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## Thaelmann's Life In Imminent Danger!

By A. Komyat

The statement of the three *Saar worker delegates* who compelled the fascist authorities in Germany to permit them to interview Ernst Thaelmann, and their conviction that the life of the leader of the German Communist Party is in imminent danger is an alarm signal for the workers of the world to intensify with all possible energy their campaign to secure Thaelmann's release.

For many months the fascist rulers of Germany have remained deliberately and obstinately silent with regard to their plans in respect of Thaelmann. Thaelmann has been completely isolated from the outside world and almost no news of him has been permitted to leak out of the prisons of the Secret State Police. Delegations of Swiss and French workers who tried to obtain an interview with Thaelmann were sent from Pontius to Pilate and finally "politely" dismissed. The efforts of the various workers' deputations in all parts of the world with the consular representatives of the "Third Reich" were no more successful. The flood of telegrams and letters of protest which overwhelmed the German ambassadors and other diplomatic and consular representatives were left unanswered. And when some time ago the first reports of mishandling and torture appeared and alarmed working-class opinion all over the world the fascist authorities contented themselves with hypocritical denials.

There was system in this conspiracy of silence. Goebbels and his crowd remained silent because in their own way they have

learned something out of the terrible defeat administered to them by Dimitrov. In the case of Thaelmann they wished to avoid any preliminary stage-managing errors such as they made in the Reichstag fire trial. They remained silent for fear that they would betray themselves and their plan to destroy Thaelmann.

However, the workers of the world did not give up their attempts. The wave of protests rose still higher, particularly after the formation of the so-called "People's Court." In thousands of meetings all over the world the workers demanded energetically that the fascist authorities should answer for the safety of Thaelmann. They fiercely condemned the "People's Court" as the bloody instrument fashioned to impose the death sentence on Thaelmann. Thaelmann Committees formed to secure the release of the Communist leader were formed everywhere. Five thousand Paris workers were present at the "People's Tribunal" which sat in the Saal Bullier on May 9, in the same hall where eighteen months previously Thaelmann suddenly appeared and delivered a message of solidarity to the French and German peoples. Representatives of the great political and trade union organisations of France, Austria, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Holland and Bulgaria, representatives of the organisations against war, against anti-semitism, for women's rights, intellectuals of world fame, representatives of the middle classes and the peasants, Communists and social democrats, non-party workers—all assembled to

make a fierce protest against the bloody terror regime instituted by German fascism which after so many murders and executions now wants the head of the best son of the German working class, Comrade Thaelmann.

The German fascists could no longer remain obdurate against the world storm of protest. The conspiracy of silence broke down. On May 12 the fascist press announced with flaring headlines "Thaelmann's bloody responsibility proved" and declared that the trial of the former leader of the Communist Party of Germany would probably be the first big process to come before the newly-constituted "People' Court." At the same time the fascist newspapers expressly demanded the passing of the death sentence on Thaelmann on the ground that the leadership of the Communist Party in general and Thaelmann in particular had ordered "the terror waged by the Communists."

Thus just that which the fascist wirepullers wished to avoid, the first error in stage management, was made. The organisers have shown their cards too soon, for to demand and prophesy the death sentence (the conditions in fascist Germany make the demand for a death sentence by the press practically synonymous with its imposition) for a prisoner against whom the preliminary investigation has not yet been concluded and who has not even yet been charged is an error which even an unscrupulous gang like the German fascist leaders cannot permit themselves with impunity. Too late Goebbels whistled his press gang back in an article in the "Frankfurter Zeitung." On May 15 he published a photo of Thaelmann in his own organ, the "Angriff," under the mocking title: "Teddy, a little disgruntled, on his morning walk." The next day this photo was exposed as a clumsy forgery.

The open threat to Thaelmann's life has been made and it is too late to take it back, for the whole world has heard it. The criminal plan of the German fascist leaders has been exposed in the eyes of the whole world. And if there was any necessity for confirmation then the report of the Saar worker delegates has provided it. Under the threat that they would themselves be arrested if they went beyond the bounds granted to them, the delegates were told exactly what questions they might ask Thaelmann. Naturally the questions permitted were of subordinate importance and concerned food, smoking, and permission to write letters. No questions were permitted as to whether Thaelmann had been maltreated or tortured. However, the three delegates, one Communist, one social democrat, and one worker belonging to no party—the embodiment of the united front of the working class—ignored the threats made to them. They had the instructions of the workers in the Saar who had sent them to carry out and they had a duty to fulfil to the workers of the world and they have done so. Despite the threats of the German fascist authorities they put questions to Thaelmann concerning the treatment meted out to him. And Thaelmann did not hesitate, but with unbroken revolutionary courage and fierce indignation he struck the barrier with his fist and shouted for everyone to hear: "I have been maltreated and I am still being maltreated!" It was the shout of a Communist who knows that even in prison, in the hands of the enemy, he is still at his political post. Thaelmann did not speak in his own interests, for he knew perfectly well that he would have to reckon with the vengeance of the Secret State Police. He spoke on behalf of all his comrades in the hell-holes of Hitler Germany and in the torture-chambers of other capitalist countries. The shout of Thaelmann is directed to his fellow workers all over the world: "Help to put a stop to the activity of the fascist murderers!" Thus even in the prison cells of German fascism international proletarian solidarity has triumphed.

Before the "Thaelmann Trial" has even begun German fascism has suffered its first reverse. However, it would be an illusion to suppose that thereby the danger to Thaelmann's life has been diminished one atom. "Thaelmann's life is in imminent danger!" This statement of the Saar workers' delegation has a very real basis. After their first reverse the fascist authorities will be still more determined to destroy Thaelmann. They want to destroy him because he is the leader of a millionfold army of proletarian revolutionaries and the living embodiment of the victorious strength of Communism. By the destruction of Thaelmann the fascist leaders hope to destroy the Communist Party. They are torturing him in the hopeless attempt to break his spirit for the coming trial. A campaign of incitement is being conducted against him in the press. He is being involved in the Buelow Square proceedings (in 1931 two police officers were shot dead in the Buelow

Square by their own men) in order to convict him of incitement to murder and to secure the death sentence against him.

The ground under the feet of German fascism is getting steally hotter. A new revolutionary wave is rising in Germany. The idiotic idea of "winning the working class for fascism" has been force abandoned. The results of the elections in the factories gave that idea the final destructive blow. The economic situation is rapidly degenerating into a catastrophe. Even in the fascist camp itself the antagonisms are rapidly intensifying and the German bourgeoisie is preparing to find a way out of its insoluble difficulties in the bloody horrors of imperialist war.

But the class struggle has its own dialectics. The growth of the revolutionary working-class movement compels the bourgeoisie to intensify its terrorism against the workers, but at the same time it is the power which can compel the bourgeoisie to hold back. The release of *Dimitrov* has shown what organised international proletarian solidarity can achieve, and now we must intensify this energy a hundredfold in order to secure the release of Thaelmann and all other anti-fascists imprisoned in fascist Germany. The delegation of Saar workers has given us the alarm signal. Now we must act.

## Politics

### The Real Aims of British Foreign Policy

By I. Jeruchimovitch

The foreign policy of British imperialism was briefly but plainly formulated by the British Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon, in the House of Commons on May 18. As Sir John Simon expressed it: "He believed in friendship, and in friendship with Japan" and in the goodwill of Germany. It is of course nice to know that there exist such kindly feelings on the part of the capitalist States towards each other. But Sir John Simon had not only sentiments in mind. The British bourgeoisie is occupied with other cares, before all with the prospects for the morrow, which do not appear at all rosy.

From its island position English imperialism is carefully observing what is taking place on the European and Asiatic Continent. What it sees is not very cheerful. The Soviet Union is becoming stronger; the indignation of the exploited against the exploiters and their fascist governments is growing. The struggle between the capitalist countries has become exceedingly acute. German imperialism is sharpening its weapons; it is demanding a revision of the map of Europe in its favour; it is demanding colonies and markets. In the Far East the Japanese imperialists are still waging war against China.

Foreign observers who have visited the Far East recently openly say that Japan is occupied with plans to dominate the whole of China, and is already beginning to realise these plans. As is known, however, British imperialism has big interests in China. It is true Sir John Simon believes in "friendship" with Japan, but how dear this friendship is is shown by the fact that **Runciman**, Simon's colleague in the Cabinet, recently adopted measures against Japanese dumping on the British market which cannot be described as anything else but a commercial war. The situation is exceedingly unsatisfactory for the ruling classes of Great Britain, because these classes, if one can believe the words of the English Ministers, are only concerned to maintain peace.

But how do they wish to maintain peace? The British imperialists are prepared to do everything. Through the mouth of **Eden**, the Lord Privy Seal, they are opposed to a definition being laid down of what constitutes aggression, for such a definition would be bound to result in a war against the violators of peace. The Christian English imperialists do not want to be compelled to draw the sword, even by a formulation of what constitutes an aggressor. Through **Baldwin** the ruling circles of Great Britain pronounce against sanctions, for, says the British Minister, "there is no such thing as a sanction which would work which does not mean war." Through the mouth of Simon, official Great Britain rejects armed defence of sacred treaties, for this, too, is bound to lead to the violation of peace. . . . What an idyll! We find that there is an island of immaculate saints. And the name of this island is Great Britain!

The discussion on foreign policy in parliament revealed something different. If we take into consideration the facts which Sir Stafford Cripps submitted in his speech, and rightly estimate

Sir John's reply and Mr. Baldwin's speech, it is not difficult to discover the fundamental motives determining the whole foreign policy of British imperialism. One can shortly characterise it as a policy of systematic preparation to balkanise Europe. It is the policy of stirring up anti-Soviet groups.

This is the reason why the British bourgeoisie supports Germany's armament demands. As regards the Far East, it is evident from the vague declarations which have been made in parliament that British imperialism, in the main, supports Japan's expansionist aims and does not oppose the partitioning of China, which is in the interests of the London Stock Exchange. The British bourgeoisie is only held back from a more open pursuance of this policy by inner political fears and also by the fear that the United States might resort to counter-measures.

In the camp of the British bourgeoisie, and even in the inner circles of the conservative party, there exist certain differences of opinion regarding the means and methods with which this policy is to be realised. The Anglo-Japanese friendship and the policy of approachment to Germany is not approved by all groups of the British bourgeoisie, and even in conservative circles there does not exist complete unity. At the same time, however, it must be remarked that the "Young Tories," who are steadily gaining in influence, are openly insisting on the necessity of a "firm policy." This group is the bearer of the most outspoken imperialistic and anti-Soviet policy. This group can be described as the **stirrers up of war in Europe and Asia.**

The declaration of a "prominent English conservative, a modern imperialist of the purest water, a former governor of a great British protectorate," possesses a certain amount of interest as serving to characterise the foreign-political views of these die-hard groups in England. This declaration was made to the correspondent of the Vienna "**Neue Freie Presse**" (May 17). It is not stated who this prominent English conservative is, so one is left to guess. He is obviously a high State official of present-day England who does not wish to come forward with an open visor, but makes no secret of his plan to solve the fundamental problems of Europe and Asia.

He said: "We give Japan freedom of action with regard to Russia." The noble lord is prepared to make a present to Japanese imperialism of the whole of the Soviet Far East, and in addition the Lena goldfields, "whereby the export policy which Japan is compelled to pursue at present would be radically changed." That is how the high politician who was interviewed by the "**Neue Freie Presse**" solves the Asiatic problem.

As regards the European problem, the noble lord is no less candid and consistent. "We give Germany, he says, the right to arm; we conclude an alliance with France so that, as a result of Franco-British co-operation, an expansion by Germany to the West will be impossible. On the other hand, we open to Germany the way to the East by giving it a possibility of expansion. By this means we divert Japan and Germany (i.e., from the interests of Great Britain—I. J.) and keep Russia in check."

These considerations are, one must say, not very original. Certain conservative circles have for a long time advocated such plans. But it is the first time that they have been set forth so openly; obviously in order to satisfy the new conquerors in the West and in the East. It is a matter of small importance who the author of this plan may be, for he is only a type of the fascist elements in the conservative party. These elements consider it superfluous to keep to traditional habits; they are even strangers to the niceties of diplomatic language, and when they want to convey an idea they express it openly and bluntly.

There is clearly portrayed to us the group of "young" war-mongers who are obviously not only engaged in drawing up plans but also have something to do with the practical realisation of British foreign policy.

The declaration which we have quoted above outweighs all the talk in parliament about the maintenance of peace. The policy of British imperialism is very complicated. If, however, it is a question of in what direction the open imperialist and fascist elements in England are striving, it can be stated very briefly and simply: they are striving in the first place to kindle a war in the Far East. They are prepared to make a present to Japanese imperialism of the Soviet Far East "up to the Arctic Ocean" and the Lena goldfields, and to grant Japan freedom of action against Soviet Russia. It is therefore a policy of converting the Japanese war against China into a war against the Soviet Union.

Secondly, they are aiming at opening the way for Germany to the East, while maintaining the status quo in the West. For this purpose the kindly lord is prepared to render assistance to France. It is not clear, however, whether the new Anglo-French alliance aims mainly at holding France back from taking action whilst German fascism wages its robber war in Central and East Europe and hacks its way through the small States to the more remote territories of the East.

Thirdly, they are striving to create a favourable situation in Europe and Asia for British imperialism.

The debate in the House of Commons and the statement made to the correspondent of the "**Neue Freie Presse**" show whither the policy of those circles leads which give utterance in parliament to charitable and peaceful sentiments in the style and spirit of the good old English Bible.

But this hypocritical peace talk will not deceive anybody. The working people of the Soviet Union know their value. They cannot be deceived by the smoke-screen of official talk, which has a very definite function to fulfil, namely, to conceal the preparations for the new world war.

Take care, my noble lord! One can never tell what unexpected results your plans may have for the class to which you, who wish to hold Russia in check, belong.

## "A Vote for Masaryk is a Blow Against Fascism"

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

*The presidential election in Czechoslovakia took place at a joint session of the National Assembly (including the members of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate). Four hundred and twenty deputies and senators were present. Three hundred and twenty-seven votes were polled for Masaryk and 38 votes for the Communist candidate, Comrade Gottwald. Fifty-three empty ballot papers were given up. Not only the governmental parties, including the social democrats, but also a section of the opposition, including the German People's Party, voted for Masaryk. The deputies of the Slovakian Hlinka Party, the Stribny fascists and a section of the National Democrats gave up empty ballot papers.*

The election of the President of the Czechoslovakian Republic took place in the historic Vladislav Hall in the Prague Castle, where once the feudal classes paid homage to the Bohemian kings. The historical tradition was utilised in the present election on behalf of President Masaryk. The representatives of the revolutionary proletariat, the Communists, alone refused to conform to the mummery and remain silent. Neither the campaign of incitement nor the threats and attacks of the bourgeoisie and the social fascists were sufficient to prevent the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat from expressing the opinions of the masses of the working people and letting their voices be heard even in the historical hall of the Castle of Prague. The shouts of the Communist representatives during the ceremony: "Not Masaryk, but Lenin!" "Long live the proletarian dictatorship!" were more than a demonstration. These shouts and the presentation of a working-class candidate in the person of the leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, **Comrade Gottwald**, destroyed the fictitious "unanimity" sedulously propagated in the world and in Czechoslovakia according to which Masaryk is the only representative of the united people.

The social democracy supported the candidature of Masaryk with extraordinary demagoguery. Just as the German social democrats declared that whoever was against Hitler must vote for Hindenburg, so the Czech social democrats declared: "A vote for Masaryk is a blow against fascism!" The social-democratic newspapers vied with the bourgeois press in praising Masaryk. Here is the effort of the central organ of the Czech social democracy, "**Pravo Lidu**":—

"Masaryk is a heroic figure in our age. A scholar with unusual political capacities, personal courage, incomparable honesty and frankness, a man with a great mind and a great soul. In a word, a man such as the nations produce once in ten generations."

At the same time the social-democratic press did everything possible to decry the Communist candidate and to ridicule the Communist slogan of "Class against class!" The "**Pravo Lidu**" wrote:—

"Masaryk professed socialism when he was still a

university professor and did valuable work for socialism amongst the bourgeois and intellectual strata on behalf of the working class. And now the Communist Party puts forward the slogan of 'Class against class' as though it had any meaning or significance applied to Masaryk."

All the social-democratic newspapers wrote in the same tone. In one thing they are correct. Masaryk is a great figure, but not for the proletariat. He is the figurehead of the bourgeoisie and the whole campaign on his behalf serves only to create the basis which the bourgeoisie needs to carry out its plans. The authority of Masaryk is to be used to establish an open fascist dictatorship. In the next few days important measures in this direction are to be put into operation. The Enabling Bill expires at the end of June. It gives the government and the President of the Republic full powers to rule by means of emergency decrees. The Enabling Bill is not only to be renewed, but extended.

At the same time measures are being taken to alter the franchise. The minimum voting age is to be raised from 21 to 24 years because the bourgeoisie fears with justification that the majority of the youth is communistically inclined and would vote Communist at the elections. In addition measures are proposed to exclude all parties from the list of candidates unless they sign a statement undertaking to confine themselves to "constitutional action." At the same time the formation of new parties is to be prevented by a provision that only such parties may receive seats which aggregate not less than 100,000 votes on their lists throughout the country.

Apart from these constitutional measures the bourgeoisie proposes to tackle the unemployment question by militarising the youth and introducing the notorious labour service camps in the form in which they have become known in the countries of fascism. Thanks, however, to the fierce protest storm organised by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, the bourgeoisie has not yet been able to carry out its plans in this respect. It is now proposed to go slowly with the introduction of various experimental camps "for the education of the youth," etc. But this way will prove too slow for the bourgeoisie. Here, as on other fields, the Communist Party is a hindrance and therefore the whole of the governmental and fascist press is now howling with one accord that the youth is in danger and that the Communist Party must be prohibited. With the argument that the activity of the Communists amongst the youth is undermining the defensive strength of the country and generating fatal poisons in the body of the nation, the atmosphere is being prepared for the suppression of the Communist Party.

In this campaign the bourgeoisie does not hesitate to use the traditional methods of provocation. In connection with the Communist agitation and propaganda at the Czech high schools the press contends that the directing centre is to be found in the Communist parliamentary fraction which is also said to supply the necessary literature. In the meantime the campaign is being carried on with more than ideological measures. Mass arrests have taken place all over the country like those on the 1st May, terrorist sentences have been passed on striking workers, newspapers have been prohibited, Red trade union organisations dissolved in various parts of the country, all as links in the general plan which the bourgeoisie intends to carry out with the assistance of the social fascists.

A little while ago the **Fascist National Front**, led by **Gaida**, was dissolved and its newspapers suppressed, but now a government in which seven "socialist" ministers sit has given this fascist organisation permission to renew its activity, whilst on the other hand the committee against fascism and imperialist war has been suppressed and its congress prohibited.

The **Communist Party** is now mobilising the masses for a counter-offensive. It has exposed the Masaryk swindle and it is similarly exposing all the other fascist plans of the Czech bourgeoisie. Its success in this work can be seen from the strike of 2,000 workers engaged on the railway line of strategic importance from **Cervenaskala to Margecan**. Although the workers involved are organised in various trade unions and the majority of them are in the reformist unions, the strike is under the exclusive leadership of the revolutionary union. The struggle is being conducted not only for economic demands, but the strikers have put forward political demands also. They demand a general and unconditional amnesty for all proletarian political prisoners, the abolition of the press censorship, legal facilities for the distribution of the Com-

munist press and full legality for the Communist Party. These fighting workers have offered the whole working class of Czechoslovakia a shining example of how the struggle must be carried on and the insolent attacks of the fascists repulsed and the plans of the bourgeoisie countered.

## Military Fascist Coup d'Etat in Bulgaria

A new military-fascist coup d'Etat has been carried out in Bulgaria. In the night prior to May 19 the Muchanov-Gitchev government was overthrown and a military-fascist dictatorship established under the leadership of **Kimon Georgiev**, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Reserve. Sofia and other important towns were occupied by police and military, including infantry, cavalry and artillery. Military aeroplanes circled over the chief towns prepared to bomb any points of resistance. Armed patrols scoured the towns and hundreds of workers were arrested, parliament was dissolved, the working-class press prohibited and working-class organisations suppressed. The constitution has been flung on to the scrapheap and those bourgeois parties which did not hurriedly dissolve themselves are about to suffer the same fate. Under the inspiration of **King Boris** the most aggressive section of Bulgarian fascism has seized power and established its dictatorship.

On June 9, 1923, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie carried out a similar coup d'Etat under somewhat similar circumstances. The Stambulisky peasant government was overthrown, parliament dissolved and a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie established. Prior to the coup d'Etat the bourgeoisie had been driven into the defensive by the power of the working class and peasant movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party, which was the second most powerful organisation in the country. The close alliance of the workers and peasants threatened the rule of the bourgeoisie which sought safety in a dictatorship during the course of which no less than 30,000 workers and peasants were slaughtered. A fearful reign of terror set in, all working-class organisations were suppressed and all working-class newspapers prohibited, as also were all the trade unions, co-operatives and all the cultural organisations of the workers. The funds of all working-class organisations and their property were confiscated and every form of public working-class activity prohibited.

However, the Bulgarian working class developed heroic powers of resistance. In September, 1923, an insurrection of workers and peasants, organised by the Communist Party under the leadership of **Dimitrov** and **Kolarov**, took place and was bloodily suppressed. But the working masses recovered from this defeat also and gradually undermined the basis of the fascist dictatorship which began to totter in the first onslaught of the economic crisis. Thanks to a ceaseless and heroic struggle the workers won legal recognition for their trade unions and for the **Workers' Party** and its youth section. Anti-fascist, anti-war and other organisations were built up, and in the election of June 21, 1931, the **Workers' Party** gained 230,000 votes, or one-fifth of the total votes polled. The dictatorship maintained successively under **Zankov**, **Liapchev** and **Volkov** was replaced by a government of **Muchanov-Gitchev** with a democratic mask.

But the economic crisis continued and the discontent amongst the masses increased. The peasantry were impoverished and the middle classes ruined. The purchasing power of the masses steadily declined and a huge army of unemployed grew up. The State finances were faced with collapse and last year's Budget showed a deficit of 1.5 milliard leva. The old taxes were increased and new taxes imposed. Exports dropped by 75 per cent. in four years. Wages were cut down and social expenditure likewise. Both officials and clerical workers were similarly hit, and parallel with this went a fierce campaign of repression against the workers and peasants. Mass trials of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers took place and brutal sentences were imposed. The worker and peasant deputies, 33 strong, were driven out of parliament and the Sofia municipality in which the **Workers' Party** had just won the majority was dissolved. This was the desperate situation of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie on the eve of the coup d'Etat.

The most aggressive section of the bourgeoisie rallied round the mass murderer **Zankov** and the latter prepared to seize power. He organised a great action for May 20, at which he intended to parade 50,000 of his followers. However, **Zankov** and his followers took no direct part in the coup d'Etat. **Zankov** was forestalled by **Georgiev** and **Veltchev**, but it would be wrong to believe that the coup was the work of the **Georgiev** group only. On the contrary, it has the support of all those elements in favour of an open fas-



cist dictatorship and of those in favour of a masked one. All the bourgeois parties in Bulgaria, including the social democrats and the peasant leaguers are fascists.

The leading elements in the present coup also played a leading role in the 1923 coup. At that time they worked with all the bourgeois parties and with the support of the social democrats. The present coup was carried out with the agreement of influential Bulgarian bourgeois politicians and with the support of all the fascist organisations (chiefly the League of Reservist Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers, etc.). It is characteristic that the present coup has the unconditional support of the emigration wing of the Peasant League under Todorov, Stoyanov and Atanassov. One of its most influential members, Sachariev, is also a member of the present government. Zankov's party is represented in the government by Molov.

The leaders of the 1923 coup accused Stambulisky of pursuing a policy against the bourgeois parties and branded him as a traitor owing to his efforts to come to an understanding with Yugoslavia. The present coup aims at establishing better relations with Yugoslavia and creating the usual "order" in Bulgaria. This time the members of the overthrown government are not being murdered. Muchanov has not been arrested and prominent members of his party are actively co-operating with the new government.

In 1923 the Macedonian fascist organisation of *Alexandrov* and *Protogerov* took an active part in the overthrow of Stambuliski and in the slaughter of the workers and peasants. The present coup is hostile to Alexandrov's successor, the notorious *Michailov* and in league with the second wing of the fascist Macedonian organisation under the leadership of *Shandanov* and *Popodorov*. In 1923 the coup did not enjoy the support of the imperialist powers and in consequence it maintained the parliamentary form and did not dissolve parliament for good, but the situation of the present dictatorship is different. It proposes to establish a "corporative parliament" of 100 members instead of 274, three-quarters of whom are to be appointed by the government and the other quarter appointed by the "corporations."

What is the *programme* of the present dictatorship? The new government declares that the coup was carried out in the interests of the Bulgarian people and that it aims at re-establishing the authority of the State, stabilising public authority, balancing the budget, opening up new sources of income by monopolies, cutting down the ministries, municipalities and other administrative bodies, protecting agriculture, introducing system into industrial production, securing new markets, lowering the prices of industrial products, reducing unemployment, protecting labour by social legislation, reforming the educational system, establishing friendly relations to neighbouring States and the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union.

True to tradition, Bulgarian fascism is not sparing with its promises. Social demagogy is to be the basis of its tactics. But can one imagine for one moment that notorious mass murderers are likely to pursue any policy towards the workers and peasants than the policy they have consistently pursued—a policy of oppression and robbery?

Why was the Bulgarian bourgeoisie compelled to take refuge in a coup d'Etat? On the one hand there was the increasing power of the revolutionary movement and the fear for the loss of bourgeois dominance, and on the other hand the external situation. French, Italian and German imperialisms are engaged in an increasingly bitter struggle, and each of them seeks allies for the coming war. Up to the coup d'Etat Bulgaria was in the revisionist block led by Italy, and Bulgaria refused to sign the Balkan Pact as a document intended to conserve the existing frontiers. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie tried to exploit its anti-French attitude in order to gain advantages from Italy and Germany. A few weeks before the coup Muchanov made a tour of the chief capitals of Europe, but apparently the results of his efforts were meagre, for the coup d'Etat in Sofia means also a new alignment of Bulgarian foreign policy and a *rapprochement with French imperialism* from which the Bulgarian bourgeoisie hopes to obtain loans to prop up its bankrupt economic system. For Germany and Italy the Bulgarian coup d'Etat is a foreign political reverse and the attitude of the Italian press reveals this clearly.

The events in Bulgaria will further ascerbate the imperialist antagonisms in the Balkans and they will cause an important alteration in the relations of the Balkan States to each other. It is clear that the relations between the Bulgarian military-fascist

dictatorship and the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia will improve. At the same time the rapprochement with France and Yugoslavia promises success for the efforts of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie to obtain access to the Aegean Sea. It is also to be expected that the antagonism between Turkey and Greece on the one hand and Turkey and Bulgaria on the other will intensify. The day after the coup d'Etat in Sofia it was reported that the Turkish authorities were strengthening the garrisons in Adrianople and other towns near the Bulgarian frontier, and this report was not merely a coincidence. It shows Angora's estimation of the changed situation.

The establishment of the open fascist-military dictatorship will result in a fierce intensification of the campaign of exploitation and oppression against the working masses of Bulgaria. The fact that the new rulers propose to reopen diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union will deceive no one as to the real character of the dictatorship. The dictatorship may succeed in hampering for a while the advance of the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria, but it cannot hold it up for long. Despite the stern censorship which is being exercised, news is coming through showing that the working masses of Bulgaria are offering fierce resistance to the new dictatorship. The working masses of Bulgaria have fought heroically and steadfastly against all previous governments; and they will continue their struggle against the present hangmen until they have overthrown the dictatorship and established the power of the workers and peasants.

## Nazi Propaganda in Rumania

By Victor Zitna (Bucharest)

Right from the beginning Hitler's foreign policy has been directed towards the East. It has a twofold aim: firstly, Hitler has offered his services to the capitalist world as the spearhead in the attack against the Soviet Union; secondly, Hitler wished to frustrate the influence of France and Italy in south-east Europe and to find faithful allies, both for the campaign against the Soviet Union and for the campaign for the revision of the peace treaties. The national socialist campaign in Austria, the conversations with Gömbös, the Hungarian Prime Minister, and the treaty between Germany and Poland are intended to serve this purpose. With the same end in view German propaganda is attempting to penetrate more actively into the Balkans. Goering is sent to Belgrade and to Athens; a little while ago a commercial agreement was concluded between Germany and Yugoslavia. Hitler-propaganda is beginning to gain ground also in Rumania, where a Hohenzollern is on the throne.

The Rumanian bourgeoisie is fascising its State apparatus at a rapid pace. In the last six months, since the Liberal government came into office, great progress has been made in this direction. In foreign politics the Liberal government, which represents the financial capitalists and the big landowners, is orientated towards France, which demands of Rumania that it shall show a "firm hand" in order that, in view of the revolutionary movement of the masses, it shall not be compelled to resort to the openly fascist formations of the type of the Iron Guard, which is allied with Hitler.

Meanwhile, economic difficulties have arisen between France and Rumania. France, which is feeling the effect of its own financial crisis, is not granting any more loans, and on the other hand is pressing for payment of debts. Negotiations have been going on in Paris for two months without result, as the experts have been unable to come to an agreement regarding the amount of the transfer.

Barthou's declaration of April 17 on "disarmament" and his journey to Warsaw and Prague had as their object to strengthen the connections between the Little Entente and France. Meanwhile, however, cracks are appearing in the structure of the Little Entente, and both Hitler and Mussolini are attempting to take advantage of all the difficulties between France and its allies.

In what form and by what means is Hitler propaganda being carried on in Rumania? After the national socialists came into power in Germany, the first to come forward as Hitler-propagandists in Rumania were the German minorities, the most important group of which are the Saxons who live in Transylvania and consist mainly of bourgeois and petty bourgeois. The national socialist movement has made great progress among them, before all among the youth. Groups have been formed and placed under the leader-

ship of Dr. Fabrizious, who, after a visit to Berlin, was appointed "Eastern Leader."

The Saxon Nazis in Rumania are organised according to the German system, with uniformed Storm Troops and special troops. Dr. Fabrizious gives military orders and organises public demonstration, but has not won the majority of the Saxon population. He is engaged in a fight against Dr. Brandsch, the former leader of the Saxons and one-time Secretary of State in the Jorga government, who is represented as being a traitor to the cause of the Saxon people. The Nazis have demanded his expulsion from the "Saxon Community," and the question is now being dealt with by a committee which has just been elected by the Saxon National Council. The Nazis, however, have only a third of the members of this committee.

The Nazis are also carrying on propaganda in Southern Bessarabia and have formed Hitler organisations there. A third group of Germans is in Bukovina, in the neighbourhood of the local Ukrainians. The Nazi propagandists, subventioned from Berlin, are trying to win the Ukrainians with the prospect of the formation of a Great Ukraine at the cost of the Soviet Union, in accordance with Rosenberg's plan.

But a second and much more important means of spreading national socialist influence is the organising of the Iron Guard, which was founded and is led by Corneliu Codreanu. This admirer of Hitler created at first a terrorist society known as the "Archangel Michael." He later, however, preferred to found a political party. He has won supporters among the nationalist students, because ten years ago he murdered the police prefect of Yassy who had prohibited a students' demonstration. Cuza, the spiritual leader of the chauvinistic and anti-semitically-minded students was ousted by Codreanu, who has elaborated a fascist programme which is not confined to anti-semitic propaganda but includes also anti-capitalist demagoguery: expropriation of the banks and big stores, cancellation of debts and arrears of taxes, etc. By means of this programme the Iron Guard is penetrating the petty bourgeoisie and is attempting also to win the workers by founding trade unions in some big enterprises.

In the field of foreign politics the Iron Guard adopts a reserved attitude because it cannot advocate a revision of the peace treaties. The Iron Guard has imitated the Hitler fascists in regard to its form of organisation. It has its mercenary troops. The acquittal of the murderers of Duca has further increased the popularity of the Iron Guard, which is far ahead of all other fascist organisations.

A third very important instrument of Hitler-propaganda in Rumania is the court camarilla, whose interests are bound up with British and German capital and which has close relations with the Iron Guard.

Although the recent military coup d'état in Bulgaria has changed the foreign-political orientation of Bulgaria in favour of France and an rapprochement to Yugoslavia, whereby the position of France in the Balkans is strengthened, sudden changes are nevertheless quite possible in Rumania.

#### The Austrian Schutzbund Members in the Soviet Union for Solidarity Day

We Schutzbund members in the Soviet Union send on the occasion of the Solidarity Day our fraternal thanks and greetings to the great organisations of the Workers' International Relief and the International Labour Defence. By aiding our imprisoned and persecuted brothers in Austria, our wives and children, you are the pioneers of the revolutionary anti-fascist united front. The aid you give us is not only destined to relieve proletarian misery, but at the same time to increase our proletarian fighting will. Bloody fascism has imprisoned, tortured, murdered thousands of our comrades, has condemned tens of thousands to starvation. In the sign of international solidarity millions will rise to smash capitalism and to set up the Soviet power in Central Europe.

(Signed) Fischer.

## Germany

### The Decay of Fascist Economy and "German Socialism"

The Provincial Governor of Hessen has discovered an original method to deal with the grumblers. One of these depressing people, a woman, was caught in the act of declaring that things would never get better so long as the national socialists were in power. She has been punished in Gilbertian fashion. Every day she must report herself to the authorities and declare aloud: "Things have already got better in Germany and they will get still better!" The national socialist authorities are apparently of the opinion that the general discontent which is spreading rapidly all over Germany is due not to the miserable situation, but to the activities of the audible grumblers. However, not all the Coué incantations in the world can hide the fact that since the accession of Hitler to power the economic situation of Germany has steadily got worse and that it is now rapidly developing into a catastrophe. Here are a few facts:—

After a slight and inconsiderable improvement in March, the balance of foreign trade was more unfavourable than ever before in April. Exports sank from 401 million marks in March to 316 million marks in April, and are now 17 per cent. below last year's level (382 million marks). The export of finished goods, which is of great significance for German industry, has suffered most of all. It fell from 315 million marks to 240 million marks, and is now 20 per cent. below last year's level (302 million marks). Imports amounted to 398 million marks and remained approximately stationary at last month's level. The import limitation measures have had no effect therefore, and the import of raw materials has even increased. Apparently the German capitalists are taking in stocks of raw materials as long as they can in consequence of the fact that the diminution of Germany's supplies of foreign means of payment is rapidly making the supply of raw materials problematical. In March there was a small favourable balance of foreign trade, amounting to three million marks, but in April this was turned into a passive balance of 82 million marks. To pay for this import surplus alone would take up about half of the still existing supplies of gold and foreign means of payment at the disposal of the Reichsbank.

The diminution of the covering means at the disposal of the Reichsbank has also continued at an increasing pace. In the second week of May the loss was 24.9 million marks. The covering has thus been reduced to 166 million marks and the note covering to 4.8 per cent.

In the meantime the transfer negotiations are dragging on and show no sign of coming to an end. Up to the present no creditor has been found who is prepared to accept Schacht's proposal that Germany should be rewarded for its culpable bankruptcy with increased facilities for its foreign trade, raw materials credits, debt and interest abatements, and an indefinite debt moratorium. Influential circles even reckon with the possibility that the negotiations may be broken off without result, and that afterwards Germany will do its best to come to some sort of agreement with its creditors separately. However, this proceeding would have to be preceded by an open declaration of bankruptcy on the part of Germany.

However, not only the balance of foreign trade and the balance of foreign payments show this picture of steady decline as the result of fascist economic mismanagement. The same bankruptcy is being organised everywhere at the expense of the toiling masses under the title "provision of work." Formerly the Reich's railways succeeded in squeezing out a surplus every year, which went to the benefit of the State budget. It is true that this annual surplus was obtained as a result of an excessive exploitation of the railwaymen and as the result of positively anti-social fare scales, but since then the railwaymen have not been better paid and the fare scales have not been reduced, but under national socialist management the loss which showed itself for the first time in 1932 was doubled in 1933. At a time when according to the fascist economists Germany was enjoying an economic boom the railway receipts diminished, whilst the expenditure increased as the result of "work provision" orders. As, despite the losses, 76 million marks had to be paid out in dividends and debts had to be met, the actual total loss on the railways amounted to 386 million marks. The main loser is once again the State treasury.

The rulers of Germany apparently think that as their bankruptcy is inevitable a few hundred million marks one way or the other no longer matter.

Another example of the "economic improvement" trumpeted abroad by the fascist economists is offered by the report issued by the great German electrical undertaking, the A.E.G. for the business year closing on September 30, 1933. The total turnover during the year sank to 180 million marks as compared with 220 million marks the year before, and 580 million marks in the year 1928-29. One of the main factors here was the diminution of German business with the Soviet Union. The report shows a deficit of 26.5 million marks for the year. Despite the drop in turnover, however, the number of workers employed has increased from 27,400 to 30,000, whilst the total of wages paid out has, as is usual in Hitler's "work provision" schemes, sunk from 67.7 to 51.5 million marks, whilst social grants have diminished from 11.8 to 9.7 million marks. On wages and social grants together, therefore, the A.E.G. saved 23 per cent.

The official figures concerning direct taxation on wages for the year ending in March, 1934, which have just been published, show that the phenomenon we have seen with regard to the A.E.G., i.e., a lower wage total with a higher number of workers employed, is not at all exceptional, but typical of the general "work provision" scheme. The State revenue from direct taxation on wages in 1933 amounted to 711.6 million marks as compared with 730 million marks in 1932, or 18.5 million marks less, whilst according to the official figures the number of workers employed increased by 2.5 millions from March, 1933, to March, 1934!

The same picture of mass impoverishment is shown by the figures for tax revenue on articles of mass consumption. The tax on tobacco, sugar, and beer produced 45 million marks less than the year before. The total State revenue from taxation in 1933 was 197 million marks higher in 1933 than in the previous year, but this was not due to the fictitious "economic improvement." This sum practically amounts to the revenue obtained from the new fat taxation imposed by the Hitler government. Only by this new mass imposition was it possible for the State revenue from taxation to come anywhere near the estimates. The official figures which admit a deficit of 200 million marks are unworthy of credence. The preparations for war conducted under the cloak of "work provision," which are being financed with dubious bills of exchange which the Reich will one day have to face, are not included. Only a few days ago the Finance Minister, whose job compels him to assume a mask of optimism, was compelled to admit that the advance debiting of the Reich's budget to the tune of six milliard marks was not to be taken lightly.

With such an economic situation, characterised by increasing mass impoverishment, the complete decline of export, the ruining of credit, the threatening bankruptcy of the State, and the great insecurity of the currency, there is naturally no possibility of any real economic improvement which would make possible the employment of the unemployed workers in industry at half-way decent wages. Therefore the national socialist agents of finance capital are adopting the most violent and economically insane methods in order to maintain the swindle of "work provision," which is still the main field of fascist social demagogy.

This can be seen in the new law to regulate the provision of work which gives local authorities the power to prevent unemployed workers in the rural districts migrating to the towns and the power to compel urban workers to undertake land work and to hold those engaged in land work on the land. According to this new recipe the unemployed workers of Berlin (official statistics admit that there are still 400,000 of them) are to be abolished. This "Plan to Free the Capital of Unemployed," alternatively called the Goering Plan, provides for: (1) The prevention of further unemployed coming to Berlin; (2) the beginning of large creative labour operations; (3) the prevention of all "black" or spare-time work; (4) the dismissal of women workers to make room for married unemployed men; and (5) the transfer of young workers into agricultural and domestic occupations.

Emergency works, apparently what is planned under the high-sounding title of "creative labour operations," are to provide 30,000 unemployed workers with work. But according to the Goering Plan 200,000 unemployed workers are to disappear from Berlin within a year, and it is obvious therefore that a great crusade against the Berlin workers is about to begin. Women

and young workers are to be hounded out of the factories, "black" workers are to lose their unemployment support and to be struck off the registers of the labour exchanges, and thousands of workers, chiefly young workers, are to be expelled from Berlin to the rural areas.

If the fascist authorities who compel "grumblers" to repeat incantations really believed in any improvement of the economic situation they would have no need to take recourse to a measure never previously adopted in a modern industrial town, namely, the expulsion of industrial workers into the rural areas and the abolition of freedom of movement. Like a mockery the explanatory introduction to this new law declares:—

"This law does not limit the right of any German to go to any place in the Reich he may choose and settle down there and/or purchase land. It further does not prohibit any German engaged in a free profession or occupation—for instance, a trader or an artisan—from earning his bread, because it refers in particular to workers and clerical employees."

Every German has the right to settle down anywhere he pleases. Only workers and clerical employees, a propertyless class, do not enjoy this elementary right. Thus it is ordained in the second year of the fascist "People's Commonwealth," in which the classes are supposed to have been abolished. Who fails to recall the tremendous howl from the bourgeois and social-democratic press a year or two ago at the supposed "Forced Labour in the Soviet Union" when the workers' State issued provisions binding the workers for a stated period to the factories? That was a measure destined to guarantee developing and flourishing industries the necessary labour power, a measure which assisted in the transformation of one of the most backward agricultural countries in Europe into one of the most highly industrialised.

The reactionary agents of finance capital who call themselves "national socialists" are making towards an opposite goal. They regard the limitation of production resulting from the economic crisis as a permanent condition and they are brooding over reactionary and fantastic plans to turn a modern industrial country like Germany into the peasant country of their great-grandfathers.

However, under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, the rural areas are not in a position to take supplementary labour power from the towns. On the contrary, as a result of the crisis, the sons of the peasantry have been compelled to an increasing extent to seek work in the towns. The mass expulsion of workers from the towns and the prohibition for rural workers to seek employment in the industrial centres, this fascist "solution" of the unemployment question, must mean that millions of young workers will be turned loose on the rural areas as vagabonds and tramps.

Whenever the fascist agents of finance capital speak of their "social achievements" it is a mockery of the suffering masses. Spiewock, the chairman of the Berlin Town Council, addressed a meeting of the national socialist welfare association on "The Problem of Holidays for Children." As this fascist "welfare" organisation has extracted hundreds of thousands of marks from the pockets of the workers in order to provide innumerable officials with jobs and new luxury cars, there is naturally very little left over with which to send sick and undernourished children from the towns to the country for recuperation. Naturally, Spiewock cannot admit this, so he mocks the plight of the urban workers by declaring that it is not possible to send tens of thousands of children away into the country because many of them went off for their holidays with their parents, and, in any case, what good was it to send children into the country for their health when afterwards they had to return to the old bad conditions of life. The solution was therefore first of all to abolish the miserable housing conditions.

With this the national socialists have invented a fine new principle which makes welfare work of any sort unnecessary. If the parents have sufficient money to take their children with them on holidays, then naturally they need no support. If, on the other hand, they are too poor for that sort of thing, and are compelled to live under miserable conditions, then it is no use sending their children away, because they would only have to return to those conditions afterwards. So that all in all it is much better if the fascist officials spend the available money on drinking and other orgies.

Spiewock also pointed out that it was impossible to increase the miserable social grants, because that would mean a further burden for the working masses. The idea that the millionaires, the coupon clippers, and the fascist officials in receipt of huge salaries might be taxed to provide the necessary funds naturally does not occur to these "German socialists" as the upholders of the principle of capitalist private property.

And whilst pursuing such a "social policy" the fascists wonder why the masses are turning away from them in bitterness, that the "grumblers," far from growing fewer, are increasing in numbers and turning from mere grumblers into fighters against a shameful system of exploitation and oppression.

## Hitler and Ley at the Congress of the Labour Front

At the so-called "Labour Conference," recently held by the German Labour Front, Hitler once again proclaimed his allegiance to the sacred principles of capitalism. The "Leader" made use of this opportunity in order to engage in abuse of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, he declared, obtained from the capitalist States its workers, its engineers and its machines. It should be stood on its own feet. The results would be interesting. At present the land of Communism was living from the non-Communist institutions of the world.

The Nazi leader, who by his policy has placed Germany almost in a position of a blockaded country and has driven it to the verge of disaster, wished to incite the other capitalist countries to a new blockade against the Soviet Union. However, even in the years of blockade the proletarian State showed that it was able, with its own resources and in accordance with socialist principles, to restore its economy and bring about an unprecedented economic advance. But if the socialist Soviet Union, with the aid of foreign experts, machines and qualified foreign workers, has carried out the greatest industrial reconstruction ever known, why have the capitalist countries, and especially Germany, which has no lack of experts, machines and skilled workers, not been able to extricate themselves from the swamp of the crisis and bring about such an economic advance as we now witness in the Soviet Union?

One cannot achieve a great increase in production if one carries out a principle which "destroys from the outset all personal initiative," said the "leader." But the Soviet Union has, with the aid of the new principle of mass initiative, of **socialist competition, of collective planning** doubled production at the very time when in those countries where capitalist "private initiative" prevails production has declined 50 per cent.

As against the "very primitive level of Communist views," Hitler pointed to the "higher level characterised by fact of private property," and added

"that to maintain our community in every sphere of our life only the highest capacities must be employed in an authoritarian manner. I mean by this that in **no circumstances must there be any bureaucratisation** of our whole life. The leader of an **undertaking must be fitted by nature to fill such a position**, and whether he is so fitted will be proved by his own achievements and capacities."

Hitler, the greatest prophet of "German socialism," advocates that the most successful captains of industry shall come to the top; that is to say, the most unscrupulous profit-makers and the most cunning speculators, for they are the people who, in accordance with the process of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest," come to the top under conditions of capitalist competition, such people as **Kreuger, Insull, Stavisky, Lahusen, Thyssen, Krupp, Goldschmidt**, etc.

by no means precludes a bureaucratisation of economy, which hampers and fetters capitalist economy. The monopoly economy developed to the utmost under the Nazi dictatorship proves the contrary. Production and sale are, for example, bureaucratically regulated in the whole of agriculture. But this State control only results in the big agrarians being able to sell their cheaply produced commodities at higher prices, whilst the small peasants, who have not sufficient money in order to comply with the bureaucratically prescribed standards in regard to cattle-breeding and production, are unable to dispose of their products at all, or only at very low prices.

The Reich Economic Minister has issued a new order prohibiting any increase in the prices of articles of daily requirement—with the exception of the most important, namely, of food. The same Economic Minister who issued this bureaucratic order has done everything to promote the formation of capitalist cartels. Foreign goods are shut out by means of high customs duties, raw materials must be paid with depreciated marks, all the prerequisites for increasing prices have been created by the bureaucratic measures of the State and the monopolist capitalists, and now high prices are to be prevented by means of a bureaucratic prohibition. In practice this means again that the big agrarians and capitalists will be allowed to go on pocketing enormous profits, whilst the small peasants are proceeded against more severely. In addition, a new bureaucratic organisation of all artisans has been set up which is to destroy all freedom and individual initiative.

At a time of extreme intensification of class antagonisms, Hitler advocates that "everybody has to take part in the result of the process of production not only as a creator of wealth but also as a recipient. And therefore to commence a strike is "just as insane as to draw unemployment benefit without giving anything in return." The shareholder of a steel works obviously takes part as a creator of wealth in the process of production, whilst, on the other hand, the worker who takes home 20 marks wages at the end of the week is the "recipient." Hitler, however, who is so keen on free capitalist initiative, considers it right that the worker should be deprived of the freedom to defend his vital interests by going on strike, that the unemployed worker must be forced to work in a labour camp because capitalist society has deprived him of the right to work.

Needless to say, the representatives of such principles are unable to win the support of the workers, a fact which Hitler is forced to admit. He appeals to the bureaucrats of the "Labour Front" "never to lose faith, come what may." "If we win the German worker for the State, then we shall retain him." But, as the election to the confidence councils has proved, Hitler is very far from having "won" the workers over to his side.

In regard to Ley's speech, mention should be made of the sentence with which he sought to justify the existence of the "Labour Front":—

"Even a skittle club serves to maintain the stability of the State, as the members at least know how they are to spend their evenings."

His "Strength through Joy" association obviously exists solely to divert the minds of the exploited in order that they shall have no time to engage in organising the fight for their own interests. Ley, as leader of the "Labour Front" which unites capitalists and workers, attempted to address himself to both at once in the following beautiful tirade:—

"It will not do for sacrifices to be demanded of one side, whilst the other side pockets huge dividends, and in the same way it will not do, out of weakness and cowardice, continually to give way to wage demands and finally endanger the existence of the enterprise. We do not want a servile working class, and at the same time we do not want intimidated and terrified employers."

Nobody apart from Ley has ever discovered employers who, out of weakness and cowardice, pay too high wages. The workers, however, have also proved by deeds that they are not so servile as to accept as confidence councils the creatures of Dr. Ley. The ignoramuses and demagogues at the head of the national socialist party will soon learn that neither the pogrom-incitement by Goebbels and Streicher nor Hitler's anti-Bolshevist incitement will keep the proletarian masses from rising to defend their own interests and fighting for the workers' power and for socialism.



## The Saar Delegates' Report on their Interview With Thaelmann

### The Saar Delegates Report on Their Interview with Thaelmann

The three worker delegates from the Saar country, elected at workers' meetings in large-scale industrial undertakings, report:—

"We: **Kurt Thomas**, member of the social-democratic party since 1930 and member of the miners' union since 1920, member of the committee of the S.P. and of the Ottweiler miners' union, miner working in the Diesen mine; **Wilhelm Stauner**, miner, member of the C.P. since March 1, 1934, and of the Red Aid, working at the Heinitz coking plant; **Fritz Naumann**, miner, non-party, working in the Kohlenwald mine, make the following declaration:—

During the campaign of the International Release Committee for Ernst Thaelmann and all imprisoned anti-fascists we were elected at workers' meetings at the Diesen and Kohlenwald mines and the Heinitz coking works. As delegates of the Saarland miners, we were commissioned to see with our own eyes the condition of the leader of the German proletariat, reported by the newspapers to have been tortured by the Special Troops.

The delegation has been financed by collections among the rank and file workers of the mines and smelting works of the Saar.

On Thursday morning early the delegates arrived in Berlin, and went at once to the Ministry of Justice in order to request permission to visit Ernst Thaelmann. We had to struggle till Saturday morning before we overcame all the resistance opposed to us.

We delegates are convinced that the German government granted us permission to see Thaelmann solely under the pressure of the mighty campaign which has been organised all over the world for the release of Thaelmann, and because of the enormous importance of the Saarland for the political aims of German fascism. Here is the result of our interview with Ernst Thaelmann.

The officials of the State Secret Police permitted us to speak on behalf of the Saarland miners, but only with the words: "Good day, comrade, we bring you the greetings of the Saar workers." The State Secret Police officials dictated the following further questions:—

Have you enough to eat? Do you get your post? Are you allowed to write? How often and for how long are you allowed to take exercise? Are you allowed to smoke? Can you buy extra food for yourself?

One question which we proposed: "Have you any complaint to make about your treatment in prison?" was not permitted by the officials.

In accordance with our commission, we demanded to be allowed to put the question to Thaelmann: "Have you been maltreated or tortured?" but we were told expressly that this was a political question, which could not be permitted. We were informed that we had to regard ourselves as political prisoners if we put any other questions besides those dictated to us.

At last we saw Thaelmann and put our questions. We were deeply moved, and could not avoid the impression that precisely as the questions had been dictated to us, Thaelmann's replies had been prepared beforehand. But the course taken by the interview showed that even in his frightful position Thaelmann is not in the least broken in spirit. His replies revealed his terrible situation.

In reply to our first question about food, Thaelmann answered:—

"I could not possibly exist on what I get here. A man of my physical structure needs five times as much in order to live. If I were not able to buy food with the money my wife sends me I could not possibly manage."

In reply to the question of whether he receives post, Thaelmann said:—

"I get letters only from our nearest relations. I know perfectly well that on my birthday thousands of letters and cards arrived for me. But I was only given three—from my wife, my parents, and from a stucco worker in Saxony."

Thaelmann told us that he was only allowed to write one letter every fortnight.

The officials now called upon us to ask Thaelmann to walk up

and down in front of us, so that we could see that he was able to move. Neither we nor Thaelmann took any notice of this request. Thaelmann's silence told us enough.

We then put an unexpected question: "Comrade Thaelmann, how are you in general?" And now we heard the whole frightful truth. Thaelmann replied with great bitterness: "**I have been maltreated.**" The State Secret Police officials interfered at once, shouting: "Out with them!" Thaelmann, with rising excitement, struck the barrier with his fist, repeating: "**I have been and am still being maltreated!**" Now the police officials pushed us out of the visitors' room. Thaelmann called after us, and these were the last words we heard from him: "Give my greetings to the Saar workers—according to my convictions."

We have seen the brave Ernst Thaelmann, unshaken and unbroken, and have ascertained that he is being maltreated. We are profoundly convinced that Ernst Thaelmann's life is in immediate danger. We are profoundly convinced that nothing but the ceaseless watchfulness of the public opinion of the world can protect Thaelmann's life. Therefore, we address an appeal to all the free thinking people in the whole world, irrespective of party, to reinforce the struggle for the life and liberty of Ernst Thaelmann. Only the mighty pressure which will thus be exercised can save the life and liberty of Ernst Thaelmann, and with this the lives and liberties of thousands of imprisoned German anti-fascists. Of this all three delegates—social democrat, Communist, and non-party—are equally convinced.

## Tear off the Mask from Fascist Blood Justice!

By Albert

The fascist newspapers of Germany report that a trial of 24 accused is about to take place in connection with the happenings in the Buelow Square in Berlin on August 9, 1931. Twenty-four workers, of whom 15 are actually in custody, are accused of having deliberately murdered two police officers, Captain *Anlauf* and Captain *Lenck*, and of having wounded a police-constable named *Willig*.

The trial is to be made into a great affair by the fascists and the necessary propaganda for the preparation of public opinion is already being carried on. The arrested workers have been tortured horribly in order to compel them to make "confessions" and to implicate leading comrades of the Communist Party, even including Comrade *Thaelmann*, as the instigators and organisers of the alleged murder. Not a bad idea, but the fascists have again reckoned without the mass power of the workers of the world, who will reveal the real happenings on the Buelow Square and pillory those really responsible for the killings.

A sort of drumhead court has now been established in Germany, a party court of the fascist hangmen, as the reactionary German Supreme Court in Leipzig was not bloody enough for fascism. This new court will have the job of imposing death sentences en masse against the rebellious workers in order to crush all resistance.

What actually happened in the Buelow Square on August 9, 1931? The police had prepared a provocation. That is quite clear from the happenings on August 8, the day prior to the "People's Referendum for the Dissolution of the Prussian Diet." National socialists and members of the reactionary "Stahlhelm" organisation in passing lorries provoked workers assembled in the Buelow Square. The police did nothing to deflect the lorries carrying the provocateurs. On the contrary, the police supported the latter whilst the workers were driven around the square with baton charges. A worker named Auge was killed by shots from a police lorry. As a result tremendous excitement amongst the Berlin workers occurred.

The police used these happenings as a pretext to forbid the announcement of the election results in front of the Karl Liebknecht House, the headquarters of the Communist Party in the Buelow Square, as was the custom. However, the prohibition was deliberately left so late that there was no way of informing the workers except by a placard posted in front of the Karl Liebknecht House. Naturally the workers assembled as usual in front of the Communist headquarters in order to hear the election results. Throughout the day there were no incidents anywhere which made any police action necessary, but nevertheless a series of baton charges were made in the Buelow Square and strong reinforcements were concentrated in and around the square.

At six-thirty the square was again cleared with baton



charges, and at eight o'clock a detachment of forty armed police arrived in the square as workers had again collected. The police sprang from their cars in front of the "Babylon Cinema" and immediately opened fire on the workers and in a few seconds the square was in the possession of the police. In the meantime, however, Captain Anlauf and Captain Lenck, together with a number of other policemen, came up the Weydinger Strasse towards the Buelow Square right into the line of fire of the police in front of the "Babylon Cinema," and as a result Anlauf and Lenck were shot dead and Willig was wounded.

In the wild shooting—scores of shots were fired—a young worker named *Bolle* was killed and a passing business man named *Stern* so seriously wounded that he died a day or so later. The reports of all eye-witnesses show clearly that the police officers were shot dead by their own men, and all witnesses unanimously declare that the police jumped from their cars with their pistols ready for action in their hands and began to fire immediately and indiscriminately into the workers so that even children were wounded.

The police know and knew very well at the time that the two officers had been shot by their own men. Why did they otherwise anxiously refuse to make public the calibre and nature of the bullets with which the two were killed, or to publish the usual photographs of the fatal bullets?

Naturally the police were not anxious to admit that from time to time not only workers were killed by police bullets, but even policemen. Further, the police were anxious to exploit the affair against the Communist Party. The solution of such a situation is not difficult. A witness has to be bought and the rest is easy. In this case it was the worker Broede who let himself be bought by a position.

At the same time the police made great efforts. Hundreds of Communist officials and workers were arrested and subjected to a thorough grueling, but they all had to be released. The "*Rote Fahne*," the official central organ of the Communist Party, was prohibited for fourteen days and a further prohibition was threatened if it dared afterwards to publish a true version of the happenings on the Buelow Square. A reckless campaign of incitement was organised by the bourgeois and social-democratic press against the Communist Party and statements were made with all the air of certainty only to be withdrawn the following day. Arrested workers were presented with lists of names and photographs of Communist officials and leaders with a view to making them implicate anyone on the lists, but these efforts were fruitless; the arrested workers refused to implicate anyone.

Finally such degenerates as Broede and Skorshevski permitted themselves to be bought.

The police are still busily gathering "evidence" that Communists—and even leading Communists—were the murderers. The fascist hangmen need new victims, some new sensation to turn the attention of the masses away from other things whilst they are being plundered of millions to finance the fascist preparations for war. The fascists need new evidence to persuade the people that they should be thankful that the revolutionary working class is being persecuted, and above all they need new material for the trial of Ernst Thaelmann, who is to be made responsible for the happenings in the Buelow Square on August 9, 1931.

A mass campaign on the part of the workers of the world must turn the Buelow Square process into its opposite and tear the mask from the features of fascist blood-justice. The International Red Aid appeals to the workers of the world to join in a mass struggle against the bloody fascist terror.

#### For the International Solidarity Day

The great international solidarity of the proletariat was the most important agent for our release. In the sign of this solidarity will be celebrated the Sixth International Solidarity Day on June 3.

May all workers, including the social democrats and Christian workers, understand the importance of this day for the struggle against fascism and imperialist war, for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all proletarian fighters in jail from the clutches of the fascist hangmen, and may they all take an active part of this campaign.

G. Dimitrov.

## Austria

### Resistance to Austro-Fascist Demagoguery

By Gustav (Vienna)

The winning of the working class is becoming more and more a vital question for the Dollfuss dictatorship. At the same time the Dollfuss dictatorship shows itself both unwilling and incapable of doing anything for the workers. The wire-pullers of the dictatorship, the bourgeoisie, are recouping themselves for the money spent on arming the fascist associations by wage-cuts, increases in prices and tax abatements for the rich. The workers are to be consoled with demagogic phrases.

The fascist one big union in Austria aims at deceiving the workers with demagogic phrases on the one hand and on the other hand hampering the forces of working-class resistance in order that the capitalists may carry through their offensive without difficulty. Even after the dissolution of the old free trade unions the reformist trade union bureaucrats are still proving themselves the chief social support of the bourgeoisie. The Christian-Social and German Nationalist trade union officials are unable even to secure a hearing from the workers and therefore the social-democratic leaders must spring into the breach, so to speak, as the embodiment of the "will to reconciliation" and make the necessary propaganda amongst the workers. No less than twelve of the leading officials of the fascist one big union are social democrats. A number of the various sections are led by social democrats and social-democratic factory councillors have spoken at meetings in order to persuade the workers to join this fascist one big union. One of the greatest services rendered to the Dollfuss murderers was the handing over of 8.5 million schillings by the International Metal Workers' Union.

However, none of these confusing manoeuvres has succeeded in breaking down the resistance of the workers to the new fascist union. Now, as before, the overwhelming majority of the workers refuses to join the union. In their disappointment at the fiasco of their recruiting endeavours the fascist officials have even threatened that if the workers persist in standing on one side, they, the fascists, will not be able to "defend" the wages and working conditions of the workers. However, this threat has done more harm than good to the fascists because it tears the mask of impartial justice from off the face of the fascist government and reveals it as the naked instrument of capitalist aggression.

The promise that all workers who joined up in the new union by the 10th May would enjoy their old rights in the free trade unions with respect to support, etc., had more effect. In this way some thousands of older workers who did not like the idea of losing rights that they had won in decades of trade union membership actually did join the new union.

But despite tempting offers on the one hand and the whip on the other, the number of workers who have been recruited for the new union up to the moment is so small that the authorities dare not publish it. The fascists, horrified at the paucity of results, were even prepared to extend the time given to workers to join up, "because the period was too short to permit the working class to get used to the necessary mental readjustments, but at the last moment the authorities shied at this open confession of bankruptcy.

The following examples are typical of the cold shoulder which the workers have shown to the fascist efforts to recruit them:—

At a meeting of the workers of the **Puntigamer Brewery in Graz**, a speech delivered by a Christian Social trade union official was followed by the speech of a worker who spoke resolutely against joining the new union. His speech was constantly interrupted by bursts of applause which swelled into an ovation when he concluded with the statement that Bolshevism offered the Austrian workers the only way out. When the fascist trade union official took the floor to deliver a closing speech, the whole meeting arose demonstratively and left the hall, leaving no more than about half a dozen people behind.

In the **Vienna textile factory, Boehm**, a social-democratic trade union official was hawking around on behalf of the fascist union. At a meeting of the workers, several workers spoke so sharply against the fascist union that the meeting broke up without result.

A meeting of 400 workers of the printing works **Vernay** in Vienna unanimously refused to join the fascist union and their example was followed by the workers of other printing works.

In the shoe factory, **Bally**, the social-democratic official, **Herbst**,

made propaganda for the Fatherland Front. Thanks to clever demagoguery he succeeded in securing a majority for the idea, but when a speaker of the Fatherland Front came along and gave the whole show away with a speech against Marxism, he was howled down by the meeting, which was attended by 600 workers who were cured of their error.

At a meeting of the municipal street cleaners in Vienna, a Christian Social trade union official, who tried to persuade the workers to join the fascist union, was howled down. He was unable to continue his speech, and so he concluded with the shout: "Hail, Hustria!" which was answered by the workers with a thunderous: "Long live Freedom!"

At a meeting of the representatives of the tailors in Vienna, the secretary, Plischek, could find no support for his proposal to join the fascist union. All the speakers in the discussion condemned the proposal energetically. The voting produced an overwhelming majority against joining.

The workers of the aluminium works in Lend showed the fascists what they thought of them by boycotting a meeting called to recruit for the new union. Only 27 persons turned up at the meeting, and three of these were priests and five missionary workers.

The Christian Social trade union official, Struber, had a difficult time with the workers in Zell am See when he tried to persuade them to join the fascist union. They insisted on turning the discussion to the recent wage-cuts.

A meeting of the workers engaged on the Glockner Road building operations, which had been called to persuade them to join the fascist union, had to be dispersed by the police on account of the attitude of the workers.

Two hundred of the 260 workers of the Hutter & Schrantz Works in Vienna attended a meeting called to recruit them for the fascist union. The meeting lasted exactly six minutes. The workers refused to listen to the speakers and howled them down with shouts of: "Murderers!" etc. A similar fate overtook a recruiting meeting at the Saurer Works in Vienna.

At a meeting of the workers of the Brunner Glass Works, the secretary of the labour chamber tried to persuade the workers to join up but failed ignominiously. Three days later a worker who had been one of the most energetic in opposing the fascist union was arrested and taken to a concentration camp. A second meeting was then tried, but with no better success. Communist leaflets were found on all the seats in the hall. The workers refused with an overwhelming majority to send a deputation to the fascist "May Day Celebration."

Not only the fascist one big union has to contend with this energetic resistance on the part of the workers. All other demagogic attempts on the part of the fascists to win over the workers are being similarly cold-shouldered. Numerous meetings organised by Dr. Winter with a view to winning the workers have been a fiasco or have been turned by revolutionary workers present into anti-fascist meetings. The public meeting in Vienna-Ottakring was broken by revolutionary workers. In Vienna-Alsergrund a similar meeting turned into an enthusiastic revolutionary demonstration and broke up with the singing of the "International." Dr. Winter himself was unable to obtain a hearing and his marshals were helpless so that the police had to be called in to baton the workers in the good old fascist style.

Dr. Winter himself has fallen into disfavour with the fascists on account of his fiasco, and on the 1st May he developed a "diplomatic sickness" which prevented his taking any part in the "celebrations" and delivering his planned radio speech. He now confines himself to addressing small meetings of specially-invited guests.

The Communist Party of Austria, whose untiring agitation is the cause of the increasing resistance of the workers to Austro-fascist demagoguery, is organising the continuation of the trade union work on a revolutionary basis.

#### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Readers will please note the new address of the International Press Correspondence, to which from now on all subscriptions and communications should be sent: William Massey, 249, King Street, Hammersmith, London, W.6.

## The Financial Programme of the Vienna Municipality

By Angerer (Vienna)

One would have scarcely thought that the new fascist regime in Vienna would have exposed itself so quickly and so thoroughly as it has. For fifteen years the Christian socialists conducted a demagogic fight against the taxation policy of the Vienna social-democratic municipality; they endeavoured by this means to gather round them the impoverished petty bourgeoisie and in particular they sought to persuade the small shopkeepers and business men that their bad economic situation was due solely to the municipal taxes and the housing policy of the Vienna municipality. And now, when they themselves have taken over the administration of Vienna by "authoritarian" means, their first measure is to increase the taxes paid by the masses and their first care is to maintain "continuity" with the municipal policy hitherto pursued.

The administration of Vienna is now in the hands of a body, all the members of which have been nominated. At the head of the administration is the mayor, Schmitz, appointed by the Federal Chancellor Dollfuss, and the deputy mayor, who in turn has been appointed by Schmitz. In addition, the mayor has appointed 64 "councillors of the city of Vienna," who are to form the "Vienna corporation." Although, in his opening speech at the first meeting of this body, Schmitz described Vienna as a "workers' town" because a very great part of the population of Vienna consists of workers and employees, among the 64 councillors there are only ten workers and eight employees, most of whom again are trade union secretaries appointed by the government. But even if the number of workers on the council were much larger it would not make any difference, for the Vienna corporation is only an advisory body, which holds its meetings in secret and the mayor is in no way bound by its opinion. The mayor introduces such measures as may appear to him to be necessary by means of orders, no matter whether the Vienna corporation agrees to them or not.

At the first meeting of this corporation Schmitz elaborated his financial programme, which is based on the words of the scripture: "He that hath, to him shall be given; and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath."

In order to cover the deficit of 45 million shillings, municipal bonds, redeemable in six years' time, are to be issued. As, however, hardly anybody will be found to take over the present Vienna municipal bonds at their official value, it appears that these bonds will be used as a form of token payment to the various contractors to the city of Vienna.

The "taxation reforms" of the new administration consist of the following measures: The two most important taxes upon which the town budget is based and to which the Christian socialists hitherto attributed all the blame for the bad economic situation, the "housing construction tax" and the so-called "poor law tax" (which is deducted from wages), remain unaltered. Schmitz has said they constitute the backbone of the town budget. Thus the new administration is following the footsteps of the old. As, however, it does not intend to build any more houses, the "housing construction tax" has been given the more honest name of "rent tax" and a new assessment introduced which reduces the taxes on the big dwellings of the rich.

The Vienna administration has also completely abolished the tax on horses kept for purposes of pleasure, as well as the tax on domestic servants, which hitherto was paid only by those few families who kept more than two servants. The third tax which is completely abolished is that on high-class wines and special table delicacies. Changes have also been made in regard to the entertainment tax, which will mean a considerable remission for bars and night clubs.

According to the official estimates, these presents to the rich amount to nine million shillings. The question now is how to make up these nine million shillings remission of taxation from other sources. Schmitz has hit upon the most ingenious idea: he has decided to put a tax on water. This is a tax which nobody can evade, it is also a "democratic" tax, in that the unemployed worker who has run out of benefit will pay just as much as the rich. Although it may sound as a joke, Schmitz declared in all seriousness that "there is no hardship in this tax as everybody can decide how much water he will consume." Instead of water

he can, of course, drink wine or champagne. The great majority of the population hitherto paid nothing for their water, as 35 litres per head were supplied free. This quantity has now been reduced to 15 litres. In addition, a heavy rent is charged for water meters.

Another new tax is the tax for the removal of house refuse, which is based on the amount of rent paid.

In order to carry out the so-called "investment programme" a new loan is being issued. As this programme provides for presents to owners of house property, it is, of course, only right and just that the interest on this loan is to be raised by increasing the rents of the municipal houses.

The fact that fascism exposes its countenance so openly, and so cynically throws aside its demagogic mask, is not a sign of its strength, but rather that it is being driven by hard necessity.

## China

### The Second Soviet Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic

By Chie Hua

The second Soviet Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic was opened on January 22 last in *Suikin*, the red capital of Soviet China. Owing to the Soviet elections in all the Chinese Soviet districts, the Congress could not be held on December 12, 1933, the anniversary of the Canton Commune, as was originally intended. As at this time the Kuomintang troops were undertaking fresh attacks on the Soviet districts from three sides, it was decided that the Congress should not last 12 days as was at first planned, but only seven days. This shortening of the Congress, however, did not adversely affect its work, for in view of the tense situation it was carried out with redoubled zeal and the delegates were able to return more quickly to their districts and there, in the spirit of the Congress, launch a strong counter-offensive against the enemy troops.

A little over two years have passed since the first Congress in 1931. During this time the government of the whole of Soviet China set up at the Soviet Congress, has, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party and the Communist International and supported by the broad masses of toilers, accomplished a tremendous amount of work. In these two years it has succeeded not only in repelling the furious attacks of the Kuomintang imperialists, but also in consolidating the Soviet districts and winning fresh important territory. The Red Army has developed into a strong fighting force. Whilst the power of the bourgeois-landowning Kuomintang China is decaying more and more, the power of the workers and peasants of Soviet China is steadily growing and obtaining the preponderance.

The Soviet power of China, the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry, has proved that it alone can bring about the emancipation of the workers, peasants and toiling population from the native and foreign exploiters and oppressors and realise the complete independence and unity of China. The Soviet revolution in China is a shining example to the colonial and semi-colonial countries which are fighting for their emancipation; it has become a powerful factor of the world revolution.

Under the fire of the enemy, during the fierce fighting of Chiang Kai-shek's sixth campaign against the Soviet district, the advance guard of the Chinese Soviet Revolution met together at its second Soviet Congress in order to survey the work which has been accomplished and to lay down the future tasks. The Soviet Congress drew the lessons from the rich experience of the last two years, gave a correct estimate of the leading and organising role of the Soviets in the further development of the growing anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, analysed the successes and also the weaknesses and shortcomings of the work in the past period, and laid down the line for the future work. It laid down the guiding line for the solution of the following important tasks:

(1) To create in the shortest possible time a Red Army numbering one million, to create powerful red guards and young guards as reserve troops, and improve the fighting technique of the Red Army; to strengthen the political work in the Red Army, and for this purpose to build up a system of political commissions in the Red Army; to develop the partisan movement in the white districts and the work among the white soldiers in order thereby to ensure the final victory of the revolutionary war.

(2) In order to meet the needs of the revolutionary war, to increase the output of agriculture and industry and to solve the food problem satisfactorily, develop the co-operatives and further improve the conditions of the workers and peasants.

(3) A sharper class struggle to be waged within the Soviet territory against the feudal remnants, against the kulaks and capitalists.

(4) Work to be intensified in the new Soviet districts or districts bordering on the Soviets, and to solve completely the agrarian revolution.

(5) A new change to take place in the leadership of the Soviets, converting them into organs through which the masses administer their own affairs.

(6) Cultural work to be improved, ideological struggle to be developed.

Thus the Congress aimed chiefly at creating the prerequisites for the speedy victory of the Soviet power in one or more provinces, in order thereby to accelerate the victory of the Soviet power in the whole of China.

There were present at the opening of the Congress over 700 delegates and 1,500 guests from the Soviet districts and the white districts. There was loud applause when the chairman, Comrade *Moo-Tseh-Tung*, declared the Congress opened. After the chairman's opening speech there followed the election of the presidium, consisting of 75 comrades, among them the leaders of the Soviet movement *Moo-Tseh-Tung*, *Hang-Yin*, *Chu-Teh*, *Chow-En-lai*. Comrades *Stalin*, *Kalinin*, *Molotov*, *Thaelmann* and *Nagaoka* were elected as honorary members of the Presidium. A representative of the Central Committee of the C.P. of China conveyed greetings from the Central Committee, Representatives of the Trade Union Federation of China and of the Young Communist League, and Comrade *Chu-Teh*, on behalf of the Red Army, greeted the Congress.

There then took place the election of the following six committees: (1) Credential Committee; (2) Committee for drawing up the decisions on the report of the Central Executive Committee; (3) Committee for drawing up the decisions on the development of the Red Army; (4) Committee for drawing up decisions on economic reconstruction; (5) Committee for drawing up the decisions on building up the Soviets; (6) Legislative Committee.

The following agenda was adopted:—

- (1) Report of the Central Executive Committee on the work of the past two years (*Moo-Tseh-tung*).
- (2) Report on the construction of the Red Army (*Chu-Teh*).
- (3) Report on economic reconstruction (*Lin-Pei-Chu*).
- (4) Report on the reconstruction of the Soviets (*Wu-Liang-pin*).
- (5) Adoption of the Constitution and various laws.
- (6) Election of the new Central Executive Committee.

On the proposal of the delegates it was decided to congratulate the Red soldiers at the front by telegram or wireless on their sweeping victories; to send a message to the people's army and the volunteer troops in Manchuria; to send brotherly greetings to the workers and collective peasants of the Soviet Union and to send a message to the revolutionaries pining in the Kuomintang prisons.

Already before the opening of the Congress telegraphic messages and congratulations came pouring in from all parts of the country, including the most remote regions, as for instance from the anti-Japanese volunteers and the red partisans of the 26th Army in the border district between Shensi and Kansu. The masses in the Soviet districts carried out a big collection of money and goods for the Congress. The united front of the oppressed colonial peoples against imperialism and against the Kuomintang was expressed by the presence of representatives from *Korea*, *Formosa*, *Indo-China* and *Java*.

The enthusiasm the Soviet Congress aroused among the population of the red capital *Suikin* was clearly shown by the lantern parade held in the evening of January 22 to celebrate the opening of the Congress. At daybreak on the following day there took place a military review in the central auditorium in the presence of a crowd of 10,000. The students of the military-political university of the Red Army, the first and second infantry school, etc., paraded in front of the delegates: Comrades *Moo-Tseh-Tung*, *Chu-Teh* and others delivered speeches in which they paid a warm tribute to the heroic fighters of the Red Army.

The following days of the Congress were filled with strenuous work and concluded with the election of the new Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of China. The Congress was a complete success and demonstrated the invincible advancing Soviet revolution in China.

## India

# A Few Remarks on the Indian Communist Movement

By V. Basak

A number of facts bear witness to a new revival in the labour movement. The result of the class changes which have taken place in the past years is assuming a more clear and definite form. The bankruptcy of the policy of Gandhism and the policy of the National Congress has had its influence. The united joint national front advocated by Gandhi, Nehru, Karnik and Kandalkar with the millowners has suffered a breakdown. The bourgeois leaders of the National Congress, with the blessing of Gandhi, are hurriedly forming the **Swaraj Party** for participating in the legislative assembly. And in the towns and villages the workers and the peasants, driven off the land and thrown out of the mills and workshops, starving, fettered and betrayed by the leaders of the National Congress, are preparing and rising for further battles. Workers' strikes take place. Their number and size is growing. The proletariat is consolidating its ranks, the trade unions are growing and the united **Communist Party** has come out on the arena. These facts are of tremendous historical significance and they cannot be minimised by the fact that the Communist Party of India is still very weak and does not stand firmly on its feet.

### (1) What Are the Next Steps in Building Up the Party?

The real and unconditional merging of all the Communist groups and individual Communists into a united monolithic Party, composed of **united**, consolidated local organisations, still remains the central, decisive task of the Indian revolution. In the present situation the **central link** which will decide the success of this task consists in giving support to the C.C. and consolidating all the groups and the individual Communists into a united Party organisation around the C.C. and under its leadership.

It would be a mistake if the comrades would concentrate now their attention on immediate convening of the All-India Party Conference. It is not from that end that the work now has to begin. The **most important** and the major organisational task of the Indian Communists at the present time is to **concentrate** their attention and energy upon the formation of local Party organisations and strengthening and consolidating the existing ones. This is the crux of the problem at present. The Communist Party of India has hardly any local Party organisations—it has very few cells, practically no section committees and city committees and very few normally functioning provincial committees. The local Party organisations have not yet taken definite organisational form; they usually represent small groups of active leaders of the workers' movement. In some places groups are created, but they represent nothing else but educational groups, who do not undertake the task of taking up all political problems and all tasks and questions concerning their particular mills, do not become the leading body of their mill. In these places, besides the above-mentioned educational groups, the whole membership is divided according to their trade. This is also not correct. Membership must be divided in mill groups and in some cases in chawls groups, and then combined in section organisations and then in city organisations. And in the trade union, Party fractions should be formed. The task at present is to reconstruct the ranks and to begin to establish groups (cells) in the mills and workshops and in chawls, form section committees, particularly in the large cities (Calcutta, Bombay, etc.), and also city and provincial committees.

It is necessary to commence to form a Party apparatus. At the same time it is necessary that the Party committees should direct and guide through nuclei in the mills and chawls and through Party fractions—in the mass organisations—all the mass work. The Party organisations in the mills or in new places must from the very beginning be formed secretly, and this must be **strictly observed** when sending Party comrades to work. The recruiting of members for the Party must be carried on through

the lower organisations (through the cells in the mills, with the further confirmation of the section or city committees). It is necessary to develop the leadership of Party units in mass struggles, strikes, etc. In the course of every strike Party units must **draw into the ranks of the Party the most active class-conscious workers and form factory cells from them**. In the course of preparing and carrying out strikes, thousands of workers must be recruited into the trade unions, and mill committees should be elected and set up. If the Communists had formed in the past mill Party groups (cells) then the factional struggle and the confusion would have never dragged out as long as it did in India. The lack of lower Party organisations also explains why the revolutionary trade unions and the leadership of strikes can so easily be broken up, thus depriving the workers of organisation and leadership, as has so often happened in Bombay, Sholapur, Calcutta, etc. Strikes and the mass struggles of the workers cannot seriously be developed and led if we keep on merely sending some leaders from the outside to lead the strike when the workers began the strike. The experience accumulated by the Indian comrades clearly shows that the way to preserve the leadership of strikes and keep up the ranks and morale of the workers is to send beforehand one or several active workers to the given place, locality or mill to carry on constant work, build and train in the mills groups of class-conscious workers, form Party organisations and organise open mass unions and mill committees.

Unless the C.P. of India forms in the mills Party cells and in the cities local Party organisations, it will not be able to attract thousands of active workers into its ranks, will not be able to conduct mass work and set up mass organisations (trade unions, mill committees, anti-imperialist league, etc.), will not be able to get the leadership of the masses, will not be able to wage successfully the struggle for partial demands, and, finally, will not be able to prepare the masses for the struggle for independence, for land, bread and power. It is also necessary to carry out the decisions of the Communist International on the formation of the Communist fractions in the management committees of the trade unions and other mass organisations, because without them the conduct of the correct policy, the harmonious, organised work of the Communists for winning over and strengthening the leadership in the hands of the Communist Party will not be attained.

It is just for that reason that the central task of the Communist Party and of all the Communists at the present time is to **concentrate** their efforts on the formation of new local organisations wherever these do not yet exist (and this is the case in a larger part of the country), and to strengthen and reconstruct the existing ones. This is the best and speediest way to create under the leadership of the C.C. a mass Communist Party.

### (2) Mass Work, Strikes, the Peasant Movement and the Tactics of the United Front

The platform of action of the C.P. of India, the open letter of the three Communist Parties (1932) and the letter of the Chinese C.P. (1933) correctly formulated the need of everyday work among the workers and peasants. Persistent and energetic everyday work among the toiling masses, creation of mass organisations (trade unions, etc.), leadership in the anti-imperialist movement, leadership of partial strikes and peasant resistance to the oppression of landlords, moneylenders and government, the struggle for partial demands, are the **necessary conditions** for winning the **confidence** of the toiling masses and carrying out the preparation for a general strike and unmasking of the reformists. This is the path which helps to organise and mobilise the toiling masses for the struggle for power. Dissatisfaction with the National Congress and its reformist policy is spreading among



the workers and peasants. The National Congress is going through a crisis. The bourgeoisie again capitulated; it is actively organising the mass movement, is trying in every way to divert it into "parliamentary" channels and reformist activity. In this situation, when the revolutionary movement is growing and the bankruptcy of the policy of Gandhism became obvious, the task of the Communists consists of developing mass actions. The development of mass actions against the offensive of the employers and the imperialists will not only facilitate the growth of strength of the revolutionary movement, but will show the workers and toilers in general that there is a Party which fights for the interests of the toilers, fights not in words but in deeds, that there is a revolutionary way which will bring them to victory. The tactics of the reformists at the present time consist in restricting the struggle of the toiling masses. They try to explain their treacherous policy by putting blame upon the toiling masses, they claim the workers are not conscious, that they are passive. Talking in this way they at the same time try to concentrate the attention of the toilers to the parliamentary use of the slavish constitution.

The policy of the Communists is quite the opposite. The Communists put before themselves the task of developing the strike movement of the workers, organise and extend the peasant movement, of non-payment of taxes, rent and debts, and mobilise the toilers of town and country-side for the struggle against the constitution. While carrying out these struggles, the Communists will also propagate and mobilise masses to fight for the main slogans of the Platform of Actions. That is how the Communist Party will try to rouse the masses, lead them in struggle against the imperialists, crushing the influence of the reformists. Among the workers there is a desire to resist the attacks of the imperialists, there is a desire to organise and consolidate their ranks. The C.P. of India should take the initiative and develop mass actions, build up the Party and the mass organisations and in this way fight for the hegemony of the proletariat. The struggle for partial demands is an obligatory task for all times, whether that be during the period of reaction, or rise of the revolutionary movement. And it has to be connected with the work in the mills and formation of mass trade unions. So far it remains a weak spot in the Communist movement; for instance, the comrades in Bengal have not yet learned how to build mass organisations (trade unions, etc.), and how to combine the propaganda of our general slogans with the struggle for partial demands.

The C.P. of India in pursuing the course of developing mass actions (meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc.) against the offensive of the millowners and the imperialists, acted correctly in putting forward the slogans for a general strike of the textile workers and a general strike of the railwaymen.

However, in conducting the preparations for these strikes and pursuing the line of converting them into political strikes, it would have been incorrect to counterpose them to the individual strikes in the individual mills or to renounce the latter under the pretext of the hopelessness of isolated actions. Such renunciation would only lead to passivity.

At the same time, the struggle for the masses and for consolidating the ranks of the proletariat under the banner of the Communist Party very sharply places now the question of the application of the tactic of the united front in the labour movement.

We must acknowledge the obvious fact that the agents of the bourgeoisie (Kandalkar, Ruikar, Karnik, Mehta, and others) and of the imperialists (Giri, Joshi, etc.) succeeded in splitting the labour movement. The struggle at the Nagpur and Calcutta congresses of the trade unions, the struggle in the Girni-Kamgar Union and the great India Peninsular Railwaymen Union undoubtedly took place on questions of principle, and the efforts of the followers of Roy to gloss over these facts are vain. However, in explaining these facts to the workers, we must acknowledge that the reformists had no great difficulty in carrying out their intentions to split the trade unions, and this fact undoubtedly shows that a number of tactical weaknesses and mistakes on the part of the revolutionary trade union movement was committed. This split was carried through by the liberal and national reformists in the interest of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. The workers are now spontaneously striving to consolidate their ranks in order to beat back the offensive of the exploiters. It is the duty of the Communists to take the lead and head the movement for consolidating the ranks of the workers and to point out to

them that real class unity of the proletariat is only possible on the platform of the class struggle. This has to be done while exposing the truly harmful policy of reformism. It is not so easy to prove this, because the reformists cover up their disruptive, treacherous activity by pseudo-revolutionary phraseology. In order to expose them the Communists must pursue a correct policy, carry on energetic day to day work among the masses, develop a genuine struggle for the interests of the workers, and also apply the tactic of the united front. The essence of the tactic of the united front consists precisely in this, that the Communists propose to carry on joint mass actions, **put in the forefront the development of mass actions.** Only while carrying on mass actions do the Communists make it possible and easier for the workers to see and to recognise in the practice of the class struggle that the Communists fight for the interests of the workers and that the reformists break up the defence of the workers' interests.

For this reason it is permissible and expedient for the class trade unions, particularly in the present situation, to come forward and propose to the reformist and national-reformist trade unions (only those which have masses) joint mass actions (strikes, etc.) against the offensive of the employers and imperialists. Still more, it is even permissible to address the National Reformist All-India Trade Union Congress, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union Congress, with proposals for joint mass actions on concrete issues. Such proposals should not be converted into negotiations of the leaders from above, but, on the contrary, should lead to the united front from below and facilitate the consolidation of the ranks of the workers around the programme of concrete actions: for instance, the preparation and actual realisation of the general textile strike. The tactics of the united front should not be confused with the question of trade union unity. The tactics of the united front means that mass organisations which are led or are under the influence of the C.P., appeal to the other mass organisations (led by the reformists, the national-reformists, or wavering elements) with the proposal for joint actions in a particular concrete situation.

The All-India Textile Conference which took place recently in Bombay showed that the national-reformists, under the pressure of the workers, were compelled to talk about strikes and unity. They tried to eliminate the workers from the leadership of strikes and artificially maintain control in the hands of a small group of self-styled "leaders." Demonstrating in that way their anti-proletarian essence. The class trade unions acted correctly in taking part in the conference and placing sharply the question of **electing** the central strike committee and in setting up **elected** strike committees in every mill and in every town. That is one of the concrete methods to help the workers to understand the harmful policy of the Left national-reformists and how it differs from a proletarian policy which aims to develop the initiative of the rank and file and the formation of mass organisations rooted in the masses.

The tactic of the united front does not mean peace or armistice with the reformist leaders, does not mean conciliation with reformism, but, **on the contrary**, it should lead to a more persistent and concrete exposure of the harmful essence of national reformism. If, during the period of a joint strike, the class trade unions took upon themselves the obligation to cease the attacks against the leadership of the reformist trade unions which participate in the strike, it does not mean that the class-conscious workers should for a moment cease their struggle against reformism and refrain from defending the revolutionary policy, or refrain to put forward and explain to the workers their suggestions how to carry on strikes, or refrain in case some suggestions of the reformists are wrong to explain to the workers why it is wrong and how it differs from the suggestions of revolutionary workers and why and how the workers should give support to the suggestions of the revolutionary workers. This still more applies to the C.P. of India, which did not even formally participate in this agreement and did not take any obligations upon itself. The duty of the C.P. of India precisely is this: clearly and concretely explain the harmful essence of national-reformism and at the same time carry on the defence of the interests of the workers.

We should not be confused and mix up the reformist leaders and the reformist organisations. We must win over the rank and file of the reformist trade unions. Our task is to defeat the disruptive policy of the reformists and to point out its bourgeois essence. The application of the tactic of the united front helps to achieve this. Still more in the course of the mass actions



(strikes, for instance), it is permissible to raise the question of uniting some of our parallel trade unions and the reformist trade unions into joint trade unions, under the condition that this unification shall take place from below, that the election of the management committee of the trade union shall be made by the workers—delegates from the mills—and that the advanced workers shall have the right to bring forward before the workers their proposals and defend them.

The C.P. of India, the relentless and uncompromising enemy of national reformism in all its shades, is not afraid of the unification of some parallel trade unions, and is convinced that by its policy and daily work it will succeed in winning over the workers for the revolutionary class policy, for the programme of action of the C.P. of India. The unification of parallel trade unions does not mean at all that Communism is making peace with national reformism, with the Roy group, etc.; it only facilitates for the workers understanding the difference between Communist policy and reformist policy.

At the same time, the exposure of the harmful essence of the Ruikar-Roy-Karnik-Mehta and others should be done by explaining both their general wrong political views and the true character of their practical everyday activity. For here, in the struggle for the daily interests of the workers, the only correct policy and the only force which is capable of safeguarding the interests of the workers is the Communist Party and the class trade unions. It is necessary to smash the lying propaganda of Karnik-Roy-Kandalkar, etc., when they say that the Communists do not carry on a day-to-day struggle. We must explain to the workers that this lying accusation that the Communists are sectarians is only a trick of the Roy group which aims to cover up their policy of economism, which is exactly the essence of Karnik-Roy-Kandalkar Menshevik policy.

### (III.) The Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry, the Hegemony of the Proletariat and Anti-Imperialist League

The questions pertaining to the character and the main tasks of the Indian revolution—the hegemony of the proletariat, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the working-class leadership of the anti-imperialist movement, are extensively discussed in the revolutionary movement.

In India there are three camps; first, the camp of imperialism, which consists of the imperialists, feudal princes, landlords, usurers, and the compradores; second, national reformism, which consists of the national bourgeoisie, the liberal landlords, and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie; third, the camp of the revolution, which consists of the proletariat and the peasantry, and which can draw to its side broad masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism.

The reformist policy of the bourgeoisie is explained not only by its connections with the landlords and the usurers and the interests of Indian capital, but also by its fear of the approaching people's revolution and the growing strength of the proletariat. It is incorrect to say that in the critical moment the bourgeoisie only withdrew from the leadership and in that passive way betrayed the movement, because the bourgeoisie, as a matter of fact, not passively but actively helped to smash the actions of the people. All recent facts show that the national bourgeoisie, capitulating to imperialism, refused to conduct a revolutionary struggle against it. The Indian bourgeoisie opposes a genuine struggle for independence, for clearing away all the feudal debris and developing the productive forces of the country. It is only the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry that can do this, and this ought to be explained to the toilers and the petty bourgeoisie. We must acknowledge that Gandhism is a bourgeois ideology, notwithstanding a number of statements about charka, etc. It would be incorrect to say that Gandhism is the ideology of reactionary feudalism or that Gandhism is the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie. Gandhism was always for "Swadeshi" and for all kinds of small democratic reforms. The practice of Gandhism still more sharply emphasises the bourgeois character of its "philosophy" and its policy. A correct analysis of Gandhism is necessary in order to expose the policy of the National Congress, the Left wing of the Congress—Nehru, Bose, and their agents, Kandalkar, Roy, Karnik, and Co.—who try to hide the bourgeois character of Gandhism. The Left national-reformists, Nehru, Bose, etc., represent the interest of the bourgeoisie and of the capitalist development. They use the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie to penetrate and spread their influence among the toiling masses. Representing the sentiments of the most determined sections of

the industrial bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia, insisting upon more serious concessions from the imperialists, Left national reformism fulfils now on the side of the bourgeoisie the most important function, because, covering itself with pseudo-radical phraseology and pseudo-socialist demands, it serves the cause of subjecting the toiling masses to the leadership of the bourgeoisie and disorganises the development and the preparation of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. Therefore the task of exposing Left national reformism assumes a great importance. Together with it a struggle against Roy's conception of the proletariat must be carried out in a sharpest form. According to the views of Karnik, Roy, and Co., the working class of India has not sufficiently developed to understand the big political tasks and cannot wage the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat. Karnik, Roy, Shetty, and Co. assert that in India, China and other colonial countries the proletariat has not reached the level of development attained in the capitalist countries, and with this is connected their policy of subordinating the working class to the leadership of the bourgeoisie. This assertion of Karnik and his followers is a slander against the proletariat.

It is sufficient to recall the experience of China, the proletariat of which is showing an example to the workers in the advanced capitalist countries, in order to understand that the theory of Roy does not correspond with reality.

According to Roy, Karnik, etc., the development of the proletariat depends only upon how many years of capitalist development have gone on in the country and how the productive forces have developed. Such an approach is entirely wrong and harmful. In order to get a correct idea about the level of class consciousness of the proletariat we must take into account the history and the experiences of the class struggle. The Indian proletariat, mercilessly oppressed by the imperialists, the landlords, and the Indian capitalists, has for many years been conducting a desperate struggle. The Indian proletariat was in the front ranks in the anti-imperialist movement. The Indian proletariat has gone through the great school of the class struggle (strikes, economic and political as well) and verified the position of the various classes and their political organisations from its experiences. Facts show that the level of class consciousness of the Indian proletariat is not low and that there are all the prerequisites for rapid creation of a mass Communist Party, that there are objective conditions to carry the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat.

The Karnik-Roy-Shetty group denies the hegemony of the proletariat. Roy has always in the past and now as well continues to replace the hegemony of the proletariat with the hegemony of the three classes—the urban petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the proletariat—which in reality means the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. He pursued this line in China. In his book on China he openly wrote about the Chinese revolution as follows: "Inasmuch as the revolution still relies upon a coalition of classes and has not got a pure proletarian character, the proletariat cannot become the sole leader of the revolution." History laughed at the renegade. The Roy group is conducting the same policy in India, and in doing so covers up and strengthens the position of the bourgeoisie. Based on this conception and spreading disbelief in the strength of the proletariat, Karnik, Shetty, Kandalkar, Roy, and Co. systematically carry out the line of forming a Left national party inside or alongside of the National Congress.

Roy, Karnik, and their followers claim that the working class cannot and should not try to take upon itself the leadership of the masses of the people, the leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle, etc.—for this purpose—they say—a Left national party should be formed to lead the people, and the proletariat should be the Left wing of this party.

The C.P. of India must fight against such ideas and expose the bourgeois character of this group.

The struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat is now the basic question; however, one should not understand it in a mechanical or simplified manner.

Hegemony—that is the leadership by the proletariat of the peasantry and the toiling masses as a whole—can be achieved only in the course and as a result of the class struggle. The Communist Party can establish the hegemony of the proletariat when it shows in practice that it deserves to be the leader of the toiling masses and when the masses recognise it as such. It is necessary to agitate not only in words and slogans, but above all by mass actions, which will serve as examples of the proletarian

forms of struggle (strikes, etc.). The hegemony of the proletariat can be won only when there is a mass Communist Party. Without a mass Communist Party which actively and openly (leaflets, mass actions, etc.) comes out before the masses, the leadership over the people's movement cannot be won.

By its programme, by its slogans, the C.P. of India consolidates the struggle of the workers and the peasants. By its daily work among the workers and peasants, by its initiative and its practical organisational activity among the workers, the peasants and other toilers, by its ability to lead the battles of the workers and peasants against the imperialists, the landlords, the mill-owners, by its ability to lead the masses during an offensive and during a retreat, by its ability to change the slogans and forms of struggle in accordance with the changed concrete situation, by its ability to evolve proletarian forms of struggle (for instance, strikes, political strikes, general strikes, etc.), the C.P. of India will be able to win, to establish its leadership. Only in this way will the C.P. of India be able to give leadership to the peasant masses, be able to establish the hegemony of the proletariat. In brief, the setting up of hegemony, i.e., the leadership of the proletariat through the Communist Party, can only be done when the Communists and the Party will be in the forefront of all actions, of all movements, and will not entrust this to other organisations, and will not think that the solution of this task is to find out some open organisation which will substitute the Party in the given field of mass activity. For the development of mass struggles the Communist Party must create mass organisations (trade unions, peasant committees, the anti-imperialist league, committees of action, etc.). The C.P. must develop the most varied forms of activities and organisations and be able to change some of them when conditions are changed. The C.P. must always utilise the legal forms of organisation and activity, and all the time the Party should not hide its face. During strikes, besides the trade union leaflets, the C.P. should get out leaflets in the name of the Party committees and organisations. The winning of the hegemony of the proletariat, the development of the anti-imperialist struggle and the formation of a bloc of anti-imperialist forces should not be regarded as something which amounts only to the formation of an anti-imperialist league to which the Communist Party would entrust the struggle for independence. It cannot be achieved by means of organisational schemes, regarding them as the means to get out from isolation from the masses. The correct approach consists in practical everyday activity and in the development of mass struggles and the creation of Party and various mass organisations. For instance, it would have been correct to take the initiative in organising a mass protest movement against the draft constitution. If the C.P.I., through the revolutionary trade unions, would have appealed to the other trade unions with the proposal to join and organise mass protest actions against the constitution, would have set up committees of action applying the tactics of the united front and through the committees of action would have appealed to the peasant, youth and other organisations, calling upon them and Congress rank and file to join the movement and to send their delegates to the committees of action and in that way develop a mass movement (conferences, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc.), right up to the general political strike, linking up this movement with the struggle of the textile workers, **then this would have been a real way to fight for the hegemony of the proletariat**, to build a bloc of anti-imperialist forces, create open platforms, to demonstrate the role of the Communists and leading role of the proletariat and build a mass Communist Party. This example clearly explains the correct idea how to approach correctly the problem of winning the leadership in the anti-imperialist movement. The formation of an anti-imperialist league is not in contradiction to this and it is advisable that it should be organised as one of the forms of the mass movement. However, it would be incorrect if, in the opinion of the Communists, the league should claim to have the monopoly of the organisational expression of the bloc of anti-imperialist forces. It would also be incorrect if the league were to supplant the Communist Party, and be a replica of a Communist Party and would have commenced to form its league fractions in the mass organisations. Such an idea of an anti-imperialist league would not only hold back the development of the Communist Party, but would also develop a sectarian line in the anti-imperialist movement. The task of the Communists is to take upon themselves the initiative in converting the league into a broad, mass organisation, and at the same time increase their

work for the formation of a mass Communist Party and for the formation of Communist fractions in all the organisations of the toilers, both of the permanent (like the league) as well as of the temporary (like committees of action) type.

It is also advisable to form local legal workers' parties or workers' leagues. These organisations, being one of the forms of the legal mass workers' movement, can play a useful role for the defence of the interests of the proletariat, for the dissemination of revolutionary Marxism, the development of the Communist Party and the widening of a mass movement. However, this will depend on the class content which will be put into them, i.e., it will depend upon Communists alone. If they (the Communists) would succeed to pass a class programme, give them (the workers' parties) a genuine mass character, draw them in active participation in the mass movement, if the Communists would form fractions inside and get the leadership and spread their influence—then it could be useful. In brief, the useful role of the local workers' parties entirely depend upon the work of the Communists.

What has been said with regard to the anti-imperialist bloc and the role of the anti-imperialist league is also correct with regard to the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Apart from the Communist cells in the mills and chawls, the C.P. of India should form in the villages Party groups and build mass peasant organisations, peasant committees, etc., and also work in the existing peasant organisations, vigorously advocating the tactics of the united front. The alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry and the hegemony of the proletariat can be won only on condition that the Communists conduct vigorous work in the villages, wage a persistent struggle for the everyday interests of the peasantry as well as agitate for the fundamental slogans of the agrarian revolution.

Thus proletarian hegemony can be won only when the Communists learn to make use of and to combine the various forms of the movement, quickly react on all facts of oppression and all manifestations of the class struggle, will learn to organise and lead the mass struggles, correctly combining open and underground forms of organisation, fighting against sectarianism as well as against opportunism.

While considering the question of the hegemony of the proletariat the Indian Communists correctly take into account the difference between the bourgeois-democratic and the proletarian revolution and correctly state that in order to solve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution it is necessary to approach them from the point of view of the future struggle for socialism. The future struggle for a socialist path of development in India will be accompanied by a most severe class struggle, not only against the counter-revolutionary attacks of the imperialists, but also in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and kulaks, and can be successfully carried out only when the dictatorship of the proletariat is established.

The Roy group shows its anti-revolutionary, anti-socialist character on the question of the character of the revolution and its perspectives as well. In his book on China Roy clearly described his conception of the tasks of the Chinese revolution, which he and his followers now repeat with regard to India:—

"The immediate perspectives of the Chinese revolution are not in socialism, but in non-capitalist development, and this means that the economic development which prepares the transition to socialism can take place in China with the **help of capitalist methods**. . . . The perspectives of the Chinese revolution do not deny the necessity of **economic development which will be more or less similar to the development of other countries in the capitalist system**. In China there must be attained a certain level of economic development in which all the methods of production existing in the capitalist system will be applied."

This whole conception signifies nothing but the perspectives of capitalist development, the struggle for the interests of Indian capitalism. Roy, Karnik and Co. propose for India as well a path of peculiar capitalist development, saying that it will go without capitalist exploitation (?), advocating a transitional stage of the capitalist development of the productive forces before the struggle for socialism could be started. Without this stage of development of the productive forces, the working class, according to the opinion of the Roy group, is not in a position to attain hegemony at present because it has not yet matured to the understanding of the big political tasks, and for this reason Roy recommends that the workers should submit to the leadership of the Left

national party. Roy and his followers strive in every way to subordinate the proletariat to the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party must expose all the national reformist groups which conceal their bourgeois and petty bourgeois essence behind pseudo-socialist phraseology and point out that they are anti-revolutionary and anti-proletarian, not only because they fight against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also because they disrupt and disorganise (and this is the most important thing to be explained in our mass agitation at the present time), the struggle of the toiling masses for independence, land, bread, and power. The reformists disorganise the strikes and the development of mass revolutionary of the working class and the peasantry against imperialism and the landlords and strive to preserve and to fortify the positions of the bourgeois National Congress. The Communists must point this out to the masses, not only taking up the questions of general principles, slogans, and theory, but especially analysing and explaining their practice in the everyday struggles.

### CONCLUSION

The perspectives of the future revolutionary struggle are inseparably linked up with the obligatory tasks of persistent, everyday preparing, educating and mobilising the masses at the present time. And this means that at the present time the task of developing everyday struggles, the resistance of the workers against the attacks of the employers, the protest movement of the masses of the people against the constitution, the peasant movement against pressure and ruination at the hands of the imperialists, the landlords, and usurers must be pushed into the foreground. This also means that at the present time it is necessary to concentrate our attention upon strengthening and building up the Communist Party, and creating mass organisations—factory committees, trade unions, peasant committees, etc.

The persistent mobilisation of the masses, the creation of proletarian organisations, the combination of partial struggles with agitation for the general demands in the programme of action of the C.P.I., and popularising all this as widely as possible among the workers and peasants—this is the only serious way to prepare for the direct struggle for power. And this must not be forgotten. This must be placed in the forefront of all Party work.

## VI International Solidarity Day

### The Revolutionary T.U. Movement and the International Solidarity Day of the W.I.R.

By A. Klein

On June 3 the international proletariat will march up under the banners of solidarity in class struggles for the Sixth International Solidarity Day. This year's Solidarity Day will take place in the sign of the sharpening of class antagonisms, of growing imperialist war danger and the preparation of imperialist war against the Soviet Union and Soviet China. The heroic upsurge of the Austrian proletariat, the great struggles of the French workers, the revolutionary struggles in Spain, the tremendous strike wave in the United States and in other countries—all these are tokens of the ripening of the revolutionary crisis and the fact that the world proletariat is preparing for decisive battles with the class enemy.

In the recent meeting of its Central Council the Red International of Labour Unions adopted a decision, pledging all its sections and all trade unions affiliated to it to participate in the manifestations of the International Solidarity Day, also engaging them to attach the maximum of attention to the preparations for the Solidarity Day in all their public meetings, etc.

The W.I.R. has, in the course of its existence, developed tremendous relief activities during all struggles of the revolutionary proletariat against fascism, against the sharpened methods of exploitation, against rationalisation and mass dismissals, against wage cuts, for the seven-hour day, etc., etc. In many capitalist countries the W.I.R., the organisation of solidarity relief, has been persecuted, terrorised and prohibited just as the Communist Parties and the R.T.U.O. But in spite of all persecutions, in spite of the terror, the W.I.R. has remained at its post in the revolutionary struggle.

Under the bloody fascist dictatorship in Germany and Austria

the W.I.R. has continued to work, giving its aid to the workers, who are fighting against fascist slavery, for freedom, work and bread. In Belgium the W.I.R. is just now doing a magnificent relief work for the 16,000 textile strikers in Verviers, providing their families with food and other necessities. On the occasion of the great British hunger march, the W.I.R. organised feeding centres in all places the marchers passed through on their way, and also aided them by collecting funds, etc. In thousands of strikes which took place during the last few years, hundreds of thousands of striking workers and their families were aided by the sections of the W.I.R.

Side by side with the advance-guard of the working class, the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions, the Workers' International Relief leads the struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital. The International Relief Committee for the Victims of Hitler Fascism, which was created on the initiative of the C.C. of the W.I.R., and which has now extended its activities also to the victims of fascism in Austria, has succeeded in winning millions of toilers all over the world for anti-fascist struggle and for anti-fascist solidarity. The W.I.R. played a decisive role in the great liberation campaign for the revolutionaries *Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev*, and it is now enrolling the whole of its forces in the struggle to liberate *Ernst Thaelmann*, the leader of the C.P.G., and tens of thousands of other revolutionary fighters from the clutches of murderous fascism.

Immense are the tasks which the W.I.R. has to fulfil in the economic struggles of the workers. In co-operation with the red unions and the R.T.U.O. the W.I.R. must organise the solidarity of the workers, form solidarity committees, in order to secure the maintenance of the workers in the fight and their families. In the thesis of the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. the following is said in this respect:—

"In great economic struggles it is of special importance to utilise the work of the Workers' International Relief, which mobilises the labouring masses of the district, the region, the country and also internationally to aid the strikers, and which lays special stress on enrolling in its collecting campaigns that part of the working class which the R.T.U.O. is not able to penetrate."

In many other decisions the R.I.L.U. and its sections have pointed to the tremendous importance of the W.I.R. in economic struggles. The red unions and the R.T.U.O. must give their utmost support to the preparation and the carrying through of the International Solidarity Day, and they must before all organise a mass participation of trade union members, factory workers, unemployed, young workers from the labour camps, etc., who must take part in the Solidarity Day demonstrations under their own slogans and raising their own demands. Thus the R.T.U.O. in *Belgium*, for instance, should prepare for its participation in the Solidarity Day under the slogan: solidarity and aid for the 16,000 striking textile workers in Verviers. In the *United States* the R.T.U.O. must raise on Solidarity Day their slogans for the struggle against the N.I.R.A., in *England* against the menace of wage cuts and the Means Test for the unemployed, in *Switzerland* against wage cuts and rationalisation.

This year's International Solidarity Day and its organisation should be participated in by all revolutionary workers. The bourgeoisie knows the weapon of international solidarity and fears it. All the more it is imperative that the revolutionary trade unions should co-operate to broaden the front of international solidarity. Every factory, every labour exchange, every factory group of the red unions and the R.T.U.O. must take an active part in the preparation of the International Solidarity Day and must also help the great work of proletarian international solidarity by aiding the W.I.R. to build up its organisation.

The 3rd of June should be a parade of millions of proletarian, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces. The Red Trade Union Opposition in all countries should remember the words of Comrade *Thaelmann*, now in the hands of the fascist murder gang, for the International Solidarity Day in 1931:—

"The International Solidarity Day of the W.I.R. serves the revival and the strengthening of proletarian class solidarity, of proletarian class consciousness, which the social democrat leaders have trampled under their feet and destroyed. The revival and the strengthening of proletarian class consciousness and of international solidarity means the strengthening of the revolutionary forces of the toiling masses in their struggle for work, bread and freedom."

## Against Counter-Revolutionary Social Democracy

# The Collapse of Austro-Marxism

By J. Kopenig

After the February events in Austria, the parties of the Second International endeavoured to exploit the heroism of the Austrian Schutzbündlers, their courageous armed uprising, admired by the workers of the whole world, for the purpose of surrounding the head of Austrian social democracy with a new halo. International social democracy was anxious to wipe out with the blood of the heroic barricade fighters all traces of its own activities, which have paved the way for fascism in all countries and have enabled it to establish its dictatorship in Germany and Austria.

This Austro-Marxist deception has not been successful. The barricade fighters, the heroes of Floridsdorf and Karl-Marx-Hof, have themselves refuted the lying assertion that Austrian social democracy rose in arms against fascism in February. The manifesto of the 400 Schutzbündlers who succeeded in escaping from the gallows and the jails of the Dollfuss dictatorship and fighting their way to the Czech frontier, contains the express statement of these participants in the fight that the historical guilt for the failure of the armed uprising in February and for the temporary victory of the Dollfuss dictatorship lies at the door of social democracy. This manifesto, a rousing appeal to the Austrian working class to continue the struggle, is at the same time an avowal of the methods of Bolshevism in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thousands of Schutzbündlers and social-democratic workers, who took an active part in the struggle, have already learnt the lesson of February, and have drawn a sharp line of demarcation between themselves and social democracy by joining the Austrian Communist Party. Tens of thousands, who had still faith in social democracy up to February, have now buried this faith and turned their steps towards Communism. These facts are of great international importance. Can there be a better substantiation of our arguments to the social-democratic workers than the fact that the Austrian barricade fighters, Schutzbündlers, this elite troop of Austrian social democracy and of the Second International, themselves bear witness against social democracy, and proclaim that the path of Bolshevism, the path of the Communist International, is the sole path which can lead to victory?

Austrian social democracy did not want the workers to take up arms, and it did its utmost to prevent it up to the last moment. And when the workers took up arms in spite of this, social democracy left the masses without leadership; its leaders either negotiated with the fascists or sabotaged the struggle. But this fact is better known to-day by the working masses in Austria and abroad than those other facts which show that Austrian social democracy, headed by **Otto Bauer** and **Julius Deutsch**, has continued ever since February to pursue its policy of splitting up the forces of class resistance against the Dollfuss dictatorship, and is working towards a reconciliation with Dollfuss.

Dollfuss has prohibited the social-democratic party and the trade unions, but not for the reason that the policy of social democracy and its leaders put any great obstacles in the way of his fascist aims, but for the reason that he was afraid of the workers, for the reason that he observed the radicalisation of the workers, their increasing opposition to their leaders. In such a situation any mass organisation of the workers represented a danger to the fascist dictatorship.

But the Dollfuss dictatorship is not willing to relinquish the further utilisation of social democracy in order to consolidate the dictatorship. It is already making considerable use of many of the reformist trade union leaders, who are lending their services to the government in building up the state fascist trade union organisations. In their foreign press the Austrian social-democratic leaders raise an oppositional outcry, but there are a number of facts demonstrating that in reality they are endeavouring to build new bridges to Dollfuss. The well-known social-democratic secretary of the Vienna Chamber of Labour, **Dr. Palla**, has, for instance, been appointed member of the executive committee of the fascist unity

trade unions, and this with the agreement of the central committee of the social-democratic party. His example has been followed by a large number of trade union secretaries and leading functionaries of the reformist trade unions. The role played thereby by the **International Federation of Trade Unions** is graphically illustrated by the following notice published by the official news agency in Vienna:—

“The economic police have been successful, by means of **direct contact between the former functionaries of the Metal Workers' and Miners' Union** and the foreign banks and the International Federation of Trade Unions, in achieving the return of five million schillings belonging to the Union, which were taken abroad before the events in February. The sums have been handed over to the Trade Union Federation of the Austrian Workers and Employees (state fascist unity trade unions). Endeavours are being continued for the return of further amounts.”

This notice shows the point already reached by the understanding between Dollfuss and the reformist trade union bureaucrats with the collaboration of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. And **Otto Bauer**, who is never at a loss for a radical-sounding theory for misleading the masses, has already supplied a theoretical justification of this latest betrayal of the working class. In an article published in the “**Arbeiter-Zeitung**,” the official organ of the Briinn party committee, he concludes a pseudo-rejection of collaboration in the fascist trade unions by the following characteristic drawing in of horns:—

“But we shall not be able to re-establish trade unions really independent of the state and the employers, based on the self-administration of the workers and employees and on the free election of functionaries, and able to represent the economic and social interests of the workers and employees against the employers, until we have overthrown the fascist dictatorship in revolutionary struggle. Long live the revolutionary struggle!”

Behind this apparently “Left” phrase of the “revolutionary struggle” against the Dollfuss dictatorship there is concealed the capitulation of social democracy in the trade union question, its relinquishment of the struggle against the complete disbanding of the Free Trade Unions and for their continuation. In theory the overthrow of the Dollfuss dictatorship is proclaimed, but in practice the defence of the workers' organisations is abandoned, and aid is given to the government in strangling mass resistance and consolidating its fascist regime. This is the practical conclusion to be drawn from **Otto Bauer's** theory, and it is the conclusion drawn by his party comrades in Austria by placing themselves at the disposal of the government for the building up of the fascist trade unions.

What the struggle of Austrian social democracy against the Dollfuss dictatorship looks like in reality is best shown by its attitude on 1st May. It did not give the masses one single fighting slogan, and it did not make the slightest attempt to organise any demonstrations of the workers against the desecration of **May Day** by fascism in the towns and industrial centres. In Vienna social democracy confined itself to an illegal **May Day** celebration in the forest, whilst in the workers' centres social-democratic and Communist workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, demonstrated in a revolutionary united front their unswerving fighting determination.

This attitude of social democracy on 1st May was due to the “amnesty” promise of the government, which was given on the condition that there were to be no demonstrations on 1st May likely to disturb the official fascist processions. And the social-democratic leaders did their best to fulfil this condition. The “amnesty” of the Dollfuss government after 1st May has proved to be a political business transaction with social democracy. The reformist trade union leaders have bought their liberation from prison by means of handing over the workers' money to the government. At the same



time social democracy manifested on 1st May its continued readiness to serve the fascist dictatorship, in return for the release of the "leaders," in face of the unbroken militant spirit of the masses.

That Austro-Marxism is able to continue camouflaging its support of Dollfuss by means of "Left" manoeuvres is not surprising in view of the well-known skill of Austro-Marxism in this direction. A leaflet, for instance, explains the going over to the Patriotic Front of a social-democratic mayor as follows:—

"In St. Veit on the Glan the authorities have been obliged, three weeks after the victory of the anti-Marxists, to beg the Marxist mayor to carry on the business of the town, as the victors have not found anyone up to the present to whom they can entrust the administration."

Here even co-ordination with fascism is presented to the workers as a victory of social democracy, and it need not be wondered at that the example set by the Mayor of St. Veit on the Glan is followed by the upper and middle strata of social-democratic leaders.

With the exception of the Brünn "*Arbeiter-Zeitung*," the Austrian S.P. no longer comes forward under this title in Austria, but under the name of "*Revolutionary Socialists—Council of Commissars*," that is to say, of the commissars of Otto Bauer. The publications of the S.P. mirror clearly its fear of the growing influence of Communism and of the growing sympathies of the masses for the Soviet Union.

When the social-democratic workers began to go over to the Communists in large numbers immediately after the February events, Otto Bauer attempted to intercept this mass trend by representing, in the "*Arbeiter-Zeitung*," that the lesson to be learnt from the February events was the building of a bridge between Austrian social democracy and Bolshevism for the "re-unification of the international proletariat for the struggle against fascism and for the united defence of the Soviet Union," pretending that this was now the main task of Austrian social democracy. But this manoeuvre was too clumsy, its object too transparent to be effective. And only a few days later the organ of the "*Revolutionary Socialists*" published the following statement on the Soviet Union, showing the real countenance of social democracy:—

"We must warn the workers against the illusion that Soviet Russia or the Comintern could help them, if they do not liberate themselves. Russia is dependent on amicable relations with the capitalist States, and the capacity of action of the Communist Parties greatly suffers under this need of peace on the part of Russian diplomacy. This was the reason that the mighty C.P. of Germany did not fire a single shot when the Brown hordes mowed down the German Labour Movement. Litvinov had been speculating for years on a close alliance with Germany, and did not want to spoil his chances with the new rulers. The Comintern fails to act everywhere for similar reasons. It is sacrificed to the interests of the State."

That precisely the agents of Otto Bauer, masquerading with "Left" phrase-mongering, resort to the catchwords and arguments of the Trotskyists in their struggle against the Comintern and the Soviet Union and in their slander drive against the C.P.G., only shows the counter-revolutionary rôle played by Trotskyism as last rampart of social democracy and the bourgeoisie against advancing Communism.

All the facts of the activities of Austrian social democracy since the February struggle show that it would be a serious mistake to underestimate for only one moment the rôle played by social democracy as social buttress of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the forces of proletarian revolution. This applies especially to Austria, where the fascist dictatorship lacks a broad mass basis in the form of fascist mass organisations. The Dollfuss dictatorship is a distorted caricature of the Hitler dictatorship in Germany and of the Mussolini dictatorship in Italy. It mirrors the particular weakness of the capitalist system in Austria. It lacks the economic basis enabling it to entice the masses even temporarily by means of social demagogic catchwords, and despite all its conciliatory efforts it has not succeeded in winning over any large strata of the workers. Even among the peasantry and among the petty bourgeois strata disappointment and discontent are growing rapidly with the government which is unable to keep its promises.

The constitution proclaimed "in the name of God" characterises effectively the fact that the Dollfuss dictatorship has no foot-

hold whatever in the masses. Even an understanding with the Nazis, if carried out on the basis of concessions by Hitler to Mussolini, would accelerate the already commencing disruption in the ranks of the Austrian Nazis, and not greatly extend the mass basis of the Dollfuss dictatorship. Supported solely by rifles and machine-guns, the Dollfuss dictatorship cannot keep going for long, and therefore it remains dependent on utilising social democracy, which continues to exist politically, though organisationally its influence is destroyed among broad strata of the masses. And social democracy shows that it is still willing and ready to offer its aid to Dollfuss.

It would be wrong to estimate the influence of social democracy to-day solely by the external forms of its organisational activities. To-day its mass organisations are shattered, and the S.P.A., like the S.P.G., is confining its efforts at the present time chiefly to the formation of small cadre groups. But no false conclusions should be drawn from this. A party which has possessed such a dominating influence over the masses for decades, and which is so closely bound up with the capitalist system, still has at its disposal hundreds of ways and means of continuing to exert its disastrous influence upon the masses.

The rapid mobilisation of the masses for the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, against the growing threat of a new war, for the struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis by means of the establishment of the Soviet Power, demands from the C.P.A. the continuation and strengthening of its struggle against social democracy, in order that it may liberate from its influence the masses still under its ban. The Party cannot content itself with exposing the criminal policy of social democracy in the past, by means of pointing to the disastrous results of social-democratic activities in the past; it must go farther, following up and combating the traces of social-democratic influence step by step, with the aid of the experience gained in the day to day struggle; it must combine this with the correct united front tactics from below, exposing the counter-revolutionary nature of social democracy, and utterly shattering social-democratic ideology.

It is of paramount importance to prevent the existing and newly-formed groupings of social-democratic workers from being influenced by the new left-social-democratic demagoguery. By means of drawing these workers and groups into the day-to-day struggles, the C.P.A. must tackle boldly and courageously its task of winning over not only these groups, but whole lower organisations of the S.P. of the Schutzbündlers, and of the Young Socialists, for the C.P. And if the Communists prove their ability to take the lead in the struggle against the fascist trade unions and for the continuation of the free trade union organisations, to gain leading influence in these unions, and to realise the hegemony of the C.P. in the coming economic and political struggles, then the revolutionary unity of the Austrian proletariat will be welded in the fire of the struggle, and the Bolshevik mass party arise.

The prerequisites already exist to-day. The movement among the social-democratic workers for going over to the C.P. has assumed a spontaneous mass character in many places. This shows that the consciousness is maturing, among broad masses of the social-democratic workers on the basis of their experience in the February struggles, that they must take the path of Communism. Much depends upon the ability of the Communists to find the right method of appeal, convincing and comprehensible to the social-democratic workers, helping them to overcome their last inhibitions. The doors of the C.P.A. must be opened widely to the social-democratic workers, and all fear cast aside regarding remnants of social-democratic ideology still existing among the workers now coming to the C.P.

The wider the C.P.A. now throws open its doors to the workers who have been tried and tested in the revolutionary struggle, the more workers it is able to wrest from social democracy and bring to the Party, the more boldly and resolutely it places them among the leading cadres of the Party as members with equal rights, and awakens in the masses the consciousness that to-day the transformations of the hitherto small C.P.A. into a Bolshevik mass party is not solely the affair of the present Communists, but at the same time and above all of the broad masses of the workers who have hitherto been social democrats, the sooner will it be possible to eliminate from the consciousness of the masses the last residue of social-democratic ideology.



## Five Years of Social Democratic Government in Denmark

By A. Munch-Peterson (Copenhagen)

The first social-democratic government was formed in Denmark ten years ago. The second social-democratic government under Stauning has been governing for five years to the complete satisfaction of the Danish bourgeoisie. The second Stauning government, it is true, is a coalition government, as it includes in it three ministers who are members of the so-called radical party, but the overwhelming majority of this government consists of social democrats, and Stauning is the recognised leader of the government. Only when the social democrats wish to give the workers an explanation for the anti-working-class measures of the government do they remind them that they have to consider their openly bourgeois cabinet colleagues, and for this purpose they leave to the radical party the post of Minister for Justice. They often make use of another excuse: the government, they say, has a majority only in the second chamber, whilst in the first chamber two bourgeois parties, the big peasants' party and the conservative people's party combined, have the majority.

The social-democratic party continually declares in its press and from its platform that this reactionary majority is responsible if its measures are bad, and that the government must have credit for all the good things it has allegedly done for the workers. As a matter of fact, the government has done nothing but worsen the lot of the workers and the toiling population. It has done everything the Danish bourgeoisie has demanded of it, and the social-democratic leaders, together with the leaders of the bourgeois parties, bear the full responsibility for the economy and fascist measures of the government.

During the first 3½ years of the present government there was no workers' opposition in parliament. It was only at the elections in November, 1932, when the Communist Party increased its vote nearly fivefold, that the first two representatives of the C.P. were sent to parliament. They furnished the first example of a revolutionary socialist policy in parliament. The growth of the revolutionary movement and of the whole oppositional movement of the workers and small peasants in Denmark, together with the taking over of power by the fascists in Germany, has caused the Danish bourgeoisie to demand of its government the adoption of sharper measures against the revolutionary movement.

The social-democratic leaders, however, have drawn from the events in Germany the lesson that it is necessary to do better than the leaders of the German social-democratic party and to show the bourgeoisie that they are determined to do everything demanded of them to maintain order and the existing society, so that it will be much more advantageous for the bourgeoisie to allow them to remain in office. Therefore the social-democratic government of Denmark, under the slogan of the fight against national socialism and Communism, is carrying out a number of fascist measures.

The whole crisis policy of the social-democratic government has consisted in defending the interests of the big capitalists and big peasants. By currency depreciation, by State regulation of the destruction of cattle (up to the present over 200,000 head of cattle have been destroyed), by means of customs duties, indirect taxes and dues the price of the most important articles of food, such as meat, sugar, coffee, butter, margarine, grain, etc., has been artificially raised for the whole of the population. Thus, for example, Danish butter is twice as dear in Copenhagen as it is in London.

This policy has seriously hit not only the workers, and especially the unemployed, but also the rest of the toiling population. It is only the big landowners who benefit from the artificial increase in the price of grain, whilst the great majority of peasants have to buy grain with which to feed their cattle. In addition, the difficulties of disposing of agricultural products on the home market are increasing, while the foreign market is glutted. Thus this policy has in no way aided the working peasants. The big peasants, however, are endeavouring to draw them into their fascist organisations and at the same time are demanding further inflation. The big industrialists are supported by subventions from the State in order "to keep industry going."

It is true parliament has been compelled to grant extra millions to provide benefit for the unemployed, numbering hundreds of thousands, but at the same time benefit has been cut

down and the government has, by a new series of laws, rationalised the whole social legislation. By this system (the Ghent system) the trade unions and the unemployment funds have been closely merged, whereby the State apparatus acquires a direct influence over the trade unions. The workers themselves pay by far the greater part of the cost of the unemployment insurance, and in return they are able to draw benefit only for a restricted period. At the same time the expenditure on the police has been increased, and in the name of "Nordic democracy" the social democracy is carrying on an energetic propaganda to rouse nationalist feeling in order to prepare the ground for an increase in the military budget.

The Danish social democracy is solving its most important task as social buttress of the bourgeoisie by doing everything to prevent the workers from going over to the counter-attack. The chief argument used by the social democracy in this connection is that the workers must not make things difficult for their "own government." The social-democratic government is employing every means in order to prevent the workers from engaging in struggles. It has appointed an arbitrator—wno, it should be mentioned, was sentenced ten years ago on account of bank swindles—in order to settle labour disputes. In January, 1933, the government by a law formally prolonged the collective agreements and prohibited all strikes in the coming year. In January of the present year the social-democratic government, supported by all bourgeois parties, passed a law changing the rules regarding voting in the trade unions. According to these new rules the trade unions cannot reject the mediation proposal of the State arbitrator unless such rejection is decided on by a certain majority, and only then if a certain proportion of the trade union members take part in the vote. In addition, the State arbitrator can regard several or all trade unions as a whole, and thereby gain a sufficient number of votes for his proposal.

By means of this law the strike of the seamen, which was decided on by 90 per cent. majority, and with the observance of all the complicated formalities, was declared to be "contrary to the law." When in spite of this the seamen struck work, the government used every means in order to suppress the strike, to prevent the exercise of solidarity by the rest of the workers, and to protect the strike-breakers. When the strike of the slaughtermen threatened to deal a severe blow to Danish capitalism, it was brought to an end by a special law for the setting up of a special arbitration court, which pronounced a binding award so that the workers were forced to return to work without their demands being fulfilled.

This policy is to be continued further. At the general meeting of the Danish Trade Union Federation, Stauning delivered a speech in which he pointed to the necessity of the social democracy to abandon all the points of its programme, to conduct a policy aiming at the complete exclusion of foreign goods and to "socialise" the trade unions in the interests of the whole of society. Stauning euphemistically described this policy as "planned economy" and the "way to socialism," and thereby made it easier for the fascists to arouse among the broad masses a hatred against so-called socialism and planned economy. He described all workers who do not belong to the reformist trade unions and the social democracy as traitors and enemies who should be ruthlessly crushed.

As a matter of fact the government is doing everything in order, with the aid of police truncheons and class courts, to crush the revolutionary movement and the opposition among the working peasants. Following the seamen's strike an action has been brought against the Red Trade Union Opposition under a clause of the criminal code for "holding up transport." Strike-breakers were protected by the police, workers' meetings and demonstrations were broken up by foot and mounted police. Within a period of four months four editors of the central organ of the C.P. of Denmark, "Arbejderbladet," were sentenced and two new trials are pending.

The government has caused a closer watch to be kept on foreigners in Denmark. Numerous Communists from Germany have been expelled from the country and in some cases sent back to Hitler Germany. A new law has been introduced to prevent collections of money for the International Labour Defence and for "unlawful" strikes. A new law demands the dissolution of all organisations aiming at influencing political events by means of force. Under this law the Danish bourgeoisie and its govern-

ment will, when they consider it expedient, prohibit the Communist Party and the revolutionary mass organisations as followers of the Marxist teachings on the proletarian revolution.

This whole reactionary policy is, of course, in crying contradiction to the programme on which the government was elected. The working masses are to an increasing extent opposing the policy of the government. Among the broad masses of peasants there exist strong, although confused, anti-capitalist and anti-parliamentary sentiments, but, unfortunately, the various fascist organisations have succeeded by their impudent demagoguery in winning the greater part of these confused elements.

The whole situation, however, offers the C.P. of Denmark the best possibility, by means of energetic work, to mobilise the working peasants together with the workers for the fight against capitalism. Among the working masses there is to be observed a broad opposition movement, both in the trade unions and the social-democratic party organisations. Thousands of workers today stand hesitating between remaining in the social democracy, to which they are bound by strong organisations and traditions, and going over to the Communist Party. During the past year or so thousands have found their way to the R.T.U.O. and the Communist Party.

By persistent work, and before all by further rapid development of a broad opposition movement in the factories and in the trade unions, the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. will in the coming months succeed in mobilising the broad masses under their revolutionary flags.

## The Development of the Brandlerist Kilbom Party to Social Fascism

By Knut Senander (Goeteborg)

Ever since their expulsion from the Comintern in the year 1929 the Brandlerist leaders of the Kilbom party have always come forward as Communists; they have always posed as being the true followers of Lenin, and impudently asserted that their expulsion was only the result of the "ultra-Left policy of the Comintern." The revolutionary workers, who felt themselves to be Communists, were retained in the Kilbom party with the promise that an appeal would be made against the expulsion at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern.

The suicide of Herr Kreuger, the match king, in 1932 furnished proof that this two-faced policy of the Brandlerists was not based on an "error" but that these "Communists" on the direct orders of the big capitalists, are splitting the labour movement in order to weaken it. Their party organ, which was stolen from the Communist Party of Sweden with the aid of the "democratic" police, was practically in a state of bankruptcy already in 1930, when Kilbom requested a personal interview with the match king and received from him 200,000 Swedish crowns as a "loan"; 135,000 crowns were paid over straight away, and the match king received as "security" a number of worthless shares of the heavily indebted undertaking.

In return for this timely assistance the leaders of the Kilbom party shortly afterwards helped to put through a new agreement for the iron ore works in Norrbotten belonging to the Match Trust, with the result that the wages of the workers in the undertaking were considerably reduced. Later, the Kilbom people boosted the match king in various articles whilst they made fierce attacks on the Soviet Union.

The "revolutionary" Brandlerists of Sweden allowed themselves to be bribed in other ways by the most disreputable big capitalists. Thus their papers have for years received huge advertisements from the Swedish daughter company of the English oil king Deterding; and this explains not only their constant attacks on the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also their systematic and lying attacks against the Oil Syndicate, a Swedish-Soviet company which for years has engaged in successful competition with the products of Deterding and of other private capitalist oil companies. The money received from the match king and from Deterding caused the Kilbom party to discover that "It is much more difficult to defend the Soviet Union to-day than formerly," and that "the socialist experiments in Russia and Australia cannot be taken as a model. . . ."

The sharpening of the situation in the past year rendered it increasingly difficult for the "revolutionaries" who have been bought by the capitalists to carry on their double game. On the occasions of strikes and demonstrations against strike-breakers,

etc., when it was a question not of talk but of action, the workers realised more and more clearly that it is only the Communists who really defend their interests, whilst the Kilbom leaders either maintain a passive attitude or attack the fighting workers in the rear. By such actions they have, for example, lost all influence in the seamen's union.

In order to overcome the passivity and pessimism in their own ranks the Kilbom people sought for a new, attractive slogan and found it in advocating amalgamation with the Left social democrats. But the result of this union with the social-democratic Left, which took place recently in Goeteborg, proved a great disappointment. Since the expulsion from the Swedish social-democratic party of the Left leader **Albin Stroem**, who is a member of parliament and chairman of the Goeteborg Trades Council, the Kilbom people had spread false reports about the enormous influence wielded by Stroem in Goeteborg and persuaded their members that Stroem would bring with him three-quarters of the social-democratic members into the new party. As a matter of fact, he did not even attempt to make use of the social-democratic party apparatus which he had in his hands right up to the last; he allowed himself to be expelled without resistance, although a membership meeting attended by 2,500 declared itself against this expulsion, and, instead, demanded the expulsion of his opponents. At the annual meeting of the trades council Stroem did not even venture to come forward as candidate; only a small part of the delegates voted for him. Nearly all the meetings which the Kilbom party organised for him in the province ended in a fiasco. Outside of his native town of Goeteborg Stroem has practically no following at all, and in Goeteborg he is followed by a few hundred young social-democratic workers expelled from the social-democratic Youth, and the building workers' trade union is still under his influence.

The amalgamation was a disappointment also in another respect. Shortly after it had been effected Stroem was expelled from the union of factory and unskilled workers on account of conduct harmful to the union. As a result of an enquiry undertaken by the union Executive Committee, of which he himself was a member, it transpired that Stroem, during the building workers' strike, contrary to the statutes of the union, not only drew strike pay, but also, as a member of the strike committee, drew a weekly wage of 50 crowns, although he had an annual income of 7,000 crowns. Altogether this revolutionary phrase-monger drew 80 crowns strike pay a week from his union, while the ordinary members had to be content with 18 crowns a week. The Kilbom party now has as a new ally a man who has been exposed to the whole of the working class as a contemptible deceiver, and the leaders of the new "socialist party," who for political reasons are compelled to defend him, are in an unenviable position.

At the unity congress of the Left social democrats and the Kilbom party, in Goeteborg, a new programme was adopted which contains nothing concrete whatever, but only a conglomeration of confused philosophical phrases. It is stated in the introduction to this programme that "it is very difficult to explain what socialism is. . . ." They are just as little able to explain what capitalism is. They write regarding the epoch of imperialism:—

"Free competition has led us into the position in which we are at present, and the misery would have been still greater if the State had not intervened in order to restrict free competition. . . ."

The Kilbom people, who for years posed as revolutionaries and true Leninists, could have learned from Lenin that

"at a certain stage free competition develops into its opposite, into monopolist imperialism." . . .

The programme further declares:—

"In laying down the line of the party it is difficult to learn from history, for history never repeats itself. Communism has triumphed in Russia, fascism in Italy, and national socialism in Germany; but this does not imply that the development in Sweden will follow on the same lines as that in any other country. . . ."

"It is not absolutely necessary for socialism to abolish private property; there exists no intention of taking away from people what belongs to them. . . ."

That is the same "socialism" that Hitler and his party have always preached. And it is in order to preach such a "socialism" that the Swedish Brandlerists have been bought by the big capitalists.

The programme of the new socialist party further demands that "the workers shall have a voice in the control of production," a demand which corresponds to the famous economic democracy of the Germans Hilferding and Wissel.

Although only a few weeks ago they called themselves Communists and Leninists, and talked about the dictatorship of the proletariat, they now wish to gather round them all sections of the population. The programme declares: "We must educate ourselves and our fellow-men to socialism; socialists and the socialist society grow up side by side." They thereby proclaim their kinship with the social fascists.

They even include the propaganda of the mission of the higher races, presumably in order to be on the safe side in the event of the victory of fascism:—

"It is necessary for socialism to rally all the oppressed sections of the people . . . at the same time one must advocate an ennoblement of the human race. . . ."

It is only a small step from this demand for the ennoblement of the race to the bloody extermination of the inferior sections of the population, according to the recipe of the Nazis. And these traitors, who already now, without outside compulsion, advocate the doctrine of the bloodthirsty fascist hangmen, claim that it is their mission to bring about the unity of the Swedish working class by means of their motley Socialist party. These impudent swindlers are still held up by the leaders of the English Independent Labour Party as true Communists, as the real representatives of the class-conscious Swedish proletariat.

## Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

### To All Fighters Against Fascism and War!

#### Appeal of the World Committee Against Imperialist War and Fascism

This appeal of the World Committee was published at the Whitsuntide Congresses and Youth Conferences against War and Fascism.—Ed.

Decaying capitalism is endeavouring to maintain its power over the toiling masses by means of atrocities such as humanity has never yet experienced! Fascist dictatorship and imperialist war are to prolong the rule of the bankrupt exploiters.

The deadly crisis of capitalism condemns millions of workers to starvation in all countries.

It drags the middle classes, intellectuals, employees, students, war victims, artisans, and peasants into want and misery. The rulers are endeavouring to goad these despairing victims into a fresh war, persuading them that this is a means of escape, inciting them by every device of chauvinism and nationalist agitation. Anti-Semitism, race hatred, anti-Soviet calumny, are the means by which they seek to make the middle classes serve the ends of the fascist dictatorship of big capital, entirely against the interests of the middle classes themselves. The rulers are, however, finding it increasingly difficult to oppose the middle classes against the working class.

The proletariat, which in most countries has grasped the lesson to be learnt from the victory of fascism in Germany and from the history of the past twenty years of wars and revolutions, is gathering its forces for bold counter-action.

#### The Austrian Example

The heroic armed struggle of the Austrian workers against the establishment of the fascist dictatorship has been an inspiring example to the anti-fascist masses, arousing their fighting spirit. The events in Austria have given the lie to those who maintained that an open or concealed policy of coalition with the capitalist class can possibly lead the toiling masses to any other result but fascism and oppression. The heroic action of the workers has, on the contrary, proved that the working people are ripe for the establishment and exercise of socialist power, and that the working masses are ready to fight for the overthrow of capitalism.

The ideology which has attempted to impose the belief that socialism can be attained with the aid of bourgeois ballot box democracy has been destroyed by the fascist rule of violence which has developed out of this democracy.

#### General Strike in France, General Strike in Spain, General Strike in Cuba

These mighty actions against fascism and imperialism are further proofs of the upsurge of the fighting powers and readiness for action of the toiling masses.

The French proletariat, aroused to intensest indignation and alarmed by the horror of Hitler fascism, repulsed the fascist attempt to impose its rule in France by the general strike on February 12.

In these struggles the united front stood the test magnificently. Under the united front joint actions and strikes against impoverishment by wage cuts have been carried out successfully. Every step towards fascistisation encounters the increasing resistance of broad strata of the population. The Whitsuntide rally held by the French anti-fascists on the occasion of their National Congress proved to be a mighty gathering of the forces of the workers, the war victims, the employees, the intellectuals, the peasants, artisans, and handicraftsmen, all ready to join in anti-fascist actions.

The growth of the fighting forces against fascistisation and exploitation is further evidenced by the widespread and successful strikes in Spain, Greece, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, England, Sweden, and in the United States of America. A rising wave of revolts, among the agricultural labourers and peasants is sweeping across almost all countries. Mighty risings of the people against war and fascism are developing everywhere.

#### The Heroic Anti-Fascist Struggle in Germany

The working masses of Germany are fighting with steadfast heroism in the foremost ranks against the most barbaric and uncurbed enemy history has ever known.

Hundreds of thousands of unknown soldiers of the social revolution are standing faithfully at their posts, each one a hero inspired by the common idea of victorious socialism. It was these heroes who stood behind Dimitrov whilst he carried on the struggle for emancipation of the oppressed, as a true internationalist, with the greatest courage, in the face of the fascist executioners. And now it is Ernst Thaelmann, tortured and bleeding, who stands before the enemy, at the outposts of the anti-fascist front, in a deadly struggle calling the whole working class to readiness. The tenacious, self-sacrificing struggle in the works and factories, in the labour service camps, in the rural districts, and in the barracks of the Storm Troops, is becoming deeper and broader, and is swelling underground to a mighty current which will overpower and sweep away fascist rule.

We call upon the toiling masses and the freedom-loving intellectuals of the whole world to exert their utmost powers, day by day, to help in real fraternity and international solidarity, in order that the liberating storm may break over Germany.

#### Defend the Chinese People and Soviet China

The struggle for emancipation of an oppressed people, this is again the slogan resounding from China. To the "honour" of the League of Nations, great portions of China have been invaded by Japanese troops. The revolutionary unity formed against imperialism and military dictatorship has given the people of the Soviet territory of China the power to carry on a victorious struggle. The Kuomintang government, headed by the executioner Chiang-Kai-Shek, having failed in its sixth campaign against Soviet China, in spite of Japanese, English, American, and French help, the united imperialists at the beginning of Spring incited it to still another campaign. The imperialist war against the Soviets is, however, not only a business affair, bringing in millions to the armament industries of the West, it is at the same time a part of the struggle for existence of capitalism against socialism. The continued existence, the victory, and the extension of the Soviets signify the realisation of socialism.

#### A Steel Wall Around the Soviet Union!

Japanese imperialism stands at the borders of the Soviet Union, ready to spring. It has come to an agreement with English imperialism with regard to the plan of attack on the Soviet Union, though sharply antagonistic to England in China, India, Australia. English ministers quite openly approve German armaments, for they know that Hitler is ready to march the millions of the German army against the socialist Soviets.

International finance capital has long since tacitly declared its agreement to Hitler's offer for the crusade against the socialist Soviets. This is the deadly serious situation with which we are faced.

The internationalism of the workers in all countries, the

might of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the successful Soviet diplomacy, and the powerful Red Army, have hitherto restrained the capitalist robbers.

But war is there: In China, in South America, in India, in Morocco, in the colonies of England, Holland, Italy. War clouds are gathering menacingly over the Pacific Ocean. Central Europe is a centre of conflagration.

Here the day-to-day struggle demands:—

**The struggle against the imperialist governments!**

**Agitation against the spirit of chauvinism!**

**Demonstrations against the transport of troops!**

**Prevention of the transport of munitions!**

**Campaign against the manufacture of war material!**

**Support for the struggle for emancipation among the oppressed peoples!**

The work accomplished for these aims is still weak among the workers and intellectuals of Western Europe. Greater boldness and courage have been shown among the ranks of the soldiers and seamen.

Every people is confronted with the fateful question, which becomes more imperative every day: whether it is capable of securing peace by means of the victory of socialism. The sacrifices demanded by the forceful struggle for socialism are infinitesimally small in comparison with the cruel sacrifices, the millions of victims, which a new world war will demand. Surely the choice cannot be difficult: We must fight, by means of militant mass movements, against imperialist war and for socialism. The disarmament swindle must not be permitted to sidetrack us any longer from this struggle against the greatest misfortune which can overtake humanity. The effective peace policy of the U.S.S.R. proves daily that only socialism really means peace.

We appeal to the toiling masses of all countries:—

**Do not let yourselves be led astray by people who are actually aiding the capitalist governments at the present moment, and promise "action on the day of the outbreak of war."** These are the same people who abused the confidence of the masses of the workers in 1914, and helped the imperialists to drive them on to the battlefield.

Now, at once, to-day, you must passionately take up the struggle against the imperialist preparations for war. Throw your utmost powers into the scale, that you may prevent the catastrophe of war. And should the imperialist fascist rulers nevertheless find it possible to initiate the new world war, then the slogan which we must all follow in all capitalist countries is that of the great anti-militarist, **Karl Liebknecht: Down with the government, down with war.** This must be our slogan from the first day of the outbreak of war.

An example is set for our emulation by the heroic anti-war actions of the Japanese workers, peasants, and intellectuals. And in case of war against the U.S.S.R. there will be hundreds of thousands—nay, millions—of allies of the socialist Soviet Union, who will fight determinedly against their own imperialists.

The general strike has already been tried and tested in the anti-fascist mass struggle. The workers have already taken up arms in the struggle against their fascist governments. The proletariat has twenty years of development in war and revolution behind it, and has drawn its conclusions. It has tested all means and learnt how to apply them. Our militant movement is exerting its utmost powers, in order that the united front forming between the working class, the great masses of the progressive intelligentsia, and all other toiling classes, against war and fascism, may develop into a factor which will liberate humanity from the horrors of war.

Socialism by means of the widespread rising of the people, that is the sole means of escape. This is the sole path to victory for all anti-fascists and anti-war fighters.

**Therefore you must strengthen the Fighting Committees as the organs of emancipation!**

Fight daily, shoulder to shoulder, for the demands of the toiling masses against fascist dictatorship and fascist decrees!

**Form mass anti-fascist corps for self-defence!**

Break down the chauvinist agitation by anti-war actions and by the militant internationalism of the toiling masses!

**Women, gather together everywhere and prepare with your utmost powers for the Women's International Congress on July 28, 29, and 30 in Paris!**

**Students and intellectuals, close the ranks of the united front**

and prepare with your utmost energy for the Students' World Congress!

**Young fighters against fascism and war, march side by side with the adults, join them in their struggle for the fulfilment of our slogans!**

**On the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the Great War we must all join forces to proclaim our resolute determination to defeat those powers which are endeavouring to maintain, by means of a new world massacre and by barbaric methods of oppression, their decaying system of brutal exploitation!**

**Create the all-embracing, great international fighting front of all workers and toilers against capitalism and imperialist war!**

**Forward to the victorious struggle against socialism!**

**World Committee for the Struggle against Imperialist War and Fascism.**

**World Youth Committee.**

Paris, May 15, 1934.

## The First Swiss Militant Congress Against War and Fascism

By A.

The first Swiss Militant Congress against war and fascism, which was held at Whitsun in Zürich, reflected the revolutionary upsurge and the strengthening of the anti-fascist united front also in Switzerland. The Congress means a serious step forward and will undoubtedly lead to a broad mass movement against fascism and the war danger throughout the whole country.

Of the 450 delegates elected from various organisations 388 delegates were present at the Congress. The composition of the Congress revealed its *united front character* and the strong participation in it of factory workers. Two hundred and thirty delegates belonged to no party, a fourth of the delegates belonged to the C.P. of Switzerland, 37 were social democrats or young social democrats. It should be remarked that the number of social-democratic delegates elected to the Congress was much higher, but that some of them yielded to the strong pressure of the party bureaucracy, who threatened them with expulsion and sought to intimidate them in every way.

According to their trade union affiliation 130 delegates were delegated by reformist trade unions, 89 by red trade unions, 188 delegates were elected by factories, including armament factories. Among the delegates there were 50 women and 55 young workers, 10 independent small tradesmen and several representatives of the intellectuals and peasants. A special conference of the Youth delegates was held on Whit-Monday.

The *international character* of the Congress was clearly expressed by the participation of a workers' delegation from the *German frontier district* as well as from *Alsace-Lorraine*. The three first reports were delivered by representatives of the three nationalities of Switzerland in German, French and Italian. After the main report, delivered in German, on fascism and the danger of war, *Desponds*, the social-democratic deputy-chairman of the Lausanne Trades Council, delivered the second report on the tasks of the trade unions in the struggle against war and fascism. (The Lausanne Trades Council is at present engaged in a fierce struggle with the Swiss Trade Union Federation, because the executive committee of the Trades Council, consisting of social democrats and Communists, in spite of their expulsion from the Trade Union Federation, were demonstratively re-elected by their members.) The Lausanne delegation to the Congress, consisting almost entirely of social democrats, were the champions of the revolutionary united front in the trade union sphere.

The deep crisis in the Swiss social democracy was expressed in the discussion speeches of all the 18 social-democratic workers, who sharply criticised the shameful attitude of the social-democratic and trade union leaders on the occasion of the vote on the penal law and also their propaganda for the defence of the country. In a joint declaration of the social-democratic delegates they stigmatised the sabotage of the Congress by the social-democratic leaders and pledged themselves to fight in a united front against fascism.

The speech of Comrade *Robert Mueller*, the chairman of the C.P. of Switzerland, who conveyed the greetings of the Party to the Congress and outlined the present political situation in Switzerland and the immediate tasks of the class-conscious working class against fascism and war danger, met with the general approval of the Congress, which fact is an indication of the growing popu-



larity of the Communist Party among broad sections of the toilers.

The Congress elected a representative *Swiss Committee for the Fight against war and fascism* on the basis of the united front and laid down three important tasks to be fulfilled in the near future:—

On May 27, there will take place in Schaffhausen, an industrial town near the German frontier, a rally of the fascist front movement, which is considered not only by the Schaffhausen working class but by the whole population of the neighbourhood to be a serious provocation. The Congress decided to call upon all anti-fascists of Switzerland to arrange a counter-demonstration and an anti-fascist rally on the same day in Schaffhausen and to mobilise all forces in order to repulse this fascist provocation.

In a special decision the Congress calls for a large-scale campaign for the rescue of *Ernst Thaelmann* and all German anti-fascists, and against the law on the setting up of the "People's Court" in Germany, which threatens with death not only Thaelmann, but hundreds and thousands of anti-fascist fighters on account of their revolutionary activity. The Congress decided to organise a series of protest meetings and demonstrations and to inundate the German Embassy and the German government with a flood of protest telegrams. The Congress further elected a delegation which sharply protested at the German Consulate against the contemplated judicial murder of Thaelmann. In addition, the Congress decided to send a second Swiss anti-fascist workers' delegation, elected on a broader basis than the first one, to Berlin to see for themselves how matters are with Thaelmann.

A third, important decision of the Congress concerns the preparation of a big anti-war campaign on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the world war.

The first Swiss militant Congress against war and fascism, at which the militant social-democratic workers as well as the workers belonging to reformist trade unions demonstrated their determination to set up the revolutionary united front and to fight against the social-fascist saboteurs, at which the workers from the armament factories reported on the immediate struggle of the workers against the armament policy of the imperialists, at which also a social-democratic militiaman, delegated by a group of soldiers, conveyed the greetings of the proletarians in army uniform, means a big success for the revolutionary united front in Switzerland.

## The White Terror

### Hungarian Fascists Determined to Make an Example of Rakosi

The Hungarian authorities are at present maintaining complete silence in the matter of Comrade Rakosi. The Budapest papers do not mention a word about him. Obviously they have received instructions from the government not to publish anything regarding him. In the meantime the Public Prosecutor is preparing his case. The laws, according to which Rakosi whilst in prison on remand should have better treatment than as a convicted prisoner serving a sentence, are being completely disregarded. Letters and books sent to him are kept back by the prison authorities. He is allowed to have better food, provided he pays for it himself. One can imagine what Rakosi has to suffer after having served 8½ years' imprisonment which has greatly undermined his health. If he is to be rendered fit to stand the ordeal of a fresh trial, then he must have a more nutritious diet. This is allowed him, but at his own cost. In order, however, that he shall not live too luxuriously, his money is confiscated by the Public Prosecutor, a fact which is admitted by the "Magyar Hirlap."

As we have already said in a former article, the Hungarian government has no juridical grounds whatever for staging a fresh trial of Comrade Rakosi. It is prompted thereto solely by political considerations. It wants to make a warning example of a leading Communist. The fact that 15 years have elapsed since the time he is alleged to have committed a number of criminal acts is not even taken into consideration as an extenuating circumstance. Precisely because 15 years have passed since the victory of the counter-revolution, and in this long period Hungary has sunk into ever deeper misery and its position has become increasingly untenable both in the field of domestic and foreign politics, so that not only the workers, but also the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the lower officials and even high school youth, who at one time

were amongst the strongest supporters of the terrorist regime, have become disillusioned—precisely for this reason the Hungarian authorities are preparing to deal this blow to Rakosi. A small handful of trembling junkers and the financial capitalists who are connected with them economically constitute to-day the class followers of the government; a thin stratum behind which, however, stands the whole apparatus of power of the State—the army, gendarmerie, police, law courts, prison warders and executioners. Therefore, it is more necessary than ever for them to make a display of the means of terror at their disposal, and Comrade Rakosi offers them the best occasion for this. It is true, they have already once sadly miscalculated with regard to Rakosi. They wanted to bring him to the gallows. The hangman was standing ready, but the action of the international proletariat, international public opinion did not allow them to carry out their criminal intentions. In the meantime, the world has changed. Countries from which a powerful mass protest would have been heard are to-day under the heels of barbarous fascism. And in the rest of the capitalist world there prevails a more favourable atmosphere for condoning juridical crimes. This opportunity the Hungarian rulers are determined to make use of.

In the meantime, we must do everything in order to frustrate this criminal plan. The fascists in Budapest must learn that the victory of fascism in Germany and Austria, the victory of the fascist and military cliques in Latvia and Bulgaria, while they have favoured the reactionary tendencies, have at the same time aroused tremendous anti-fascist forces. The campaign on behalf of Comrade *Dimitrov* showed what possibilities exist in order to compel the most powerful, ruthless and cruel fascist bloodhounds to listen to the voice of humanity, to compel them to refrain from the worst crimes.

A severe crisis is shaking the fascist power. Their demagogy no longer deceives. Therefore the headman's axe and the gallows are to secure their rule. We must prevent such men as Rakosi being made objects of their lust for murder.

If we succeed in doing this, we shall deal a powerful blow to their whole regime of murder. The success of the Rakosi campaign is also a campaign for anti-fascism! To fight for Rakosi means to fight for a twofold success!

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

### Biro Bidjan—An Autonomous Jewish Province

By M. Z.

On May 7 the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. proclaimed the district of Birobidjan in the Far East an "Autonomous Jewish Socialist Province." The Jewish nationality in the Soviet Union thereby takes its place alongside of all the other nations and nationalities of the U.S.S.R. who possess their State autonomy, either in the form of federal autonomous Republics or in the form of autonomous provinces.

With this decision of the All-Union Executive the second and decisive step has been taken towards the realisation of the decisions of the Soviet Government of May, 1928, September, 1931, and April, 1932, providing for the setting up in Birobidjan of an autonomous Jewish national administrative unit within the R.S.F.S.R. The first step was taken in the course of the year 1932 by the granting of certain administrative rights to the Birobidjan region, as well as by the manner of the formation of the State and Party organisations in Birobidjan. By the above-mentioned second step there is demonstrated to the whole world that the Soviet Power, in spite of all difficulties and obstacles, is steadily achieving the national and social solution of the Jewish question. The next step will bring the further development of the autonomous district to the status of an autonomous socialist Republic.

For the first time since thousands of years there exists a definite Jewish State, a fact which has become possible only by the destruction of all the causal connections between Jewry and commodity-producing society. The overcoming of the highest form of this society, namely capitalism, by the victorious October revolution has freed the path to the solution of the Jewish question.

The proclamation of Birobidjan, which is exceedingly rich in natural resources and is rapidly developing both in regard to



agriculture and industry, as an autonomous Jewish socialist province will make a deep and lasting impression on the masses of Jewish toilers throughout the world. The cruel persecution which the masses of Jewish toilers, workers and intellectuals have suffered at the hands of the fascists, who everywhere make use of race hatred as a means of mobilising the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat and saving the rule of finance capital, have demonstrated to these masses their hopeless situation within the capitalist world.

Zionism, this agency of British and world imperialism in the North Arabian coastal districts, regarded the Jewish pogroms in Germany as a triumph of their theory that it is impossible for the Jews to be assimilated by other peoples and that the only possible solution of the Jewish question is offered by Zionism. What has become of their triumph? Only that which the Communists have always predicted would be the inevitable fate of Zionism. Imperialist antagonisms are increasing in Arabia and Palestine, as are also the nationalist-bourgeois and national-revolutionary tendencies of development. That which is trumpeted abroad as being a Zionist economic boom, is nothing but the result of the imperialist penetration of Arabian economy and the influx of capital from Jewish circles to Palestine.

But Zionism is not spared the results of these facts: the growth of Arab resistance to Jewish immigration, the increasing vacillation of British imperialism between its Arab, Egyptian and Jewish interests, and the growing class struggle among the Jewish elements in Palestine itself. Thus we see that nothing has come of all the promises the Zionists made to the Jewish emigrants from Germany and other countries. Palestine, which was to solve the whole Jewish question throughout the world, can only take a fraction of those Jews who desire to emigrate.

The Soviet government has never asserted that it would or could solve the world Jewish question. It has simply declared that it would cause the Jewish question to disappear within the Soviet Union. The proclamation of Birobidjan as an autonomous province has liquidated one of the last abnormalities of Jewish existence in the Soviet Union: the fact that a people numbering nearly three million did not possess its own State of administration in the union of Soviet peoples, and as a result had no representation as a nationality in the highest government organs of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has already fundamentally changed the social structure of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. The traders, the merchants and beggars have disappeared. 12.2 per cent. of the Jews are peasants, 25 per cent. are industrial workers, thousands of young Jews are attending the workshop schools in all branches of industry, others are working in the mining industry, on the railways, in the steel industry and in the mercantile marine. The Jewish people in the Soviet Union are living a normal social and cultural life like the rest of the 150 peoples and races. And now they possess their own State and administrative unit. Now proof has been furnished that the Jews, like all the other peoples, are able, like pioneers, under the hardest physical conditions, to convert an undeveloped country into a country of socialist culture. There is no "Arab question," no conflict of imperialist interests, no flight from one anti-semitism to another. That is the solution of the Jewish question by the Soviet Power.

It is not surprising that there is an increasing desire on the part of Jewish emigrants to make their home in the Soviet Union. The Soviet government declared from the beginning that it is ready to accept Jewish emigrants; not, however, according to the wishes of the Jewish nationalists, not for philanthropic reasons, but according to the conditions and the necessities of the Soviet Power, whose strength and protection constitutes the best protection, the best future security for the masses of Jewish toilers abroad. The Soviet government can accept emigrants only insofar as it is able to offer them dwelling accommodation, food, possibility of work and satisfaction of their cultural demands. All these conditions are now being fulfilled. The overcoming of difficulties in regard to food, the complete victory on the agrarian front and the rapid progress in the construction of dwelling houses, renders it possible to accept Jewish emigrants. The Soviet government wishes to make it clear that it will not act precipitately nor in any other interests than that of the proletariat.

From reports from various sources we learn the following: The immigration of foreign skilled Jewish workers to Birobidjan has not yet commenced this year. Emigration from other parts of

the Soviet Union is proceeding excellently. In a few weeks the plan for immigration from abroad will be completed not only for Birobidjan but for other districts of the Soviet Union. Then it will be possible to give more exact details regarding the number of immigrants who will be accepted. The question of financing the immigration must be settled by societies abroad. The Soviet government reserves to itself the right to select the immigrants from a social point of view. The immigrants must take up Soviet citizenship. Jewish working immigrants will be accepted not only in Birobidjan, but also in Crimea, Caucasus and the Volga Republic.

Thus, whilst the Palestine experiment is slowly approaching its end, the Soviet government is proceeding step by step not only to solve the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union, but also to convert the Soviet Union into a country in which foreign Jewish workers can settle and find a home, and this without any great fanfare and without, as in Palestine, to the accompanying music of armoured cars and aerial bombardments.

## The Conclusion of the Spring Sowing Campaign

By May 15, 75.8 million hectares had been sown in the Soviet Union. The early sowings have now been practically concluded and Party organisations, particularly in the southern districts, are now concentrating their attention on the later sowings.

The good progress and the good results of the spring sowings are due above all to the work of the *political departments*, that is to say, the role of the Bolshevik leadership in the rural areas has considerably increased. The work of the political departments was seen in the education of the collective farmers and succeeded in obtaining an increase in labour enthusiasm and labour discipline, and in inculcating a socialist attitude towards production and towards social property.

The development of agricultural production on the new socialist basis has also increased the role of the *scientific agronomists*. In old Russia this profession was almost unknown. The collectivised agriculture of the Soviet Union has set up a tremendous demand for trained agricultural technicians. At the moment no less than 35,000 agronomists are at work on the collective and Soviet farms. Sixty-two per cent. of these experts have obtained their special knowledge since 1929 in Soviet schools. Over half of these experts are young people under 30 years of age. The same is true of the veterinary experts and doctors. The main body of the agricultural experts therefore consists of young Soviet specialists.

This year the field of operations of the agronomists has greatly extended. It is true that the Party has still criticism to make of their activities, and points out in particular that they must work at the point of production and not in the offices of the tractor and machinery stations. The agronomists, declares the Party, must become the technical authority in the rural areas as the engineers are in industry.

The agronomists have also made a start with the training of the collective peasants and assist them in mastering rapidly and effectively the new agricultural methods.

The individual reports which have come in from various districts show that the results of the sowings are closely related to the question of the care and attention paid to the tractors and the agricultural machinery and the correct organisation of their use. The Party called in good time for the overhaul and preparation of all agricultural machinery, etc., and everywhere where the organisations carried out this important preliminary work properly it had a good effect on the course of the sowings campaign. A systematic performance of all operations and a careful control over the quality of the work performed must show successes.

The spring sowings campaign was accompanied everywhere by intensive *cultural work* in the rural areas. The industrial workers also supported this cultural work as far as possible and intensified their efforts to provide the collective and Soviet farms with sanitary equipment, literature, radios, etc. The "Rentok" factory has now organised the serial production of light and easily transportable Roentgen apparatuses intended above all for use on the collective farms. This year no less than 15,000 such apparatuses are to be produced. The first have already been supplied to the Donetz Basin.

Various collective farms have already provided themselves with parks of culture and recreation. For instance, in the village of Singarovska (near Kiev) such a park has been laid out with a

stage, tennis lawns, football grounds and other facilities for sport, a library, reading-room, chess club, etc.

Another factor which has made for the success of the sowings campaign was the improved leadership given by the collective farms to the individual peasant farms.

The *Moscow district* takes first place and has already fulfilled its grain sowings plan. By May 15, 3,413,000 hectares had been sown, of which 2,734,000 hectares were sown by the collective farms.

Very good reports have also been received from the *Tartar* districts, where the sowings have now also been completed. By May 15 the plan had been fulfilled 93 per cent. Last year the quality of the work in these districts was praised and this year it is even better. In addition the productivity of labour is also on the increase, as can be seen from the fact that in many cases the standards were exceeded.

The overhauling of the tractor and machinery parks was done thoroughly and many stations were able to boast that not a single breakdown occurred during the sowings. The reports from the *Tartar* districts also show that a number of special measures were applied with success, for instance the reduction of the numbers in the brigades so that the responsibility of the brigade leader was increased. Agro-technical training showed good results. The private sector of agriculture in the *Tartar* districts also showed good results, and on May 15 84 per cent. of the plan had been carried out. During the sowings 9,835 individual peasants joined the collective farms as a result of the good work of the collective peasants.

The *Chuvash Republic* is also amongst the leading districts and by May 15 425,000 hectares had been sown, or 1.2 per cent. in excess of the plan. Two hundred and seventy-seven thousand hectares of this were sown by the collective farms and 10,000 by the Soviet farms.

By May 15 the *Central Volga* district had sown 4,839,000 hectares, or 79 per cent. of the plan. Most of the tractor and machinery stations carried out their plans to the full. Grain Soviet farms are the prevalent form in this district and they have fulfilled their plans by 93.4 per cent.

*Dagestan* is also one of the best districts, and by May 15 it had fulfilled its plans by 102.5 per cent. and sown 243,000 hectares.

*White Russia* report that on May 20 it had exceeded its plans by 4.5 per cent. and sown 65,000 hectares over and above the plan.

On May 15 *Northern Caucasia* reported that it had exceeded its plan by 1.3 per cent. and sown 2,570,000 hectares.

In the *Ukraine* the sowings will soon be ended, although there is a certain amount of leeway to be made up with the later sowings of buckwheat and maize. The Party and Soviet organs are concentrating on making up the deficiency.

It must be stressed that a comparison with last year's results is almost universally favourable. This year 14,132,000 hectares more were sown. These figures and all the reports indicate a very high grade of socialist organisation in agriculture.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### Production of Pig-Iron Exceeds the Plan

For the first time in the history of Soviet industry the plan for the production of pig-iron was exceeded on the 18th May. On this day the foundries of the Soviet Union produced 30,268 tons of pig-iron, or 0.2 per cent. in excess of the plan which provided for a production of 30,000 tons. A comparison with the production for the corresponding day of last year stresses the importance of the achievement. On the 18th May, 1933, the total production of pig-iron through the Soviet Union was 19,965 tons.

The production of pig-iron is steadily rising from week to week; thanks to the increasing success of the Soviet foundry workers in their determined efforts to master the technique of this industry. They are mastering the complicated mechanism of the modern blast furnaces and are obtaining an increasing utilisation of their capacity.

Blast furnace No. 1 of the "Avsovtal" trust and the blast furnaces of the Magnitogorsk combination have already exceeded the standards of capacity utilisation laid down in the conditions of the All-Union competition of the foundry workers. The other blast furnaces have also considerably increased their utilisation of their

capacity. However, the reserves of the Soviet foundry industry are by no means used to the full yet. This fact places great tasks before the Red directors of the Soviet foundries.

### Heavy Industry in 1934

The Soviet press publishes a review of the achievements of heavy industry in the Soviet Union in the past months of the current year. In comparison with the corresponding period of last year the production of heavy industry in the Soviet Union has increased by 18.3 per cent. In the first four months of this year heavy industry succeeded in carrying out 38.1 per cent. of its plan of production for 1934. The success is chiefly due to the increase in the productivity of labour which was 16.4 per cent. higher than in the corresponding period of last year. Although real wages have increased by 4.5 per cent., the costs of production have been lowered. Particularly important is the fact that the most important branches of heavy industry have increased their contribution to the main volume of production.

### Fifty Million Loan Subscribers

On the 15th April the Soviet government opened up subscriptions for a loan of 3.5 milliard roubles, and by the 20th May this sum had been fully subscribed. A total of 50 million persons subscribed to the loan. The "Pravda" declares that this magnificent result is a demonstration of the political maturity of the workers and collective peasants.

### All-Union Conference for Vitamin Investigations

The Bureau for Vitamin Investigations attached to the People's Commissariat for Health, has called a conference, together with the Academy of Science, to take place on the 5th June in Leningrad, for the purpose of summing up the results of investigations in the Soviet Union into the question of vitamins. The conference will investigate the results which have previously been obtained and take measures to secure uniformity of the work as well as drawing up a plan for future work.

The conference will also examine the result of such investigations which have been carried on outside the Soviet Union. A special lecture on the importance of vitamins in public health will be delivered to the conference and the various laboratories will present their reports.

The young science of Vitaminology which studies the effects of various kinds of nourishment on the human and animal organism is being developed rapidly in the Soviet Union. The question of vitamins is of particular importance in the Soviet Union because those workers engaged in the Far North are in danger of scurvy and similar ailments. The supply and storage of fresh vegetables and fruit is extremely difficult in the Far North. In other districts also the quality of the food can be much improved as a result of a regular supply of the necessary vitamins; a factor of great importance for the maintenance of the health of the people.

The vitamin question is also of great importance on the field of cattle breeding. The breeding of cattle and the improvement of the quality of animal products can be greatly assisted by the application of the knowledge obtained from the investigation of the vitamins.

### The Struggle Against Drought

It is well known that large districts of the Soviet Union, the Volga region, the central Black-Earth district, the Ukraine and the North Caucasus often suffer from drought. The development of agro-technique could alleviate the consequences of drought, but was unable to avoid it altogether. The most effective means to combat drought, however, consists in the planting of trees which change the climate, reduce the temperature of the air and protect the fields against dry winds.

The Machine and Tractor Stations of Mitrofanovsk furnishes an example of how this problem is tackled and the practical solution of this question approached. This station held a number of scientific conferences on this question, formed special committees which carried out investigations in the district served by the Machine and Tractor Station. On the basis of this preliminary work a plan was worked out for the planting of forests and for the preservation of snow. The realisation of this plan, which has been adopted by the respective collective farms, will cost 160,000 roubles. In addition, the collective farms will have to work 39,000 days and 5,200 horse work days. By autumn, 1935, an area of 1,229 hectares will be planted with forests.

## In the International

### Decision of the E.C.C.I. on the Disruptive Policy of Doriot

Moscow, May 16, 1934.

In view of the struggle carried on by Doriot against the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, the Executive Committee of the Comintern proposed on April 23 to the C.C. of the C.P.F. and Doriot, to put an end to the internal struggle by submitting the questions in dispute to the Executive Committee of the C.I. for examination.

In adopting this decision the E.C.C.I. was prompted by the necessity of preserving the unity of the Party and of the working class in the struggle against fascism and by the desire to guard Doriot from becoming isolated from the masses of workers.

But whilst the Central Committee of the C.P.F., according to the instructions of the E.C.C.I., at once ceased the struggle, Doriot has continued his struggle against the C.C. of the C.P.F. To the repeated demands of the E.C.C.I. to come to Moscow to settle the differences he invariably replied with a refusal to accept this invitation.

The E.C.C.I. has thus exhausted all the means at its disposal to save Doriot for the Party and to prevent his being isolated from the working masses. The Executive Committee of the Comintern realises that Doriot does not speak and write on the united front in the interest of its effective realisation, but only to be able, under cover of phrases on the united front, to prepare to split the Party. The E.C.C.I. does not believe that Doriot, who is endeavouring to destroy the united front within the Party, is able to stand honestly and sincerely for the united front of the working class.

Doriot's Open Letter to the E.C.C.I. is only a camouflage to conceal his disruptive policy. In this way Doriot is following the path taken by the counter-revolutionary Trotsky in his struggle against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and against the Communist International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International resolves: (1) To refuse to grant Doriot the protection of the Communist International. (2) To empower the Central Committee of the C.P. of France to adopt against Doriot all ideological and organisational measures it considers necessary in order to safeguard the unity of the Party and the victorious struggle against fascism.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

**Dimitrov, Heckert, Kuusinen, MacIlhone, Manuilsky, Piatnisky.**

### Decision of the Political Bureau of the C.P. of France in the Matter of Doriot

The Political Bureau, by reaffirming the indissoluble bonds uniting the Communist Party of France with the Communist International, the tried and trusted leader of the world proletariat, and with the conviction that it is rightly interpreting the unanimous sentiments of the French Communists, unconditionally approves of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International regarding the disruptive activity of Comrade Doriot.

This activity of Comrade Doriot thwarts the action of the Communist Party for the realisation of the united front of struggle against fascism.

Like the E.C.C.I., the Political Bureau of the C.P. of France also does not believe that Doriot, who is endeavouring to destroy the united front within the Party, is able to stand honestly and sincerely for the united front of the working class.

The Political Bureau demands from Doriot:—

(1) That he approve of the decision of the E.C.C.I., and acts accordingly.

(2) That he ceases immediately the struggle against the Central Committee in all its forms (meetings, articles in the press, fraction work in the Party, in the mass organisations and in the municipal council, etc.).

(3) That he publishes the decision of the E.C.C.I. in "Emancipation."

(4) That he publishes in "l'Humanité" and in "Emancipa-

tion" a declaration pledging himself to cease the struggle against the Central Committee and that he be willing to take up under its leadership the fight against fascism and for the united front of action which has been hitherto hampered by his disruptive activity.

(5) That he submit "Emancipation" to the control of the district committee of the Paris-Nord district, as laid down in the statutes of the Party.

The Political Bureau appeals to the whole Party to exert its efforts in order to strengthen and extend the united front of struggle against the emergency decrees, against fascism and war, in order to expose the treacherous and disruptive attitude of the social democrats and to frustrate any attempt to increase the split within the working class.

The Political Bureau of the C.P. of France appeals to all Communists and all workers of St. Denis, who have passed through many struggles for the maintenance of unity, to rally more closely round the Communist Party and the Communist International, which alone are capable of leading them to victory over fascism and finally emancipating them from capitalist exploitation.

The Political Bureau resolves to bring the decision of the E.C.C.I. to the knowledge of the whole Party and of the working class.

### For the United Front—Against Disruption!

(From the "Pravda")

The decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. in the matter of Doriot is a fundamental document which exposes Doriot's attempt to cover his disruptive work in the ranks of the C.P. of France with a platform on the "united front." This document shows the efforts made and the great patience exercised by the Communist International, before resorting to organisational measures against those who violate the Party unity, to influence them by means of comradely persuasion in order by a correction of their mistakes to save them for the labour movement. This document furnishes to the workers of all capitalist countries clear proof of that genuine proletarian inner-party democracy of the Comintern, which combines the highest concern for the interests of the Party with a tactful attitude to each of its members.

Already for several weeks Doriot had been conducting a campaign against the Central Committee of the C.P. of France by accusing the latter of being an opponent of the united front of struggle, charging the C.C. with not permitting on principle any negotiations with the leadership of the socialist party of France regarding the carrying out of the united front, alleging that the campaign of exposure of the socialists is being conducted by "l'Humanité" in such a way as to prevent the setting up of the united front of the workers. If these accusations were correct, then the Communist International would be bound to correct the mistakes of the C.P.F. The line imputed by Doriot to the Party would be in contradiction to the basic decisions of the Communist International on the question of the united front of struggle of the working class.

Doriot embodied his attacks against the Party in a special Memorandum which he sent to the Comintern with the request that it intervene in the dispute between himself and the C.C. of the C.P.F. By this step Doriot asked for the protection of the Comintern. By this step he created among the workers who follow him the impression that he is prepared to submit the question in dispute to the E.C.C.I. for examination by the latter. This step was perfectly correct. Every member of the Party, and in particular every member of the Central Committee, if he is convinced that the Party is pursuing a wrong policy, has the right to appeal to the Comintern. But at the same time Doriot proceeded along the inadmissible path of a fractional struggle against his own Party.

Even before sending his Memorandum to the E.C.C.I. Doriot published and distributed it as a fraction-platform and, after having demonstratively resigned from his position as mayor of St. Denis, he put forward his own candidature again, thus, in accordance with bourgeois parliamentary usage, making the non-party electors the arbiters in his struggle against the Party. All these actions aroused great indignation in the Party; in spite of this the Central Committee remained calm. Despite the most flagrant breach of Party discipline on the part of Doriot, the Central Committee refrained from putting forward another candidate against Doriot so as not to split the workers' votes and enable the

reactionary parties to benefit from the election. By this policy the C.C. has proved in a convincing manner, both to the Comintern and the workers of France, that it is in fact **adhering to the policy of the united front of struggle against reaction, whilst Doriot's anti-Party actions are disorganising this united front of struggle.**

How did the Communist International proceed in this matter? As soon as Doriot's appeal reached the E.C.C.I. it sent a telegram to the C.C. of the C.P. of France and to Doriot, requesting them to cease the inner-party struggle, to concentrate all forces on the mobilisation of the masses against the advancing fascist reaction, and to send a representative of the C.C. and Doriot to the E.C.C.I. in order to investigate the nature of the differences of opinion.

By inviting Doriot to Moscow the E.C.C.I. wished to give him a possibility of bringing forward his accusations against the Party on the basis of facts. One would have thought that anyone who is convinced of the correctness of his views would have at once availed himself of this opportunity. As a matter of fact, however, Doriot refused to go to Moscow. Whilst the C.C. of the Party immediately accepted this proposal and sent a representative to Moscow, at the same time publishing in "l'Humanité" a declaration that the C.C. according to the instructions of the E.C.C.I. was ceasing the struggle against Doriot, the latter did not go to Moscow but continued his attacks against the C.C. **Doriot has thereby proved that his appeal to the Comintern was only a manoeuvre calculated to deceive the workers of St. Denis at the elections by feigning loyalty to the Communist International.**

The C.C. of the C.P.F. was inundated with protest declarations from workers against Doriot's inadmissible attitude; the Party organisations unanimously condemned him and his influence began to decline rapidly even in St. Denis, where at the beginning he had the overwhelming majority behind him. Already at the time when the Comintern proposed the cessation of the inner-party struggle, 17 out of 35 Party cells of St. Denis declared themselves against Doriot. Doriot lost his head as he felt that he was becoming more and more isolated from the workers. Those workers who in May had voted for him at the mayoral election in St. Denis realised that he had abused their confidence. They had voted for Doriot who had appealed to the Comintern, and not for Doriot who proceeded to break with the Communist International. They became more and more convinced that Doriot was not really concerned with the setting up of "the united front."

If the differences of opinion between Doriot and the C.C. of the C.P.F. had been limited to the question whether the C.P.F., in view of the danger of fascism, could and should approach the leaders of the S.P. of France with a proposal to set up a united front of struggle, such differences of opinion would have been very rapidly removed with the assistance of the Comintern. Like the C.C. of the C.P.F., the Communist International is of the opinion that such an appeal is not only admissible in view of the fascist danger, but in certain circumstances also necessary. This standpoint was laid down in the resolution of the last Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.F. Comrade Gitton, the representative of the Political Bureau, reported on this question to the Plenum of the C.C. on March 14, 1934. It is very well known that the Communist Party of Germany, before the seizure of power by the fascists, repeatedly approached the social-democratic leaders with the proposal to set up the united front of struggle, namely, on July 20, 1932, as well as on January 30 and March 5, 1933. Unfortunately these proposals for the setting up of a common united front of struggle were rejected by the social democrats.

A similar tactic of approaching the social-democratic leaders is even more easy to apply in a country like France, where the social democracy has not yet been in power, where, as a result of the secession of the extreme Right wing from the socialist party, the socialist workers really believe that their party will not follow the path of the German social-democratic party, where concrete fighting experience of the masses is required in order to shatter their strong parliamentary illusions. Apart from this the socialist workers, who have learnt from the example of the cowardly capitulation of the German social-democratic leaders to fascism, are adopting a more cautious attitude towards the manoeuvres of the social democrats.

The question of approaching the social-democratic leadership was never a "programmatic" question for the French Communists. The relations to this leadership were determined by considerations of a revolutionary nature. It is, for instance, well known that the C.C. of the C.P.F., according to the instructions of the Comin-

tern, approached the French social-democratic leaders in March, 1933, with a proposal for setting up the united front of struggle. But this proposal was rejected by the French social democrats, just as it was rejected by the socialist parties in other capitalist countries. At the height of the February events, on February 7, five of the strongest Red trade unions of the Paris district approached the corresponding reformist trade unions with the proposal to call a 24-hour general strike. This also represented an approach not only to the rank and file, but also to the leaders.

In regard to the setting up of the united front of struggle of the workers, the question of prestige never played any role with the French comrades. When the reformist C.G.T., under the pressure of the masses, called a general strike for February 12, the Communist Party and the C.G.T.U. likewise called a general strike for the same day. **The most malicious enemy of the Communist Party in any country cannot cite a single example where the Communists were not in the front ranks of the fighters at the moment when the social democrats, under the pressure of the masses, summoned the workers to the fight.** But is Doriot able to say the same thing of the French social democracy, which has systematically sabotaged all the movements launched by the Communist Party? Who will believe Doriot that his differences of opinion with the C.C. of the C.P.F. consist in that he is in favour of the united front whilst the whole Party is against this unity of struggle? Can anybody who is forming a block against the C.P. with those socialist leaders, who have systematically wrecked this united front of struggle, be an honest adherent of the united front? The united front of struggle of the working class means the smashing of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Who were and are still to-day followers of this theory of collaboration if not the leaders of social democracy? Has not the C.P.F. proved in dozens of cases during the last year that it is the only party of the unity of struggle of the working class? It has proved this by the Amsterdam anti-war movement, by the demonstration on February 9, by the general strike on February 12, as well as by all those actions in which Communist and social-democratic workers proceeded shoulder to shoulder against the fascists, and smashed their meetings.

On the basis of concrete experience the masses have repeatedly received proof of who really advocates the united front and for whom the phrase of the united front is only a manoeuvre in order to deceive the workers. This fact explains the growing influence of the C.P. among the broad masses, their increasing confidence in the Party. The fact that Doriot refused to have his differences of opinion examined by the E.C.C.I. proves that he is not at all concerned with the question of the united front.

Doriot has realised that in face of concrete facts his attitude will not stand any criticism. In the hands of Doriot the platform of the united front is a **camouflage for his estrangement from Communism and the workers' movement.** A newspaper of M. Barthou, which is very well informed on parliamentary matters in present-day France, writes that Doriot will become a Minister sooner than those workers who voted for him on May 6 at the municipal election for St. Denis would believe. We would like to think that this is a calumny, but the stubborn facts seem to speak in favour of this prediction by M. Barthou's paper. The French bourgeoisie is **siding with Doriot** in his fight against the C.P.F. The fact that the bourgeois parties did not put forward their own candidate against Doriot only confirms our assertion that the "united front of the workers" of which Doriot talks is being converted into a "united front with the bourgeoisie."

The decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on Doriot constitutes a reply to all those slanderers who wish to represent the Communists as the opponents of the united front of the working class against fascism. The drive of the proletariat for fighting unity has tremendously increased since the experience of the capitulation of social democracy in Germany and Austria to fascism. Hundreds of thousands of social-democratic workers in all capitalist countries **want to take up the struggle** against fascism. Anybody who not only resisted this drive for the united front but even underestimated it, would be committing a crime against the working class. But the sincere and enthusiastic urge for the united front compels the E.C.C.I. to expose those who, under the cloak of the united front, are endeavouring to carry disruption into the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Only those can be regarded as honest adherents of the united front of the proletariat who are unswervingly devoted to the unity of his Communist Party. One cannot be in favour of the united front of the work-



ing class and at the same time disrupt the united front of the Party, which realises the real unity of the proletarian struggle. A commander who deserts his advance-guard cannot sincerely wish for the victory of his fighting army.

Not a single class-conscious worker will believe, with Doriot that the realisation of the united front has to begin with the attempt to split off from the Party of revolutionary unity a portion—even if only a small portion—of the Party members. Not a single class-conscious worker will believe Doriot when he asserts that his struggle against the Party constituted only "self-defence," that the C.C. and the Comintern have been unjust towards him. Whilst the indignant Communist workers in all parts of the country have demanded from the C.C. Doriot's expulsion from the Party, the C.C. did not adopt any organisational measure against him. Likewise the E.C.C.I., in its telegrams directed to the C.C. of the C.P.F., rejected the demand of lower organisations for severe measures against Doriot by pointing out that Doriot's expulsion from the Party is not on the order of the day. Unfortunately, Doriot has proved by all his actions that he is not worthy of the protection of the Comintern.

Not a single class-conscious proletarian will believe with Doriot that the militant united front can be realised without a firm proletarian discipline and that the discipline of proletarian struggle can be realised by trampling under foot the discipline of the Party of proletarian unity. When Liebknecht, on December 2, 1914, violated the discipline in the Reichstag, he was doing his duty as proletarian revolutionary; he violated this discipline against a party of betrayal to the working class, against the social-democratic party of Germany. When the socialist worker in France violates the discipline of his party, he does it because the socialist party has become a hindrance to the militant united front of the workers against war. But anybody who tramples underfoot the discipline of the Party of proletarian revolutionary unity, anybody who refuses to have his actions supervised by the Communist Party as well as by the Communist International, is pursuing a path which leads to betrayal of the cause of the working class. It is the path which has led Trotsky into the camp of counter-revolution. Doriot has gone very far, but he has not yet gone over completely to the camp of the enemy. Will he be able to find the courage to make a turn in face of the abyss into which he is sliding? The Comintern has exhausted all its means in order to hold him back from a step which would be disastrous for him. Doriot will have only himself to blame if he finds himself outside of the ranks of the organised Communist movement.

We do not doubt for a moment that the class-conscious workers of France, and in particular of St. Denis, when faced with the alternative: to go with Doriot or with the Communist Party and the Communist International, will choose that path which leads to unity of struggle against fascism, the path of the Communist Party of France, the path of the Communist International.

## Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The eighth convention of the C.P. of the United States met some four years after its seventh convention, in the fifth year of the crisis and the second year of the N.R.A. The deepening fascisation resulting from the capitalist attempt to find a way out of the crisis has intensified the class struggle in the U.S., as throughout the capitalist world. The recent and present strike waves are greater than any in the past decade and a half, and far exceed any other in U.S. history in their political import. Strikes to-day are directed against the N.R.A. and the government, and the workers are beginning to realise this:

The chief task of the Party for the coming period, as the convention saw it, is to win the majority of the workers and allied groups for the struggle against war and fascism and for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The reports presented, the ensuing discussion, and the resolutions based upon them were directed to this problem. The economic upturn in the past year, due to intensified rationalisation and exploitation of the masses under the N.R.A., has caused a storm of strikes (involving over a million workers in 1933), as well as struggles by the farmers and intellectuals. The manifesto issued by the convention analysed this situation in simple, succinct language, showed the technical maturity of the U.S. for socialism, and told the workers in detail what the C.P. and a workers' government would do for them when

it controlled the country, as exemplified by the achievements in the U.S.S.R.

The convention met early in April, attended by 233 regular delegates and 237 fraternal delegates (the latter members of the C.C., from unions and fraternal bodies, and representatives of the C.P.s of Canada, Cuba, Mexico and Germany). The election as honorary members of the Presidium of Comrades Stalin, Thaelmann, Dimitrov, Kuusinen, Manuisky, Piatnisky, and the leaders of the Austrian, Chinese and other Parties was greeted enthusiastically; regular members were Polburo and district leaders, workers from the mills and mines, and Negro sharecroppers from the South.

The regular delegates from the basic industries numbered 119, coming from the steel, metal, mining, railway, marine, auto and textile industries. One hundred and forty-five were native-born Americans and 39 were negroes. This composition showed the greater attention paid to mass work and to the American workers, which has brought forward these leaders of mass struggle. Thirty-four delegates were A.F.L. members, 18 from independent unions, and 93 from the T.U.U.L. (Red unions), two-thirds of the total delegates being trade union members. From the point of view of social composition, 95 per cent. were proletarian; 96 were below 30 years of age. Only 19 were women, indicating the weakness of work among women. Of the 29 members elected to the C.C. the majority are new members: seven Negroes, a number of trade union leaders, sharecroppers, women are included. Foster was unanimously elected chairman and Browder general secretary of the Party.

Comrade Browder reported for the C.C., and it was generally agreed that it was a brilliant report. Co-reports were made on economic struggles and tasks in the trade unions by Stachel, and on Party work among the Negro masses by Haywood. Other reports were on work among the youth by Hathaway, and agricultural work by Puro. The discussion showed a unanimity of political line unparalleled in the history of the Party, and was on a higher level. It stressed the seriousness of spreading Marxist-Leninist training, the importance of which is evident when one realises that the majority of the delegates had a "stazh" (standing) of less than two years in the Party and that one of every three or four had joined since the Extraordinary Conference of nine months previously.

The seventh convention of 1930 saw the Party just emerged from a period of stagnation, due to long factional conflict, brought to a head by the opportunism of the Lovestone leadership. In the four years that followed, and particularly since the July Open Letter, the Party has grown considerably, not only in numbers but also in its political and theoretical phases, has led successful strikes and mass movements. The membership has increased from 7,500 to 24,000 (this figure representing regular dues payments and making up 90 per cent. of the total registered membership); in 1930 only 75 per cent. paid dues regularly. Fluctuation has dropped from 77 per cent. in the first half of 1932 to 53 per cent. in the latter half of 1933. This still too large figure is due to the fact that the life and activity of the units remain to a great extent inbred and insufficiently among the masses, and to the poor guidance of the higher functionaries.

The number of shop nuclei has grown from 64 in 1930, with 4 per cent. of the membership of the Party, to 338 now, with 9 per cent., most of the gain being since the Open Letter issued by the July Conference. These nuclei work in plants with 350,000 workers, but their members make up only  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. of these workers; the latter belong to unions to the extent of 36,000. Because of a widespread lack of political understanding of the need for increasing the Party's strength among the decisive sections of the American workers, factory work has been greatly neglected.

The work of the nuclei has been of a routine character. Little attention has been paid to developing united front actions between the Red and the reformist and independent unions. The shop units have in the main hidden the face and programme of the Party; shop papers have been neglected (there are only 47 now, many with small circulations, poorly edited and issued irregularly). The chief nuclei, those in concentration plants, have shown little growth, the increase in membership being due to new units built. Less than half the nuclei are in basic industries and few have become a factor in their shops; those that have were given day to day assistance by leading Party functionaries.

Fluctuation is a great problem; with 50,000 members recruited

since 1930, the present membership is 24,000. Hundreds applying are never assigned to units. Sixty to 70 per cent. of the Party are unemployed, but only a few participate in organising the jobless. The number of districts and sections has grown greatly. In 1930 one district, No. 10, covered 11 States and more territory than England, France, Germany and Italy combined; now, although divided into four districts, it has mining sections 800 miles from the district centre. The number of cities with Party organisations is four times as great as in 1930. C.C. members and district functionaries now spend much more time in the field and are displacing to a certain extent the former method of only sending written instructions.

Membership in the revolutionary unions in 1930 was 25,000 and was poorly consolidated, work in the A.F.L. being at a low ebb. Mass organisations around the Party had 300,000 members, and were politically inactive. Now they total over 500,000 (not including the Left wing in the A.F.L. unions and farmers' groups), and the present membership, having gone through the fire of four years of crisis, are politically on a higher level. The foreign language press has grown from 111,000 to 137,000, though some of the largest papers have retrogressed. The "Daily Worker" is larger and considerably improved in content and appeal, but still circulates fewer copies daily than in 1931.

The revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L. under Communist influence, with their 125,000 members, while numerically smallest of the main groups of the trade union movement, are by no means least important. These unions, in developing the mass movement of resistance to the N.R.A. and the whole capitalist offensive, in the development of the strike movements, have played a decisive role. This is brought out by statistics of the strike movement in 1933:—

	Member- ship	Led in Strikes	New Members
A.F. of L. . . . .	2,500,000	450,000	500,000
Independent Unions . . . . .	250,000	250,000	150,000
T.U.U.L. . . . .	125,000	200,000	100,000
Unorganised . . . . .		100,000	
	<u>2,875,000</u>	<u>1,000,000</u>	<u>750,000</u>

From these figures we see that the T.U.U.L., although not quite 5 per cent. of the total trade union membership, directly led 20 per cent. of all strikes and gained 20 per cent. of all new members.

Trade union work in the A.F.L. has strengthened. The convention repudiated the underestimation of work in the A.F.L. exemplified by Comrade Zack, and disciplined him. Aside from the broad movement for unemployment insurance in the reformist unions, the Left oppositions under Communist influence dominate 150 locals, with 50,000 to 60,000 members. This work is improving in such important industries as steel and mining, though on the railroads it is quite weak. Although the radicalisation of the workers is becoming more rapid, as evidenced by the strike wave and mass unionisation, and the Party plays an increasingly important role in this change, it has been slow to take advantage of

it. This has been due to underestimation of the situation, poor application of the united front tactics, lack of systematic work in the factories, and inadequate struggle against the reformists. The face of the Party has been hidden, its fractions neglected. The convention decided to mobilise the entire Party for revolutionary union work, to carry out its factory concentration tasks, to intensify work in the A.F.L., to build an independent trade union centre, and to work to win the unemployed, youth, Negro workers, and women.

Comrade Haywood's report on Negro work analysed the role of the Negro reformists and petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders in heading off the growing movement of the masses against reaction. It showed the need for strengthening the fight on white chauvinism as the main danger, together with a more persistent struggle against the concealed nationalist influences in the Party. The tasks set forth, after a lengthy and serious discussion, include the building of the fractions in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the enlisting of Negroes en masse in the unions and unemployed councils, as well as into the Party, and the fight for their immediate economic demands and the Party's leadership in this fight.

That the present situation is favourable for developing a broad struggle against national oppression in the South is shown by the *Scottsboro' campaign*. A Negro delegate, a leading Southern share-cropper (tenant farmer, practically a peon), reported that the Share-Croppers' Union had increased its membership from 3,000 last July to 6,000 by March, with 400 functioning locals in Georgia and Alabama, despite the most extreme economic oppression and lynch terror. The Party and organisations led by Communists have 1,700 white members; a great achievement when one realises the difficulties of organising white croppers and city workers in the South. Nuclei have been established in the steel and coal centres of the South. The Party in Alabama has set itself the task of winning 1,000 members for the Share-Croppers' Union and 150 Party members in the next three months.

In conclusion, we may sum up the convention as mobilising the revolutionary forces of the country for a stern struggle to unite the entire working class and its potential allies against the attacks of the bosses, against starvation, fascism and war. Its central task, in the words of the resolution adopted on "**The Present Situation and the Tasks of the C.P.U.S.A.**" is:—

"... to organise and lead the fight against the offensive of the capitalist class, against developing fascism and the threat of imperialist war, and to develop these struggles, on the basis of the fight for the immediate partial demands of the workers, into general class battles for the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship and the setting up of a **Soviet government**. This requires a quickening of the tempo and improvement in the quality of the work of the Party, to fight for winning the majority of the working class by more quickly carrying through the decisions of the Open Letter with regard to rooting the Party among the basic strata of the proletariat, in the most important industries and factories, through the application of the policy of concentration."

## Twenty Years Ago

### Twentieth Anniversary of the Outbreak of the World War

# The Legend of Peaceful Development

The period from the end of the Franco-Prussian war and the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune up to the outbreak of the imperialist slaughter in 1914 was signally different from the period from the outbreak of the Great French Revolution up to the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. In the first period great revolutionary struggles took place not only between the bourgeoisie and feudalism (the Great French Revolution and the July Revolution of 1848), but also between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (the insurrection of the weavers in Lyons and in Silesia, and the Paris Commune). Further, in this period the whole of Europe was ravaged by wars. However, with the Peace of Frankfurt in

1871 a new epoch began and showed new features. This period is characterised by the opportunists as one of gradual and peaceful development, a period in which, so to speak, war had ceased to be a means of settling conflicts between the individual States and the revolutionary insurrection had ceased to be a means of overthrowing class dominance. POTRESSOV, the right-wing Menshevik, christened it as a period in which there were "neither wars nor revolutions." And the joke of the whole business was that even shortly before the outbreak of the last imperialist world war the opportunists and pacifists of all countries announced that this "idyll" would last indefinitely.

However, even a superficial examination of the historical events in this period shows that the characterisation of the epoch up to 1914 by the opportunists was absolutely false and that even in this period it was possible to speak of a peaceful development only with strong reservations. Let us enumerate one or two historical events. The Russo-Turkish war took place in 1877-78. In 1878 the Austro-Hungarian forces occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1881 the French forces occupied Tunis. In 1882 the British forces seized Egypt and in 1886 they annexed Burma. In 1891 Germany seized German East Africa. In 1894 there was war between China and Japan. In 1897 there was war between Greece and Turkey. In 1898 there was war between Spain and the United States. In 1899 the Boer War opened up. In 1900 there was the Boxer crusade and Wilhelm II.'s notorious "Hun speech." "No quarter either to women or children!" In 1903 there was the attack of the Germans on the Herero tribes. In 1904 there was the Russo-Japanese war. In the same year Morocco was annexed by France and Spain. In 1908 Austro-Hungary officially annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1911-13 the Tripoli war was conducted by Italy, and finally there was the Balkan war of 1912-13. Even this list is not complete, but it is sufficient to show that the much-lauded "peaceful epoch" was anything but peaceful in reality and that war as a means of settling inter-State difficulties had by no means been abandoned.

Wars had not ceased, but their character had changed. The wars which took place in the first period were waged chiefly to abolish absolutism and feudalism, to undermine them and to throw off the yoke of foreign national oppression. They also served in part to plunder and conquer foreign territories, but in the main they led to the abolition of feudal atomisation and to the overthrow of despots, and represented the preliminary condition for the establishment of progressive national States. In the second period also there were wars for national freedom, for instance, the Balkan war. But the wars carried on by the great Powers in the second period were exclusively wars of conquest and plunder, namely, wars to subjugate the colonial peoples. Great Britain, with an area of 300,000 square kilometres and a population of 46,000,000, seized colonial territory with an area of 11,000,000 square kilometres and a population of 141,000,000 in the period from 1876 to 1914. France, with an area of 500,000 square kilometres and a population of 40,000,000, seized in the same period a colonial empire of about 9,700,000 square kilometres and a population of 49,500,000. Germany, with an area of 500,000 square kilometres and a population of about 60,000,000, seized an area of about 2,900,000 square kilometres and a population of 12,300,000. In former times Russia had incorporated an area of 17,000,000 square kilometres and a population of about 27,500,000 into its empire and in the period up to 1914 it rounded off this work. Colonial robbery and the wars waged to carry it out were evident even to the blindest, but the pacifists, unable to ignore them completely, drew a peculiar conclusion from them, namely, that the wars had been shifted from the Motherlands into the outside world and that wars between "civilised peoples" had become impossible. Logically speaking, however, the zeal of the "civilised peoples" in robbing and oppressing the colonial peoples necessarily brought them into antagonism with each other about the division of the spoils.

However, the internal situation in the respective mother-countries showed much the same "peaceful development." One of the characteristic features of just this period was the development of powerful working-class movements which had, as distinct from the former struggles of the oppressed to free themselves, and as distinct from former working-class movements, a theoretical insight into the course of their struggles and into the conditions necessary for the emancipation of the working class. The proletariat therefore carried on its theoretical and practical economic struggle in this sense, whereby the preliminary conditions were present for the amalgamation of these struggles into a concentric attack on the bourgeoisie. It is true that in the

economically most progressed country, Great Britain, the bourgeoisie succeeded in forming and corrupting a small upper stratum of the proletariat, the so-called aristocracy of labour, thanks to the super-profits which it was able to obtain from its dominance of the world market and its exploitation of the colonies. It succeeded in turning this stratum into a supporter of imperialism and of bourgeois rule as such. It is also true that later on, when capitalism developed into imperialism, a similar tendency developed in other countries and succeeded also to a certain extent, but that was by no means the only characteristic feature of this epoch. Powerful revolutionary struggles were fought out in this period. The Anti-Socialist Law in Germany was an expression of the extraordinarily intensified class antagonisms. In the year 1898 downright barricade struggles took place in *Milan*. The revolutionary struggle of the workers expressed itself in the general strike and in new forms of struggle and they were used in 1893 and in 1902 in *Belgium*, and in 1903 in *Holland*, and later on in 1905 on a higher stage in *Russia*, where quantity developed into quality in the revolution of that year.

Apart from the definitely political struggles, there were also economic struggles of a previously unknown extent: the lock-out of the metal workers in Sweden, the miners' strikes in Great Britain, the building workers' lock-out in Germany, etc. For imperialism not only secured super-profit with which a thin upper stratum of the proletariat could be corrupted, *i.e.*, the class struggle damped down to a certain extent, but it also produced a tremendous intensification of the class antagonisms. The industrial cartels forced up the prices tremendously. The customs policy of the finance-capitalist and agrarian junker block intensified this tendency. The increasing costs for militarism and navalism and for the administration of the colonies swallowed up milliards. These costs were secured in the main by indirect taxes and taxes on wages, that is to say, the proletariat and the other sections of the toilers had to foot the bill. Suddenly an end was made of "social policy"; it cost too much and "economy" was the order of the day. The struggles of the trade unions offered an extraordinary strong resistance to the organised employers, whereby the latter received the support of the State. Shortly before the outbreak of the imperialist war a new trade union law was in preparation in Germany, which aimed at limiting the right of the workers to organise and was intended to make economic struggles practically impossible.

At the head of the fighting organisation of the workers in the industrially developed countries were almost exclusively men who had not won their spurs in revolutionary struggles, but in organisational work, in election campaigns and debates in Parliament and the municipal bodies, men who were compelled to a certain extent to take the feelings of the radical workers into consideration, but who, generally speaking, pursued a short-sighted policy in the interests of an upper stratum of workers. The fact that they did not openly commit treachery was due less to their virtues than to the lack of opportunity. They did everything possible to educate the workers in their own spirit. Even at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart in 1907 they made a powerful attempt to win the workers for the policy of colonialism. The attack was repulsed, as the "Sozialistische Monatshefte" stressed at the time, with the assistance of the "Eastern peoples," with the assistance of the "groups from Russia." This observation was intended to diminish the importance of the defeat. In reality, as it transpired later, this circumstance increased the significance of the Congress decision tremendously. At this Congress the famous *Stuttgart Resolution against War* was adopted with the active co-operation of *Lenin* and *Rosa Luxemburg*. The resolution was based on *international* class solidarity and not on *national* solidarity in order to avoid possible "defeats." The tenor of the resolution is not approval, but the most energetic fight against war possible. It declared that the only aim of the social democracy after the outbreak of

a war must be to utilise the conditions created by the war to overthrow the class dominance of the bourgeoisie.

Later on the Stuttgart Resolution became the acid test which separated the valuable from the worthless. This effect of the resolution was revealed only after the completion of great historical events.

But there was still another significance attached to this resolution. In his co-operation in the drawing up of the Stuttgart Resolution the new leader of the international proletariat manifested himself—*Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin*.

## From the Resolution of the VII International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart

The Congress confirms the resolutions adopted by previous international Congresses against militarism and imperialism, and declares once more that the struggle against militarism cannot be separated from the Socialist class struggle in general.

Wars between capitalist States are, as a rule, the *outcome of their competition on the world market, for each State seeks not only to secure its existing markets, but also to conquer new ones. In this, the subjugation of foreign peoples and countries plays a prominent rôle.* These wars result furthermore from the incessant race for armaments by militarism, one of the chief instruments of bourgeois class rule and of the economic and political subjugation of the working class.

Wars are favoured by the national prejudices which are systematically cultivated among civilised peoples in the interest of the ruling classes for the purpose of distracting the proletarian masses from their own class tasks as well as from their duties of international solidarity.

Wars, therefore, are part of the very nature of capitalism; they will cease only when the capitalist system is abolished or when the enormous sacrifices in men and money, required by the advance in military technique, and the indignation called forth by armaments, drive the peoples to abolish this system.

For this reason, the proletariat, which contributes most of the soldiers and makes most of the material sacrifices, is a natural opponent of war, which contradicts its highest goal—the creation of an economic order on a Socialist basis, which will bring about the solidarity of all peoples.

The Congress, therefore, considers it as the duty of the working class and particularly of its representatives in the Parliaments to combat the naval and military armaments with all their might, characterising the class nature of bourgeois society and the motive for the maintenance of national antagonisms, and to refuse the means for these armaments. It is their duty to work for the education of the working-class youth in the spirit of brotherhood of nations and of Socialism while developing their class consciousness. . . .

If a war threatens to break out it is the duty of the working classes and their Parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the co-ordinating activity of the International Socialist Bureau, to exert every effort in order to prevent the outbreak of war by the means they consider most effective, which naturally vary according to the sharpening of the class struggle and the sharpening of the general political situation.

*In case war should break out anyhow, it is their duty to intervene in favour of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilise the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule.*

## Lenin on the Stuttgart War Resolution

In the question of anti-militarism the notorious Hervé, who has made a great sensation in France and Europe, defended a semi-anarchistic standpoint in naively proposing to "reply" to every war with a strike and insurrection. He did not understand on the one hand, that war is a necessary product of capitalism and that the proletariat cannot refuse to participate in a revolutionary war, as such wars are possible and such wars have occurred even in capitalist society. On the other hand, he did not understand that the possibility of "replying" to war depends upon the character of that crisis which has called forth the war. The choice of the means of struggle depends upon these conditions, whilst the fight must consist (and this is the third point on which Hervéism shows lack of understanding or thoughtlessness) not only in substituting peace for war, but of substituting socialism in place of capitalism. The essential thing is not merely to prevent the outbreak of a war, but to make use of the crisis produced by the war in order to accelerate the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Behind this semi-anarchist nonsense of Hervé, however, there lies hidden a practical, correct notion: to give socialism a stimulus in the sense that one does not confine it to parliamentary means of struggle, that one develops in the consciousness of the masses the necessity of more revolutionary methods of action in connection with that crisis which the war inevitably brings with it—and, finally, in the sense that one spreads among the masses a lively consciousness of international solidarity and of the lying, deceitful character of bourgeois patriotism.

Bebel's motion, which the Germans brought in and which on all essential points coincided with Guesde's motion, suffered from the fault that it contained no reference to the active tasks of the proletariat. This left open the possibility of Bebel's orthodox theses being read through opportunist spectacles. Vollmar immediately made this possibility a reality.

For this reason, Rosa Luxemburg and the Russian delegates brought in their amendment to Bebel's motion. This amendment contained the following additions to the original resolution: (1) It said that militarism is the chief instrument of class oppression; (2) reference was made to the task of agitation among the Youth; (3) it was pointed out as a task of social democracy not only to fight against the outbreak of war, or for the speediest termination of war once it has already commenced, but also to fight in order to make use of the crisis called forth by the war for the purpose of accelerating the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.—(Lenin: The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart. Selected Works.)

### Lenin on the Origin of the Stuttgart Resolution

"I remember quite well that the final drafting of this amendment was preceded by long and immediate negotiations between Bebel and ourselves. The first draft spoke much more directly of revolutionary agitation and revolutionary deeds. We showed it to Bebel. He replied: 'I cannot agree to that, as the Public Prosecutor would then immediately dissolve our party organisations, and we do not want this so long as there does not exist any serious grounds for it.' After consultations with lawyers and numerous alterations of the text, aiming at expressing the same idea in a legal manner, the final formulation was found which Bebel agreed to accept."

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