has increased the number of "Cangaceros," and to-day, in addition to "Lampeao," there exist numerous leaders of small bands of peasants who live by confiscating the money and goods of the big landlords and rich merchants. The masses are greatly in sympathy with the "Cangaceros," as the latter distribute a part of their spoils among them. This renders the struggle of the authorities against the "Cangaceros" very difficult, and the latter often attack the armed forces and seize their weapons and munitions.

Before the coup d'etat in the year 1930 the government of Brazil declared that the social question was a matter for the police, while the subsequent government of Vargas, Travora, José Americo at first attempted to rule by means of demagogic manoeuvres. In 1933 the government sought by means of bribery to induce people to murder the leaders of the "Cangaceros." This method was partly successful.

One of the most revolting cases of the brutality of the present government was the exhibition of the heads of three peasants and a peasant woman who had been arrested and afterwards beheaded by the government bands.

The government has now worked out a fresh plan of intensified struggle against the "Cangaceros." The war ministry is being entrusted with the conduct of the campaign; the armed forces are being doubled, hand grenades and poison gas will be used. This new offensive is closely connected with the feverish preparation for fresh coup d'etat in Brazil and for war, which threatens to spread over the whole of Latin-America.

The Communist Party of Brazil, in spite of strict illegality, is overcoming the greatest obstacles placed in its way by the reaction, and exposing the class character of the slanderous campaign on the part of the bourgeois-junker press. Without idealising the movement of the "Cangaceros," among whom there are often declassed elements, alien to a really revolutionary movement, the Party is courageously coming forward in defence of the insurgent peasants and attempting to induce them to fight consciously for their class interests and to weld together the scattered movements into a large mass movement against feudalism and imperialism.

In order, however, to check the blind fury of the Brazilian big landowners against the militant peasant masses, the Communist Party of Brazil and the International Labour Defence are confronted with the urgent task of rousing the toilers of the whole world against the white terror which is raging in Brazil and for the immediate disarming of the police bands who are ravaging the interior of the country.

Spring Sowing Campaign in the Soviet Union

Moscow, April 15.

In spite of the sudden return to cold weather, the spring sowings are being carried out more rapidly this year than last year. By 10th April 13.4 million hectares had been sown all over the Soviet Union. Last year at this time the area sown was only 6.8 millions.

In Soviet Ukraine the sowing of early summer grain is just being successfully concluded. By 11th April 7,422,900 hectares were sown, as compared with 2,102,000 last year. The wheat-sowing plan has been overfulfilled by 6.6 per cent. in the Ukraine.

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