

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 14 No. 40

20th July, 1934

CONTENTS

Politics		The White Terror	
Foreign-Political Review of the Week	1014	Why the New Trial of Rakosi is Being Staged	1035
J. Berlioz: United Action as Barrier against Fascism ..	1015	Appeal of Mathias Rakosi's Sister	1035
Advance of the United Front	1016	Polish Fascism Learns from Hitler	1035
Germany		The Red Aid of Holland at its Post	1036
Hitler Fails to Publish His Murder List	1017	N. Grigurescu: The Verdict in the Rumanian Railway Workers' Trial	1037
The Bankrupts in Retreat	1018	Fight against War and Fascism	
All Power to the Soviets—Long Live Soviet Germany! ..	1019	Estella: The Situation of the Working Women of Italy and the Struggle against War	1037
The Balkans		Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
Victor Zitna: Emergency Powers in Rumania	1020	L. F. Boross: For the Socialist Fatherland of the Soviet Proletariat	1038
Great Britain		The Week in the Soviet Union	1039
R. Bishop: The Third Year of the National Government ..	1021	Book Review	
Austria		R. B.: The Last Days of Tsardom	1040
Gustav: The Struggle of the Municipal Tenants of Vienna	1022	Twenty Years Ago	
Open Letter from Second Group of Austrian Schutz- bundlers in Soviet Union	1023	The 20th Anniversary of the First Imperialist World War	1041
India			
Abridged Draft of Political Theses of the C.C. of the C.P. of India	1024		

Intensification of the Class Struggle in the U.S.A.

General Strike in California

The attempts of the American bourgeoisie to find a way out of the protracted economic crisis on a capitalist basis have ended in complete failure after a number of apparent successes achieved in the summer of 1933. The volume of unemployment was reduced somewhat in the beginning of the recovery campaign, but that success has long since been rendered nugatory by further increases. One of the aims of the much-lauded National Recovery Act was to render the class struggle obsolete and unnecessary, but in fact the consequences of the recovery campaign have caused an intensification of the class struggle rather than its abolition. There has been no successful attempt to adapt wages to the depreciated purchasing power of the dollar, and the resistance of a considerable section of the employers against the recognition of the trade unions has been successfully maintained.

Small wonder, therefore, that recently the *strike wave* in the United States has risen rapidly. The Secretary for Labour publishes statistics which show that the present wave of strikes is the largest for twelve years. During the first four months of the current year there were 420 strikes in which 319,654 workers took part, whereas in the corresponding period of 1933 there were only 293 strikes in which only 96,515 workers took part.

The most important amongst the many strikes which have taken place in the United States during the past few weeks, strikes

which have affected not only whole branches of industry, but also important agricultural areas and which have been conducted on the part of the workers with great energy and determination, and which have often led to bloody collisions between the strikers and the forces of the State and the employers, is undoubtedly the strike of the *dockers and seamen in San Francisco*, the great harbour town of California. This strike in particular has led to a rapid intensification of the class struggle in the United States. This strike has now lasted for weeks and has extended to other harbours on the Pacific coast. All the attempts of the employers, in co-operation with the authorities, to smash the strike have failed. The most brutal repressive measures were taken by the police. The brutal attacks of the police on the strikers whereby tear-gas bombs and firearms were used and two strikers killed and many others wounded caused the representatives of eighty trade unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labour to decide on a *general strike* in support of the striking seamen and dockers in defiance of the district committee of the reformist A.F. of L., the general strike to affect the whole of the Pacific coast. Despite the frantic attempts of the A.F. of L. bureaucrats to prevent the strike, 40,000 workers in San Francisco came out on strike in support of the seamen and dockers, and the workers of other harbour towns on the coast have adopted decisions to follow their example.

The coastal general strike which was declared on July 16 is the first which has taken place in the United States since the general strike in the harbour town *Seattle* in 1919. The authorities have concentrated a great force of police supported by companies of the National Guard in full war kit. The greatest trouble of the authorities is the provision of the town with foodstuffs. It is reported that the strike committee has agreed to the maintenance of a skeleton food supply during the strike, but violent collisions have already occurred in connection with the transport of foodstuffs into the town.

In various parts of San Francisco fierce collisions have taken place between strikers and scabs, and between strikers and the police. A Communist public meeting was broken up by the police with great violence and many arrests were made. Wild rumours have been deliberately circulated by the employers in order to discredit the strikers; for instance, that "foreign Communists" are on the way in order to dynamite bridges, etc. The whole town has the appearance of an occupied area during the war, with heavily-armed troops and police everywhere.

The tremendous significance of the strike, particularly should it end in a victory for the workers, can be seen from the fact that *Roosevelt* has been requested urgently to break off his vacations and come to San Francisco to settle the strike. The American bourgeoisie realises that a workers' victory would provide a tremendous impulse to the class struggle throughout the country.

* * * * *

New York, July 17.

Despite the desperate resistance of the reformist leaders of the American Federation of Labour, only three of the eighty-three trade unions involved voted against the proclamation of the general strike. The whole National Guard of California has been mobilised. Serious collisions have again occurred between the strikers and the forces of the employers and the State. According to the bourgeois press the strike committee is virtually master of the town and decides what restaurants may open, etc.

In *Birmingham* (Alabama) the spinning workers have adopted a resolution calling on the other unions to proclaim a general strike. Twenty-two thousand textile workers are already on the streets.

The "*Arbeiter-Zeitung*" in *Saarbruecken* concludes its report on the strike events with the following words:—

"In the most highly-developed country of capitalism the masses of the workers are beginning to mobilise their forces for a general attack on capitalism. They are fighting shoulder to shoulder with millions of exploited and oppressed workers all over the world under the leadership of the Communist International and behind the red banner of the proletarian revolution."

Politics

Foreign-Political Review of the Week

Friday's session of the **British House of Commons** offered a peculiar picture: in this old bulwark of British imperialism the Soviet Union won praise not only from the government benches, but what is more important, from the Conservative benches. The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, **Sir John Simon**, referred to, "that big and powerful country which is inevitably destined to exercise a great influence on world history and world development." **Winston Churchill**, who took part in the debate, did not fail to stress his opposition to the Soviet system as such, but he energetically rejected the arguments of those who opposed the French proposal to draw the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. He pointed out that to be in favour of the re-entry of Germany into the League whilst wishing to keep out the Soviet Union was illogical. **Sir Austin Chamberlain** and other Conservative politicians spoke in a similar strain. Almost everyone was in favour of the much-maligned **Eastern Pact**, which proposes that the Baltic countries, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany and the Soviet Union should conclude an agreement not only to refrain from any form of aggression, but to assist each other against the aggression of others.

Up to the present British foreign policy has tended in a different direction. It speculated on an alliance of Germany, Poland and Japan against the Soviet Union, an alliance which it was hoped would finally be in a position to carry out the old and cherished wish of British imperialism—the destruction of the first

workers' and peasants' State which by its very existence as a political commonwealth without exploitation and oppression threatened the stability of the dominance of the British bourgeoisie not only in the colonies, but also at home. The London Foreign Office was of the opinion that a simultaneous attack on two fronts would have some chance of success and, under the circumstances, it would be worth while to agree to the Germans and the Poles seizing the Ukraine and the Japanese seizing Eastern Siberia as the spoils of war. For the moment Great Britain has apparently abandoned this plan on account of the fact that it backed heavily on the German card and that this card has slumped heavily in value owing to the disaster which has overtaken the Hitler regime and owing to the fact that the Hitler regime has not, despite all its efforts, succeeded in whipping up a war fever in Germany under the pseudonym of "the front spirit." In consequence Germany's international influence has decreased tremendously. The British bourgeoisie is clever enough to draw the necessary conclusions rapidly and without loss of time. No doubt it still cherishes the hope that time will offer other opportunities of putting its old anti-Soviet plans into action. The crafty fox, **Mussolini**, who issued an official communique after Hitler's visit to Venice to the effect that he was in agreement with Hitler and opposed to any regional security pacts has also quickly changed his tune. Internationally Mussolini was the chief gainer by the original victory of Hitler, and as long as Hitler was strong Mussolini stood by him. To-day, however, there is not much to be gained by supporting Hitler, and therefore Mussolini hurriedly follows the example of Great Britain and distances himself from his erstwhile protege.

However important these indications are, the plan for an **Eastern Locarno** is by no means a foregone conclusion. Although Poland has put its signature to a ten-year pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union, it is now by no means willing to sign a pact guaranteeing the Western frontiers of the Soviet Union. This unwillingness on the part of Poland inevitably gives rise to the suspicion that far-reaching agreements have been come to between Poland and Germany for the partitioning of the Soviet Union. Naturally, Germany is also unwilling to sign any such pact. Germany is prepared to agree to waive its rights to the Polish corridor and Upper Silesia in return for Polish concessions in the Baltic States and in Ukraine, but to abandon all hopes of foreign conquests and at that towards Bolshevism? If Germany did this, what would be the sense of the whole "national revolution," which took as one of its most important slogans: "Room for Germany!" No amount of demagogy can get away from this fact. Precisely those who were most serious and most honest with regard to the "national revolution" would accuse Hitler of treachery to Germany's national interests. However, the situation is such that German National Socialism, weakened as it has been during the past few months, will probably have no alternative but to swallow the pill or plunge still further into a catastrophic isolation.

For the **Soviet Union** the signature of such a pact would mean big sacrifices, but it is prepared to make them in the interests of peace. The fact that the proposal for an Eastern Locarno was ever made is due to the greatly improved situation of the Soviet Union in Europe. It is an undeniable fact that the original Locarno Pact, which was concluded in Western Europe in 1925, indicated an anti-Soviet alignment. The aim of the pact was to draw Germany away from the Soviet Union, to provide a counter-attraction to the Rapallo Treaty and to win Germany for a Western alignment in an anti-Soviet front. For British imperialism the Locarno Pact was the diplomatic preparatory step for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. We have not yet forgotten the zealous military preparations in Poland which accompanied the signing of the pact, nor the remarkable statement of the "socialist," **Paul Boncour**, to the effect that the Polish soldier on the Eastern frontiers was the bulwark of European civilisation. To-day one of the main points of the proposed Eastern Locarno is to be a guarantee of the inviolability of the Western frontiers of the Soviet Union. The fact that the spiritual father of the Western Locarno, **Sir Austin Chamberlain**, now stands up in the British House of Commons and pleads warmly for an Eastern Locarno is evidence of the fact that the situation in Europe has changed radically since 1925, namely, in favour of the Soviet Union.

Although both Great Britain and Italy are in favour of an Eastern Locarno, the pact has not yet been signed and, even if it is signed, it is by no means a secure guarantee of peace. Even Win-

ston Churchill pointed out frankly in the House of Commons that so long as three irresponsible men, prepared to plunge into any adventure, ruled Germany there could be no final guarantee for the peace of Europe, despite the best pacts in the world. In a speech delivered in Bayonne last Sunday, Barthou denied energetically that the pact would be connected with any reduction in French armaments. Such a question might be raised later on, but only if the pact had proved itself to be effective. Obviously the French Foreign Minister has no confidence in the promises of the Hitler-Goering clique. In reality no bourgeois government is worthy of confidence. All such governments are the representatives of imperialist interests, and these interests have their roots in a system of production, whose protagonist is the bourgeoisie. The final guarantee of the peace of the world can be obtained only when the rule of the bourgeoisie has been overthrown everywhere and the power of the proletariat safely established all over the world. The causes of war will then be abolished naturally and international peace will be an unshakeable fact.

From this results the clear task of the world proletariat to work for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in all countries and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only guarantee of permanent peace in the world. However, as long as this task has not been successfully carried out, the Soviet Union has the complicated task of concluding pacts with the imperialist Powers in order to purchase peace, if need be with sacrifices, and in this way to secure the peace necessary for the continuation of the work of socialist construction, which is the strongest single factor for the revolutionisation of the international proletariat, which is the strongest basis for the defence of the socialist fatherland and which, in case the efforts of the Soviet Union do not succeed in avoiding war, will guarantee victory to the Soviet Union, a victory which will be the prelude to the world victory of the international proletariat and of socialism.

United Action as Barrier Against Fascism in France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The 8th July was intended to be a day of fascist mobilisation. The Croix de Feu, the most firmly organised and dangerous of the fighting organisations of financial capital, led by the General Staff and provided with a cadre of officers, planned the open provocation of a demonstration in which its formations were to hold the streets of Paris under the pretext of a march past the grave of the Unknown Soldier. The National Committee of the Confederation of Ex-Service Men, an organisation numbering more than three million members, met for the purpose of laying down its programme of State reform on the lines of the authoritative system and of economic regeneration, by means of which the leaders attempt to win the masses for fascist ideology. The Central Committee of the Neo-Socialists met for the purpose of laying down its anti-Marxist platform, and of endeavouring to cement a "regenerating union" between the C.G.T., the ex-service men, and the youth organisations; this appearing to them the most effective means of lending a mass basis to fascism.

But on 8th July these hopes of the bourgeoisie proved vain, and the day turned out in reality to be one of a great anti-fascist mobilisation.

For some days beforehand the Croix de Feu had been setting itself more modest goals, and in the end it was only six thousand of its members who defiled through a select bourgeois and petty bourgeois public lining the streets. Whilst on the one hand the National Committee of the Ex-Service Men renewed its demagogic declarations against the selfish coalitions of interests, and in favour of the public salvation promised by the Front generation, on the other hand an extremely powerful trend became apparent for the defence of the rights gained by the ex-service men, rights now threatened by the government of the National Union. Hence the utmost confusion again reigned in a profoundly disunited meeting. The meeting of the Central Committee of the Neo-Socialists for its part proved a lively struggle between the two tendencies, that in favour of the "replacement" of the National Union by a new fascist government, and that of the traditional democrats of the Renaudel type, who would like to return to the old constellation of the Left against the Right. Here again the confusion of ideas became apparent, and Déats' appeal to the organisations striving for State reform awakened no response, especially not from the C.G.T., which is convulsed by a mighty

current in the direction of trade union unity in the struggle against capitalism.

The dominating fact of 8th July was the gigantic demonstration organised in the Forest of Vincennes by the Paris District of the C.P. and the socialist organisations of the district. Here more than one hundred thousand toilers demonstrated, filled with the utmost enthusiasm and militancy. The toiling masses joined in this mighty demonstration in the firm determination to put a stop to the advance of every form of fascism, and to extend over the whole country the loyal formations of the united front. The 8th July was not a renewal of the 6th February, as certain of the fascist leaders boasted, but a repetition of the meetings of 12th February under the slogans: Down with fascism! Down with the National Union! Soviets everywhere!

This stupendous event was organised thanks to the systematic and open united front policy pursued by the C.P.F. It was the C.P. which aroused the masses to a realisation of the extent of the fascist danger, and inspired them to deal the first counter-blows. It is due to the efforts of the C.P. that hundreds of opportunities have been seized for establishing the united front from below, as demonstrated by the affiliation of dozens of local groups of the S.P. to the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement, and by the unification of the masses which has been brought about in spite of all fascist demonstrations. In Toulouse, in Grenoble, in Lyons, in Lorient, in every part of the country, the masses have joined in great street fights against the fascist bands, and against the government police, and have forced these to retreat.

The repeated unconditional proposals made by the C.P. for clearly defined action, thanks to the fact that they have promoted the unceasing efforts made to penetrate the masses, have cleared obstacles out of the way of the united front in innumerable cases. In Paris, in Saône-et-Loire, in Toulon, in Douai, in Lyons, in Ardèche, etc., local groups and district organisations of the S.P. have concluded unity pacts with the C.P. The movement is so irresistible that the leaders of the S.P., after having attempted to postpone the discussion, on the united front on account of the resistance still observable in its ranks, has finally called an extraordinary meeting of the National Committee for 14th July, for the purpose of dealing solely with questions of united action.

Jouhaux and a number of his collaborators do not want to abandon their standpoint: Trade union unity by means of the liquidation of the C.G.T.U. and affiliation to the C.G.T. as a means of combating the C.P. But here, too, the idea of immediate unity of action, and of unconditional trade union unity, is making rapid progress. The unitary and reformist organisations of the toiling masses of the Civil Servants and Post Office workers are organising joint meetings for the purpose of preparing the counter-offensive; more than thirty unity trade unions have been formed by the railway men, and the movement is developing at the same time among the Post Office, telegraph and telephone workers.

This tendency towards militant unity is proving irresistible, and is causing the utmost uneasiness among the bourgeoisie, who devote whole columns of their newspapers to discussing it.

Almost everywhere it may be observed that the feverish excitement among the population is increasing, extending from Paris to the remotest parts of the provinces, and that the atmosphere was never so heavily laden as now. Admittedly the main causes of this unrest are: The economic crisis is becoming increasingly acute in France, the number of the unemployed has increased by fifty thousand as compared with last year, exports are falling off, the smallholders are being ruined by the steady drop in the prices of their products, and are sinking rapidly into debt.

Therefore, the 8th July gave fresh impetus to the anti-fascist movement, which is at the present time leading the struggle against fascism.

It must be added that the latest events in Germany, following Mussolini's pessimist speech, have acted like a cold douche on the disappointed petty bourgeoisie, and have bridled open fascist zeal.

But it must, nevertheless, be realised that the unification of the revolutionary forces incites the counter-revolutionary forces, too, to unification. Since open fascism has not been able to gain a foothold, the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to save itself by concentrating on the gradual legal fascisation of its rule.

Parliament, which has just gone into recess for four months, after having agreed to a curtailment of its rights with regard to alterations and especially of impositions of taxation (the nature of the taxation reform is to be decided by emergency orders), has

collaborated wholeheartedly with the government in the work of fascisation. Not only have the wages and salaries of the civil servants, the railwaymen, and the ex-service men been curtailed to the amount of six milliard francs, but the taxation reform has relieved the rich and thrown fresh burdens on the poor. Not only have the material preparations for war been accelerated: grants of three milliards of supplementary military credits, grants for the naval credits for 1934, reinforcement of the professional army by 25,000 specialists, etc. At the same time the democratic rights won by the toiling masses are being encroached upon, and oppression is increasing: the public and even private meetings of socialists and Communists are being prohibited, dozens of anti-fascist demonstrators are receiving severe sentences, etc.

The bourgeoisie is exploiting to the utmost the fact that it has not yet encountered, in the works and factories and in the trade unions a resistance which can be compared with the magnificent street actions of the toiling masses. It thinks that in this direction it can advance more securely towards the strengthening of its dictatorship. Of late considerable sections of the most reactionary parties have regretted the provocations committed by fascist leaders, since these have aroused such energetic counter-action. Even the parliamentary inquiry commission appointed to examine the events of 6th February has stigmatised the fascist associations as unrest-mongers.

It need not be said that these statements are merely expressions of a desire for cautious methods. Whilst parliamentary commissions and the government are working on a purely fascist "State reform," to be introduced constitutionally, the authorities do their utmost to promote the fascist organisations, granting them unconditional police protection, and assisting them in their recruiting and arming activities, carried out quite openly.

Only sham concessions are made to the trend of feeling in the masses, who are so embittered that even a considerable section of the Radical Party has voted against the government of the National Union on several occasions during the last few weeks.

A former socialist, Buré, now the paid agent of financial capital, wrote:—

"Since the 6th February the Communist Party has made great progress. It is now the mainspring of the revolutionary movement."

This is perfectly correct. The strengthening of the influence of the C.P.F., and the irresistible advance of the unity action movement, are forcing the bourgeoisie to retreat for the moment, to manoeuvre. The ranks of the bourgeoisie are thrown into a certain confusion, and the joints of the old parties are cracking and nobody knows how they are to be replaced. But, as the latest National Conference of the C.P.F. recorded, at the present juncture fascism forms the main danger, and the advantage which has been gained over it for the moment must not intoxicate us. Therefore the Communists of France must stride forward more rapidly in the organisation of the united front, placing for this purpose the defence of the demands of the working class in the foreground.

Advance of the United Front

Paris, July 16.

On 14th July a conference was held of representatives of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party, in the offices of the S.P. in Paris, in order to deal with the united front proposals submitted to the General Council of the S.P. on 15th July. The proceedings were participated in by the secretaries of the C.P.F., Thorez, Marcel, Cachin, and others and by the Socialists Leon Blum, Lebas, and others. After a lengthy discussion, the conference adopted a motion by Faures in favour of united action with the Communists; 3,471 votes were given to Faures' motion, 366 to the counter-motion from Frossard, which did not express itself openly against the united front, but contained so many reservations that it was tantamount to a rejection of the united front.

One of the chief advocates of the united front was Just, who pointed out that the eyes of the working class of the whole world are directed to the conference of the S.F.I.O., and declared himself unconditionally in favour of the proposals of the C.P. Another advocate was Pivert, who proposed a joint demonstration for the 20th anniversary of the great war. Leon Blum agreed with these speakers, with considerable reservations. Grumbach opposed the united front sharply, stating that it would never be possible till Moscow abandons revolutionary methods and adopts democracy and defence of country."

United Front Appeal of C.P.G.B.

London, June 16.

The Secretariat of the C.P.G.B. to-day addressed a further united front appeal to the National Labour Party. The letter commences:

"On the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the world war, which led to the slaughter of millions of workers, we are addressing another appeal to you to help in building a real united front of all workers, whether in the Labour Party, Trade Unions, Co-operative Party, I.L.P., Communist Party or other political party, against fascism and war."

After outlining the nature of the war preparations that are being made, and the drive towards fascism, the letter continues:

"Never was the determination to resist fascism and war so strong as now. . . . The need of the hour is the organisation of this determination in a mighty united front movement against fascism and war, in which every section of the working-class movement can be drawn into mass activity. . . . This tremendous desire for united action has brought about the acceptance by the National Council of the French Socialist Party of the proposals of the Communist Party of France for a united front to combat fascism and war. In Britain also we must build mass activity.

"We are therefore, in spite of your previous refusals to take part in united front activity, again appealing to your Executive Committee to meet representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to discuss the character of united activity and the programme against fascism and war that the present situation and the desire of the workers for united action demands should be put into effect without a moment's delay."

Proposals to form a basis of discussion are then put forward.

United Front Offer by Czech C.P. to Socialist Parties

Prague, July 15.

In view of recent events in Germany, and of the approaching 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the great war, the C.C. of the Czech C.P. has sent proposals to the central organs of the Czech S.P. and of the German Social Democrats in Czechoslovakia and to the Czech Socialist Party, calling upon these parties to participate in common action against fascism and war.

Further Progress of the Anti-Fascist United Front in the

Saar District

The joint anti-fascist united front between the Communist and the Social Democratic Parties has been set up in the following further localities: Friedrichthal-Bildstock, Neuweiler, Ludweiler, Limbach, and Erbach-Reiskirchen.

The Social Democratic "Volkstimme" informs its readers that the paper receives so many united front appeals (daily at least three of them), so that it is unable to publish them all. It will report only the setting up of local united front committees.

Negotiations for a United Front of the Miners

Following the united front offer of the district committee of the United Miners' Union to the committee of the reformist miners' union, a joint meeting of the representatives of these two unions took place in Saarbruecken. The representative of the reformist miners' union declared that he considered the meeting as serving only informatory purposes, the result of which he intended to submit to his national executive and to the conferences of the miners' union, which will take place in the next few days.

The united front offer of the United Miners' Union met with a lively response among the miners in the Saar pits. The demand put forward by the United Miners' Union for an increase of all wages by 1.50 francs per shift is enthusiastically endorsed by all miners. In numerous lodges the miners have already discussed this united front offer and elected unity committees which will proceed to organise joint pit and miners' meetings.

For Trade Union Unity of Action

The unity committee of Landsweller has addressed a letter to the executive committee of the A.D.G.B. of the Saar district containing the following: "The unity committee of the anti-fascist front of Landsweller, in its meeting of July 11, came to the conclusion that united action in the trade union sphere is an indispensable necessity, and should be carried out on the basis of the united front concluded between the C.P. and the S.P. of the Saar."

United Front Offer of the Red Trade Unions to the Reformist Trade Unions in Czechoslovakia

The appeal of the unity committee representing 47 Prague factories to agree on joint action against the fascist attacks,

against the worsening of social insurance, and for the release of Thaelmann has up to now been published only in the revolutionary press. Only the Red trade unions replied immediately to this appeal and directed a united front offer to the reformist trade unions. On the basis of the minimum programme put forward by the unity committee of the 47 Prague factories, the Red trade unions propose the organisation of joint action against the worsening of health insurance, against wage cuts as a result of the introduction of the 40-hour week, against the high price of bread as a result of the establishment of the grain monopoly, and for the release of the Socialist and Communist leaders from the clutches of Hitler fascism. The Red trade unions have simultaneously instructed all their groups and members of the factory councils to enter into negotiations in the spirit of this united front offer with groups and members of the reformist trade unions for the purpose of common action of the workers in the factories and localities.

United Front Offer of the Communist Party to the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland

The district committee of the C.P. of Basle has proposed in a letter to the district committee of the S.P. of Basle to carry out joint action for the rescue of Thaelmann and all anti-fascists, according to the example of France and the Saar district. Joint mass meetings in Basle and on the day of the commencement of the trial protest demonstrations are to take place.

At a large mass meeting in Zurich, convened by the Communist Party, at which social democratic workers spoke in the discussion, a similar united front offer was made to the Social Democratic Party. The Communist Party of Zurich has addressed a letter to the Zurich committee of the Social Democratic Party to set up the united front.

In Geneva a united front offer of the Communist Party was roundly rejected by the Social Democratic Party, with the threadbare argument that the question of the united front must be solved by the central and international organisations. This rejection is of particular significance, as the Geneva social democrats are led by the "Left" Nicole, who participated in the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress.

United Front Movement in Austria

After the amalgamation of the "Left" social democratic group "Red Front" with the Communist Party, the C.C. of the C.P. addressed a letter to the central committee and all organisations of the revolutionary socialists, the strongest group which emerged from the ruins of the former social democratic party of Austria. The C.P. of Austria proposes to fight jointly for the immediate release of the proletarian prisoners, the re-establishment and the continuation of the Schutzbund, against any wage cut and reduction of unemployment benefit, for the defence, re-establishment and continuation of the free trade unions, etc. The C.C. further proposes to adopt all necessary measures for convening a Party Congress for rallying and uniting the Austrian proletariat.

Some districts of the revolutionary socialists have already discussed this proposal. The Floridsdorf district, which is the strongest in Vienna, has addressed a letter to all its members, recommending amalgamation with the C.P., and calls on them to decide for themselves. In many districts discussions between the two Parties for the purpose of joint actions have already taken place.

International Campaign for the Release of Thaelmann

Saarbruecken, July 16.

The unity committee of the tramway workers in the Saar district has sent a telegram to Berlin sharply protesting against the fact that Ernst Thaelmann is to be brought before the so-called "People's Court," and expressing its solidarity with Thaelmann. The telegram concludes with the words: "We workers shall rescue Thaelmann, just as we have rescued Dimitrov."

Saarbruecken, July 16.

The young employees of the firm Joseph Levy Witwe, in Neunkirchen, have sent a resolution to the German government in which they demand the immediate release of Ernst Thaelmann and all anti-fascists.

Brussels, July 16.

Several hundred workers assembled in front of the German Consulate in Antwerp and shouted demands for the release of Thaelmann.

Germany

Hitler Fails to Publish his Murder List

The speech delivered by Hitler to his hand-picked Reichstag had three special characteristics: first of all the extreme excitement displayed by Hitler whilst delivering it; secondly, the presence of a number of glaring contradictions which revealed immediately the dishonesty of his argumentation; and, thirdly, the fact that he silently ignored the demand of world public opinion that he should finally publish a list of the people who were murdered at his behest.

The hysterical excitement, coupled with deep depression, betrayed by Hitler during his speech were so obvious that the whole world press commented on the point. With regard to the speech itself we shall confine ourselves to pointing out a number of the most flagrant contradictions. The most important concerns Hitler's description of the last few hours which preceded the slaughter. Hitler declared:—

"At one o'clock in the morning I received two urgent warnings from Berlin and Munich. The Berlin message informed me that a general alarm had been ordered for four o'clock in the afternoon and that the requisition of motor-lorries for the transport of the actual Storm Detachments had been ordered and was already being conducted. The action was to begin punctually at five o'clock with the sudden occupation of all government buildings. Group Leader Ernst had not left for Wiessee, but had remained in Berlin to conduct the action in person. In Munich a general alarm for the Storm Detachments had been ordered for nine o'clock in the evening. The men were not dismissed and sent home, but kept in alarm quarters. At one o'clock I received the final warning and at two o'clock in the morning I journeyed in an aeroplane to Munich."

Immediately after this Hitler declared that Goering had "previously received instructions in case of any action to take analogous measures in Berlin and Prussia immediately." It will be difficult for Hitler to persuade the world that he went to the wedding of the Ruhr district leader Terboven on the 28th June without being convinced of the "necessity for immediate intervention" and that he decided on such intervention only when he received a warning message whilst inspecting a labour camp, and that then Goering took the ruthless action he did on the basis of such an ambiguous order as "in case of any action take analogous measures in Berlin and Prussia."

This chief argument to prove the existence of a conspiracy makes a highly frivolous and incredible impression. The truth is that the action which was carried out in the night of the 30th June to the 1st July was prepared and thoroughly discussed quite independently of any "warning messages" and that Hitler's presence at the Terboven wedding was deliberately arranged in order to lull any suspicions the prospective victims might have had. For the rest the Hitler's lies are revealed by the one statement concerning Group Leader Ernst. The statement that Ernst remained in Berlin "to conduct the action in person" is in flagrant contradiction to the official German reports and to the reports of the foreign press. On the contrary, Ernst had left for Bremen with a ship's ticket in his pocket, which he had purchased ten days before in order to leave Germany, and he was arrested in Bremen and not in Berlin.

If Hitler's story were true, then he had a splendid case for proceedings against the "conspirators" for high treason. According to Hitler, Standard Leader Uhl "admitted a few hours before his death that he had consented to carry out an order for the execution of Hitler." Why did not Hitler place the "conspirators" before an open court, particularly as they were allegedly so willing to admit their guilt?

No one believes in the story of the conspiracy, and the "conspirators" themselves have been slaughtered in order to prevent them talking. Hitler's declaration that he acted as "the supreme judge of the German people" and that "mutinies are suppressed according to eternally similar laws" are worthless as arguments, but valuable as proof of the reckless and murderous instincts of the man himself.

The events of the 30th June and the succeeding days are an urgent warning to the world to come to the defence of the many thousands of prisoners in the hands of the fascist murderers.

To-morrow Hitler may feel an inclination to play the part of "supreme judge" towards Thaelmann, Torgler, and the thousands of other proletarian political prisoners in his power. If the world accepts Hitler's explanations for his killing orgy, without untiringly expressing its horror and protest, then it will encourage him to continue his murderous progress.

Towards the conclusion of his speech Hitler spoke of the victims of his carnage. He announced that 19 prominent leaders of the brown Storm Troops, 31 other leaders and men of the brown Storm Troops, and three leaders of the black Special Troops had been executed for their share in the "conspiracy." Thirteen leaders of the Brown Storm Detachments and civilians had lost their lives whilst resisting arrest. Three other persons had "committed suicide." And five members of the National Socialist Party, but not members of the Storm Troops, had been executed. Further, he announced that three members of the black Special Troops had been executed for "shameful treatment of prisoners."

That was all. No names and no details were given. The world will not be deceived by this evasion. Why were the members of the rank and file of the brown Storm Troops included among the 31 executed? Has not Hitler always maintained that only a small clique of leaders were involved, but that no members of the rank and file were implicated?

And under what category has Hitler included the murdered Dr. Klausener, Dr. Schmidt, and von Kahr? Dr. Schmidt was shot dead in a prison cell whilst in custody. Von Kahr was thrown downstairs. Dr. Klausener is alleged to have "committed suicide." We have mentioned these three victims to show that many of the known victims are not included in Hitler's list. World public opinion expected that Hitler would give it some account of the happenings of the 30th June and justify his actions, as he had promised. Hitler failed to give any credible account of those happenings, and evaded all the most important questions. The effect of his speech on world public opinion will be the contrary of his intentions.

The Bankrupts in Retreat

The dramatic happenings which have taken place in the foreground of the stage on which the national-socialist melodrama is being performed must not be permitted to distract our attention from the economic developments which will play the decisive role in the political developments and their prospects.

The disappearance of the last gold reserves have caused the leadership of the Reichsbank to take a desperate step. After a record loss of 24.1 million marks the gold reserves for covering the German currency fell to 76 millions on June 23. The gold cover of the German notes fell to a new low record of 2.3 per cent. Three more weeks at the same rate of loss would have meant that the Reichsbank had reached the zero point. The limitations which had previously been imposed on the movement of gold and foreign exchange had produced little effect on the rate of diminution. On June 25, therefore, the Reichsbank issued a new order, according to which from day to day the amount of foreign exchange available for allotment shall not exceed the amount of foreign exchange coming into the country. The permission to send out by postal order a sum not exceeding fifty marks a month was withdrawn altogether. The maximum sum permitted to emigrants was decreased from ten thousand marks to two thousand marks.

The rigorous measures have had the effect of preventing for the moment any further loss of gold. By the end of June, however, the gold covering of the notes had decreased to 2 per cent. owing to the increase in the volume of notes in circulation.

If the new foreign exchange regulations were respected and the moratorium desired by Schacht carried out on July 1, then the loss of gold would have been stopped. However, such limitations on the allotment of foreign exchange must necessarily deal further heavy blows at Germany's foreign trade because they cause an intolerable uncertainty in international trading operations and destroy the credit of the German exporters. Under the new regulations any foreigner who exports goods to Germany has no guarantee that he will ever receive payment for his goods in an internationally recognised means of payment—the mark is no longer that.

And further, the moratorium itself will not be carried through in the way Schacht would like and as the German finance capitalists had in mind. In view of the terrible uncertainty of the inner situation of Germany the national-socialist government does not dare, despite all its blood-and-thunder speeches, to take the risk

of having a trade war on its hands, and in fact it is now in retreat in face of the threats of Germany's foreign creditors.

In a speech in the British House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Chamberlain*, once again repeated the attacks on Germany which had been made previously in the British Note. He made no attempt to deny the difficulties of Germany's foreign exchange and gold situation, but he declared roundly that the policy of the German government and in particular the policy of the Reichsbank had brought about the difficulties. Germany had declared that it had no foreign exchange at its disposal to transfer the interest on the Dawes and Young Plan Loans, but at the same time it had allotted 335 million marks for the purchase of German bonds abroad, or in other words, a sum four times in excess of the interest due on the Dawes and Young Plan Loans for a whole year.

After this speech of Chamberlain, which quite openly accused the German government and the Board of the Reichsbank, headed by Schacht, of deceit, the Bill giving the British government the power to establish a compulsory clearing office and to impose special supplementary import duties on the goods of those countries which subject British goods to exceptionally unfavourable treatment was adopted by the House of Commons. With this Bill the British government has provided itself with trade weapons with which to reply to any counter-measures taken by Germany.

The Hitler government did answer this threat with a similar one, in that it adopted a law for the application of economic reprisals against foreign countries and gave itself the power to place new customs duties on foreign goods, but then it gave way all along the line before the British threats. The British government had agreed from the outset to a moratorium for private debts, but it had insisted on the transfer of the interest on the Dawes and Young Loans. In this question Schacht and the Hitler government have now completely capitulated to British finance capital. The interest which matures on the Dawes and Young Loans in the next six months in the period of the German moratorium will be paid by Germany. The German government has undertaken to place the necessary sums for these payments at the disposal of the Bank of England in pounds sterling. With this arrangement the Hitler government openly abandons its former principle that only private debts should be paid and that the "interest slavery" which has developed from political reasons must be broken. Further, it admits that its former declaration of its inability to pay was dishonest and that the accusations of its foreign creditors were justified.

The agreement with Great Britain which was concluded on July 4 avoids the danger of a trade war with Great Britain, but is fraught with further serious dangers for Germany. The German negotiators succeeded in obtaining only one reservation with regard to their promise to pay: namely, Germany will pay the interest only on those bonds which were in the possession of British subjects on June 15. That is to say, the British holders are to be treated preferentially. However, all the countries interested, and particularly the United States, have protested in advance against any such preferential treatment. Even before the agreement between the British government and the German negotiators had been concluded, American finance capital had expressed its lack of confidence in the Hitler government in a sharp official Note of the United State government. This Note declared frankly that "the German government is largely responsible, as a result of the policy pursued by the Hitler regime, for the situation in Germany." The Note also contains an allusion to the boycott of German goods which was provoked by the persecution of the Jews in Germany in the following passage:—

"The German government is undoubtedly aware that this policy has met with opposition in many parts of the world, opposition which found its expression in various business conflicts and which has perhaps led to a diminution of Germany's transfer capacity."

The Note goes on to declare that the shrinkage of Germany's gold and foreign exchange reserves has not been caused by Germany's attempts to do justice to its creditors, but by the trend of German policy. Germany, declares the Note, has used a part of its gold and foreign currency reserves to buy back its own bonds and to purchase war materials.

Seldom in times of peace has the government of a large country been so openly accused of deceit by the governments of other countries as has the Hitler government since Schacht's bankruptcy swindle. The national-socialist newspapers complain bitterly that foreign countries dare to utter such criticism of Ger-

many's policy. The results of the efforts of the Goebbels' agents in the United States are obviously as negative as the results of the whole policy of German fascism, despite all the propaganda in favour of the Third Reich. According to a Reuter report the United States government is expected to take sharp trading measures against Germany unless German finance capital agrees to grant the American creditors the same terms as it has granted the British creditors.

In the transfer negotiations with Switzerland the German negotiators have also been compelled to make concessions which diminish the effect of the complete moratorium which has been announced. The Swiss demand that interest due shall be paid out of the surplus yielded by Germany's trade with Switzerland has been granted in effect. A compensation office has been founded which will make over the sums necessary to meet the demands of the Swiss creditors after the payment of German imports and the sums necessary for German travellers in Switzerland. Germany will have to make similar concessions to all her other creditors, and in particular to the creditors in those countries whose trading balance with Germany is passive. Thus from this angle also the moratorium will be broken through and the crisis of foreign exchange and raw materials will intensify still further.

In order to obtain foreign exchange to pay for Germany's imports of raw materials it has been decided to revive the export trade with all possible artificial and compulsory means. The German Economic Ministry has issued an order according to which in the future the placing of State orders and the granting of State subsidies will be made dependent on "a corresponding activity in the export trade of the undertakings concerned." Even export activity which results in a loss is included in the demand of the German government on the ground that the undertakings in question can then recover their losses by increased home sales. Undertakings which neglect their export branches are threatened with the withdrawal of their foreign exchange allotments for imports. The German Economic Ministry announces with indignation that just those undertakings which have benefited primarily from the State "work provision" scheme have interested themselves least in the export trade. Naturally, there is nothing astonishing about that, for in the Third Reich, as in all other capitalist countries, the profit interest is decisive. Why should German capitalists risk losses in the export trade when they can net certain and satisfactory profits through the State "work provision" scheme, or, in other words, by supplying the State with war materials?

In a speech delivered to a conference of the German Chambers of Foreign Trade, Hess, the "deputy" of the "leader" himself, appealed to foreign countries not to interfere in Germany's internal affairs. This was on the eve of Hitler's Night of St. Bartholomew. Hess regards the boycott of German goods as an interference in Germany's internal affairs. Autarchy, economic self-sufficiency, which was so long a slogan of the national socialists, is now no longer the ideal to be aimed at, but merely a threat directed to the address of foreign countries should the boycott of German goods prove successful. If Germany were compelled, as a result of a boycott of its goods and a resultant lack of foreign exchange, to stop importing raw materials from other countries, then the countries in question would be threatened with Bolshevism, declared Hess.

The national-socialist statesmen talk as though Germany purchased its supplies of raw materials from other countries in order to oblige the latter and that in reality Germany could get on very well with substitutes. However, the economic experts know better. The leading organisations of Germany industry have presented a memorandum to the German government in which they complain of the serious damage done to the reputation of German goods abroad as a result of the fact that prospective purchasers of such goods are flooded with news about substitutes being used in Germany. The memorandum demands that the government should take measures to secure the necessary supplies of raw materials in order that the quality of German export goods may be maintained, and that it should take measures to suppress all reports suggesting that German industry is using inferior substitutes as raw materials for its goods.

In face of facts, such appeals must remain unheard and ineffective. On June 30 the prohibition of the purchase of woollen raw materials and semi-finished goods from abroad was extended indefinitely. The prices of German woollen goods have risen rapidly and it is becoming increasingly difficult to purchase woollen

goods of good quality. As a result of the shortage of raw materials the activity of the German textile industry fell from 65.2 per cent. in April to 64.8 per cent. in May.

In addition the intolerable political situation must necessarily intensify the economic crisis. In the speech already mentioned Hess appealed to those Germans living abroad in the following terms:—

"Be always on your guard to prevent the anti-German agitation abroad being able to take advantage of even the least error."

And the very next day Hess sallied forth with his leader and all the other miscreants in order to indulge in an orgy of mass murder! International capitalism has no more moral scruples than have Hitler and his band of gangsters, or Krupp and Thyssen, on whose behalf the Hitler crowd rule Germany, but if international capitalism has no moral scruples it has a very good idea of the instability of a regime which has to use such methods to keep itself on top. If anything further had been necessary to give German credit abroad the coup de grace then the slaughter of June 30 provided it.

Small wonder that those who are primarily responsible for the economic catastrophe in Germany are now seeking to avoid shouldering the responsibility for the results of their policy. The Economic Minister Schmitt has gone on "sick leave," whilst Schacht has handed in his resignation on several occasions. The Finance Minister von Schwerin-Krosigk has declared himself in solidarity with von Papen should the latter resign from Hitler's Cabinet. This flight on the part of the "economic leaders" of the Third Reich is also a sign of how rapidly the ground is crumbling under the feet of the fascist dictatorship.

All Power to the Soviets—Long Live Soviet Germany!

Appeal Issued by the Communist Party of Germany

Workers! Toilers!

Keep your eyes open! Do not let yourselves be deceived again! The happenings of the 30th June are of far-reaching significance for each of you. It is not a question of the swinishness, the elegant motor-cars, the corruption and the homo-sexuality of the overthrown and murdered leaders of the brown Storm Troops. These things have been taken as a pretext. The fate of the working people as a whole is at stake. They are to be oppressed and exploited still more brutally in the interests of German and foreign capitalists. The dream of the brown Storm Troopers of "German socialism" under Hitler has been exploded. Finance-capital has ordered its agents Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, etc., to steer a clear course in carrying out its instructions. The "cleansing drive," with the sudden slaughter of the old guard, amongst the leaders of the brown Storm Troops was intended to divert the indignation and hatred of the masses of the people against a few individual leaders of the Storm Troops who had become a nuisance, to intimidate the rank and file of the Storm Troops and to facilitate the carrying out of the new wave of terrorism and national treachery initiated by Hitler and Co.

Workers, Toilers, be on your guard! The Reichswehr and the police are being held ready for action. Long before the "cleansing" Hitler had formed an alliance with them against his own Storm Troopers. The sudden action against the Storm Troops and the long-prepared murder of many of Hitler's closest friends amongst the leaders of the Storm Troops were a bloody demonstration of the punctual performance of the instructions of the German trust and finance-capitalists and their allies in Paris and London by the Hitler government. The leaders of the old Nationalist Free Corps, the accessories who knew too much those who were the instruments for the Reichstag arson crime have been put out of the way for ever by Hitler and Goering in accordance with their old murderous traditions.

Despite all the much-advertised journeys of national socialist leaders abroad, eighteen months of the fascist Hitler dictatorship has resulted in the complete foreign political isolation of Germany, an isolation which threatens to develop into a catastrophe. German finance-capital now demands the abandonment of fascist blustering and the abandonment of the war-mongering phraseology, "honour and equality" and all the rest of it, and a return to the policy of negotiations, a return to the League of Nations and an alliance with Great Britain, Poland and other countries against the Soviet Union. As a guarantee for the sincerity of the change

in German foreign policy, the ambassadors of Great Britain and France demanded that the brown Storm Troops should be disarmed and reorganised. Hitler promised to carry out these demands last April, and on the 30th June he implemented his promise, carried out the orders of German and foreign finance-capital and submitted to the Versailles Treaty and the policy of the League of Nations.

Eighteen months of the fascist Hitler dictatorship were sufficient to convince the masses of the truth of the Communist declaration that **Hitler would lead Germany into a catastrophe.** Under the leadership of the Communist Party the masses are now preparing for the struggle. Hatred, indignation and dissatisfaction are rapidly swelling into gigantic proportions amongst the masses of the people. Under the constant pressure of the class-conscious Marxist working class, and as a result of fact after fact, the brown Storm Troops became less and less reliable as an instrument of the fascist dictatorship. The German capitalists were meeting with increasing obstacles in their offensive against wages and working conditions because the members of the Storm Troops and the members of the national socialist factory organisations were supporting the struggle of the Communist Party to an increasing extent. The way is now to be cleared for a new general attack on wages, unemployment support and on the conditions of life of the toiling masses in general.

The old brown Storm Troops, millions strong, whose belief in a better future and whose sacrifices placed Hitler at the head of the German government, are now being disarmed and disbanded, and hundreds of their members are being murdered. The old brown Storm Troops are to be replaced by a smaller police body under the direct control of the State police. The will of national and international finance-capital is law for Hitler.

Workers! Toilers! The blows which are now being prepared by the reaction, by the capitalists in alliance with the feudal agrarian Junkers, are to be directed against you and therefore we appeal to you:—

Oppose the new wave of terror and the new intensification of oppression and exploitation!

Help let loose a storm of opposition against the fascist dictatorship!

The Hitler dictatorship is growing weaker and weaker and it will go from one crisis to the next.

The capitalists will now launch an offensive against the workers in the factories. Workers, show them your teeth! Make an end of wage-cuts. Demand your old wage rates and collective agreements. Demand that the high prices be lowered.

The time has now come to demand an end of the military drill and blind obedience. Demand the freedom to meet at will, the freedom of the press and the right of combination! Down with the "confidential councils," which are tools of the employers. Elect your own representatives in the factories. Clear the spies, agents-provocateurs and the tools of the employers out of the factories. Organise your struggle by electing your own illegal shop stewards. Send deputations to the employers. Organise demonstrations in the factories. Organise yourselves in illegal independent class trade unions. Establish a united fighting front under the leadership of the Communist Party. Post up your own factory regulations and your own programme for the conduct of the factory. The signal for action on the part of the whole toiling people must come from the factories: Down with the fascist Hitler dictatorship!

At the labour exchanges and in front of town halls the unemployed must shout their demands in a powerful chorus: We won't starve any longer! Give us proper work at trade union rates or our old rates of support again! Unemployed workers! Refuse to go to the slave camps in the country. Form a fraternal alliance. Elect your illegal committees. Exercise proletarian solidarity amongst yourselves and with the peasants and landworkers in the rural areas. If you are united the fascist attacks will fail.

The will of the working masses must be made manifest in all the proletarian quarters. Down with the profiteers and the inflationists. Down with the war-mongers. Down with all forms of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Chalk and paint up your slogans on all walls and houses, hoarding and pavements. Stand shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party.

Workers! Help the deceived and betrayed members of the brown Storm Troops. Explain the meaning of the 30th June to

them. Point out the treachery of Hitler and the miserable double role of Goebbels. Enlighten them, urge them on to resistance. Win them in fraternal discussion for our socialist struggle for freedom, for a real, a proletarian revolution.

The prisons and concentration camps are filling up again. Side by side with our own comrades there are now masses of deceived and betrayed members of the brown Storm Troops. **Demand the release of Ernst Thaelmann!**; Demand the release of all the imprisoned anti-fascist fighters and also of those members of the Storm Troops who fought for the illusion of a "German socialism" only to feel the whip of German capitalism.

Working people of Germany! The situation is serious. New events and new and serious decisions lie immediately ahead. The Hitler dictatorship has been shaken to its foundation and it is doomed to collapse.

Two ways are open and you must choose: The way of Hitler and German finance-capital with the Reichswehr and the police under the scourge of Versailles and hand in hand with the other imperialist Powers to the further enslavement and exploitation of the German people, or the way of the **German Communist Party** for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship by a daily class struggle developing into a general strike and the armed insurrection of the working people for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a free socialist Soviet Germany after the glorious example of the Soviet Union.

There is no third way. There is no going back to the Weimar system, never again social democracy, never again pacts of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, never again compromises with the enemies of our struggle against Versailles. Onwards to the national and social emancipation of the German people!

March shoulder to shoulder with the German Communist Party, the leader of your struggle for freedom. March under the red banner with the hammer and sickle. Rally to our united proletarian fighting front under the slogans:—

All power to the Soviets!

Down with the fascist Hitler dictatorship!

Down with all forms of bourgeois capitalist dictatorship!

Only Communism can save us!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with all other sections of the working masses!

Long live the struggle for a free socialist, Soviet Germany!

Communist Party of Germany.

(Section of the Communist International).

The Balkans

Emergency Powers in Rumania

By Victor Zitna (Bukarest)

The political crisis which underwent a serious moment at the end of May, when the pro-German and pro-Italian elements of the Rumanian bourgeoisie, aided by the court camarilla, attempted to establish a military dictatorship under the senile Marshal Averescu, has become steadily acuter. The ruling fractions of the bourgeoisie of Rumania, the Liberals and the National Zaranists, which are in the sphere of influence of French imperialism, have been able to prevent the coup d'état for the moment. But the aggravation of the economic crisis, and the resistance of the masses of the workers and peasants, greatly restrict the possibilities of manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie of Rumania.

In consequence of the drought, and the restriction of the cultivated area, the prospects of the crops are very bad this year. Not only will there be nothing left over for export, but it is anticipated that the harvest will not even suffice to cover the needs of the country itself. Whole districts are threatened with famine.

During the first six months of the year exports fell off considerably, so that the National Bank is no longer able to guarantee the payments in foreign currencies. The government has taken the preliminary step of reducing imports by 20 per cent. in comparison with last year. But this measure has proved insufficient, and a 50 per cent. reduction of imports is being contemplated, enabling the National Bank to accumulate a certain reserve of foreign currencies securing the payment of foreign debts.

In consequence of the inflation measures introduced by the government: the treasury notes, the taxation vouchers, etc., the lei has lost 30 per cent. of its nominal value.

Intensified by the growing economic crisis, the resistance of

the toiling masses is increasing from day to day. The mobilisation of the masses of workers and peasants at the time of the trial of the railwaymen in Craiova, the series of important strikes carried on during the last few weeks (dockers, textile workers, metal workers, etc.), the increasing number of peasant revolts—all this gives expression to the determination of the masses to repulse the attacks of the bourgeoisie and the boyars of Rumania.

In view of this situation, the various groups of the Rumanian bourgeoisie are agreed on the necessity of creating a strong authoritative power. The struggle only begins as soon as the question arises of the modality and the choice of the group which is to establish fascism. Whilst the Iron Guard and the Goga, Averescu, and Manoilescu groups demand the establishment of an openly fascist government, and are anxious to repeat the Sofia coup d'état, those sections of the Rumanian bourgeoisie at present in power prefer to advocate the gradual transition to fascism, a process which has already made considerable progress.

The Liberal government is actually continuing the rapid fascistisation of the State apparatus. During the brief sessions recently held by Parliament, a considerable number of measures were taken with this object. The law for the "protection of national labour" has been finally passed. This law lays down that the maximum proportion of foreign workers permitted to be employed in private undertakings is to be 20 per cent., the sole exception being the administrative councils, which may consist to 50 per cent. of foreigners. Since there are many persons in the national minorities who are not Rumanian citizens, this law seriously affects the workers and employees belonging to these minorities, and contributes to swelling the wave of chauvinism promoted by the Rumanian bourgeoisie as reply to the revisionist campaign of Hungary.

The Liberal government has gone even further than this. It has applied for and received certain powers from Parliament, valid till November 15. The pertaining law gives the government the following rights:—

- (1) The simplification and rationalisation of public services, signifying the dismissal of a large number of civil servants.
- (2) The revision of all budgets of the central administrative bodies, in order to reduce material and personal expenses.
- (3) The adoption of all measures for securing a favourable payment balance: Limited imports, etc.

In short, the government is empowered to take measures both in economy and finance, and will impose a number of emergency orders affecting the working population, preventing any discussion in Parliament on measures likely to arouse a certain resistance among the masses. Civil servants in particular will be seriously affected by these measures, and they are preparing to deal a counter-blow.

Nor does the Liberal government intend any half-measures, and there is already open talk of a change in the constitution, with the object of strengthening executive power.

The openly fascist camp, in spite of its utter failure in the affair of Averescu's frustrated coup d'état, is very far from disarming. The Liberal government, influenced by the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, is endeavouring to come to an agreement with the National Zaranists for a so-called struggle against the dictatorship, directed in reality against the court camarilla, which has never concealed its sympathies for the Iron Guard.

The leader of the Liberal party, *D. Bratianu*, has conferred with *Maniu*, the former president of the National Zaranist party, and in spite of the antagonisms between the two parties an agreement has been arrived at, for the purpose of frustrating the activities of the court camarilla and preventing any change in the foreign policy of Rumania. A series of further conferences are to follow between Bratianu and the leaders of certain oppositional groups.

Barthou's journey to Bucharest has strengthened the position of the Liberal government. Nevertheless, it is a characteristic fact that on the day after his departure for Belgrade a demonstration was held by students belonging to the Iron Guard, against Barthou and for Marshal Averescu. The government recently resolved on the disbanding of the pro-Hitler organisations of the German minority, but the Iron Guard is still officially tolerated.

In this manner the Liberal party, the party of financial capital and the big agrarians, whilst pretending to fight against the dictatorship and to defend the constitutional regime, is in reality working for the fascistisation of the State. It has already arrived at a regime of enabling laws and emergency orders, and speaks openly of alterations in the constitution.

In response to the appeals made by the C.P. of Rumania and by the revolutionary organisations, the masses of the workers and peasants of Rumania have replied to the fascistisation measures by great strikes, by peasant revolts, by the magnificent campaign for the condemned railwaymen. The prospect of a famine in the rural districts, of the mass dismissal of public servants, and of the continuation of the brutal attacks against the political and social achievements of the working class, opens out before the Communist Party of Rumania great possibilities in the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the boyars, for Soviet Rumania.

Great Britain

Three Years of the National Government

By R. Bishop (London)

Next month the National government—the government of Hunger and War, as it has come to be known among large masses of workers—will conclude three years of office, during which it has carried through an unprecedented drive against the working class, combined with a not inconsiderable degree of demagogy.

When the National government was formed, *MacDonald* issued a statement in which he declared that it was not intended as a permanent combination, but that it had been formed for a specific object, the clearing up of the financial crisis and the balancing of the Budget, after which there would be a return to the old party alignments.

Now the elements which constitute the National government show that they have no intention of breaking up if they can possibly avoid it. The leaders of the Conservative organisation, and those Liberal and Labour sections which have gone to the formation of the National Government are paving the way for another united appeal to the electorate at the next General Election.

The last week has seen the National government in an unusual role, that of the shepherd expressing his willingness to conduct the Soviet Union into the Geneva fold. And its mouthpiece in this task was *Sir John Simon*, one of the most reactionary Foreign Ministers—despite his Liberal label—that ever sat in a British Cabinet.

Not only *Sir John Simon*, but such old enemies of the Soviet Union as *Churchill* and *Austen Chamberlain* spoke in a vein very different from that they usually adopt when dealing with the Workers' Republic. Said *Churchill*:—

"I do not see how anyone who wishes to induce Germany to come back to the League can possibly find any objection to Russia joining that body."

Said *Chamberlain*:—

"We will do well to assure Russia of a cordial welcome to the League of Nations if she applies to join it, and of that position in the League and on its Council to which her strength as a Great Power gives her the right."

What does this change of front mean? Does it imply a change of heart on the part of the British capitalist class? Most certainly not. It implies nothing more than a new manoeuvre. The more British foreign policy changes towards the Soviet Union, the more it remains the same. Whilst *Sir John Simon* talks peace in the House of Commons, the more fiercely do the War Office, the Admiralty and, particularly, the Air Ministry, clamour for more money, and more and still more deadly armaments.

The British Foreign Office has played a very tortuous game of late which, of course, is nothing new for it to do. It has played France off against Germany, and Germany against France. So with regard to Japan, the ancient ally of imperialist Britain, against whose goods discriminatory quota regulations have been applied in a number of British colonies. The innocents regarded this move as being anti-Japanese; it was nothing of the sort. Its effect upon Japan will be to drive it yet more rapidly into a war against the Soviet Union, a war in which it may still rely upon the support of the British capitalists. The imperialist press has admitted quite frankly that whilst there must be restrictions on Japanese imports into the British Empire, yet she must be secured "a free hand in her closest and most convenient market—China," linking up such statements with declarations of Japan's inalienable rights on the Asiatic continent, except, of course, those parts of Asia which have been appropriated to the British Empire.

Why—if Britain is still leading the capitalist nations in the drive against the Soviet Union—does she take an action that—on

the surface—is calculated to lessen the imminence of an anti-Soviet war?

The British government has given its blessing to an *Eastern Locarno* to balance the Western Locarno, but Japan is no party to either pact. The nimble balancing of British foreign policy at Geneva is becoming more and more difficult to sustain. The British imperialists envisage themselves as being isolated with no ally in Europe but Nazi Germany, a very slender reed on which to lean. The Anglo-American antagonism still occupies the forefront of the stage, and in the war which is envisaged as the outcome of this, Great Britain cannot do without the support and co-operation of France. Nazi Germany is no efficient substitute.

In return for an arrangement with France in this sphere, Britain has to pay a price—the endorsement of the Eastern Locarno. Imperialist France, on her part, for long the co-leader with Britain of the anti-Soviet plans, fears the re-armament of Germany—a re-armament which up till now has been actively connived at by Britain. Hence the approval of the entry of the U.S.S.R. to the League of Nations and the blessing given to the Eastern pacts was accompanied by solemn denunciations of Nazidom, not only from Simon, but from Churchill and Austen Chamberlain, showing that there would be no “cave” formed in the Conservative party on this issue, as there has been on the question of India.

The Anglo-French Entente, formed before the war, disintegrated very soon after it, and imperialist contradictions sharpened apace. The advent of the Nazis to power in Germany sharpened these contradictions. Imperialist circles in Britain hoped to turn the aggressiveness of Nazi Germany, as well as of Japan, against the Soviet Union, and the Baltic and Balkan States.

But France was not satisfied. She knew that German re-armament, aimed against the Soviet Union, was also aimed against her. In these circumstances she took a realistic view of the tremendous defensive power of the Soviet Union, and realised its great weight as a restraining influence, a check upon German aggression.

France herself has been compelled to drop her open antagonism to the Soviet Union and to support Litvinov's proposals at the last session of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva. At the same time she brought pressure to bear upon her allies in Eastern Europe to adopt a less intransigent attitude towards the Soviet Union.

Even the most viciously anti-Soviet circles in Britain are slowly beginning to realise that the putting into operation of their war-like anti-Soviet plans would be to court disaster. If Japan cares to go ahead with them, that will be another matter. Japan will be assured of the goodwill and the covert support of British imperialism and, if things go well with her, the overt support as well. But in the meantime British imperialism realises that it will pay her to be cautious, because the Soviet Union is that most wicked of all animals, one that is ready and capable of defending itself if attacked.

The determination of France not to retreat from her adopted course of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. and the events of June 30 in Germany, revealing the extent to which the Nazi regime has disintegrated, both served as additional evidence to the British imperialists that they would have to draw their horns in and make a volte face in their public attitude to the Soviet Union.

But none of these things lessen the need for the workers in Britain—and in other capitalist countries—to continue their campaign against imperialist war. It is the heightening of the capitalist contradictions that has led to such imperialist powers as France and Britain modifying their attitude to the Workers' Fatherland.

The armaments race is being waged with greater intensity than ever before. Japan is panting for war, and British imperialism will back her anti-Soviet aspirations, her ambition to gain control of China, provided that in anything she does, she does not interfere with the spheres of influence in Britain.

The imperialist nations want a breathing space to perfect their war machines. The Soviet Union throws its weight behind any scheme which is calculated to hinder the outbreak of war. But whilst the capitalist nations seek a breathing space, the broad *anti-war movement* must be developed in every capitalist country, and the struggle intensified to abolish capitalism, the fruitful cause of war.

The Soviet Union is perfectly justified in utilising the contradictions of capitalism to win for itself a breathing space in which

to develop its socialist industry and agriculture, and to perfect its defensive organisation. But the workers must fight without any illusions for the abolition of war by the abolition of capitalism. For not by regional pacts or by Leagues of Nations can war be abolished, but by the uprooting of monopoly capitalism.

Whilst the National government changes its public tone to the Soviet Union it pushes ahead with its shipbuilding, agricultural and other subsidies of obvious war significance. It busily forges ahead with vastly increased armaments. By means of pageants and tattoos it carries on a vast ideological propaganda in favour of war. By means of tariffs and quota it wages economic war—the prelude to armed war—against its rivals. By means of legislation, such as the Unemployment Act and the new Sedition Bill, it paves the way for the introduction of fascism.

In the third year of its life the National government may modify its public pronouncements, but it still remains what it always has been—the government of Hunger and War.

Austria

The Struggle of the Municipal Tenants of Austria

By Gustav (Vienna)

The struggle of the Viennese municipal tenants has ended with a great success. The municipality has been forced by the revolutionary movement of the masses to promise allowances to needy tenants, enabling them to pay the increased rents. It has also announced that no one is to be evicted who pays only the old rent on 1st July, if he applies at the same time for the allowance. This announcement is the more important as the vice-mayor, Dr. Kresse, has threatened to throw all oppositional tenants out of the municipal houses.

The number of tenants paying only the old rents cannot yet be statistically ascertained. The figures issued by the town hall rather serve to conceal the facts. According to these figures, more than one quarter of the tenants have paid only the old rent. But these town hall statistics cover only about three-quarters of the total number of tenants, and do not state how many of the tenants paying the increased rates have received the rent allowances. In proletarian houses, especially in those where the revolutionary movement has been particularly strong, scarcely 30 per cent. have paid the increased rents. In any case the revolutionary movement of the tenants has enabled tens of thousands of families to retain cheap dwellings.

The importance of this struggle extends far beyond the success thus achieved. The struggle is a signal for new and greater struggles. It is the first great struggle since the fighting in February, and as such it is of decisive importance for the development of future fighting tactics. And it is a brilliant confirmation of Bolshevik tactics, an annihilating blow at the sorry heroes who speak of the impotence of the proletariat.

The struggle of the municipal tenants has shown that the masses are not at all passive, but react with the utmost energy to every attack. Where an organisational force exists, the broad masses can be won for the defence of their vital interests. The workers reject the lures of the fascist demagogues, and refuse to take part in building up fascism in Austria. But neither do they intend to stand idly by and wait for the collapse. The best elements of the working class, as soon as they see a fighting organisation, go with it.

In the tenants' struggle, the C.P. seized the right moment for intervention, and its definite slogan of “Not a penny more rent!” readily comprehensible to all, offered a possibility of mass mobilisation which was then efficiently utilised. A wave of revolutionary agitation carried the masses forward, till the municipality of Vienna was forced to beat a retreat. The workers of Vienna are fully aware that they have to thank the Communists alone for this success. The pied piper, Winter, will endeavour in vain to book this success to his account. It is true the Town Council announced its retreat through his agency, but the workers know that without the struggle of the tenants, organised by the C.P., Winter's demagoguery would not have brought any practical result.

The influence and authority of the C.P. have increased correspondingly, and will be held fast in organisational forms. Widespread indignation is being aroused by the treacherous

attempts of the "Arbeiter Zeitung" and the social-democratic press abroad to represent the whole movement as a social-democratic one. The municipal tenants of Vienna have not forgotten that the social-democratic Town Council refused again and again to extend the tenants' protection to the municipal tenements, as demanded by the Communists. If the S.P. had fulfilled this demand at the time when it was still in power, the fascist Schmitz would have had no legal foothold for the increase of rents, and it would have been very difficult for him to take this action. Hence the Viennese municipal tenants have had no cause to demonstrate for the social-democratic Town Council in the manner which the social-democratic papers would like us to believe.

The "Rote Fahne" has received dozens of indignant letters stigmatising the fraudulent manner in which the "Arbeiter Zeitung" represents the demonstrations organised by the Communists as having been the work of the social democrats. Nobody in Vienna saw anything of the social-democratic demonstration reported in the Prague "Sozialdemokrat" and the Swiss S.P. newspapers. The "Arbeiter Zeitung" systematically reports every revolutionary demonstration organised by the C.P. as a social-democratic demonstration. This they call the united front! But this method of reporting defeats its own ends. It simply proves not only that the sole correct tactics in the struggle are those employed by the Communists, but that the masses of the workers are beginning to adopt these tactics. The S.P. is forced to this kind of fraud by the loss of prestige and influence which it has suffered. The C.P., however, will utilise its newly-won influence for the preparation of further mass struggles. Bolshevik fighting tactics will lead to the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Open Letter From the Second Group of Austrian Schutzbundlers in the Soviet Union

To All the Schutzbundlers! To All the Social-Democratic and Anti-Fascist Workers in Austria!

To the Anti-Fascists in All Countries!

Thanks to the relief activities of the International Red Aid, we, Austrian Schutzbundlers, have found a new fatherland in the Soviet Union. We were persecuted and menaced by the Austrian government of hangmen, but the Red Aid got us away. After the fighting was over, the Austrian R.A., in fraternal solidarity, organised the escape of many hundreds of persecuted barricade fighters. No matter whether social democrat, Communist or non-party—every fighter was given equal assistance. We were provided with rooms to live in, we were given travelling expenses, and a group of brave Red Aiders got many of us across the border.

During, as well as after, the fighting, the bloody victors collected money and food for the victims among the troops, police and Heimwehr. We were confronted with the frightful problem: What will become of our relatives, what will become of those whom we leave behind? We thought with despair of our families, our parents, wives and children, and of the thousands of our fellow fighters in the fascist jails who were waiting for help. Here, too, the R.A. arrived first and foremost on the scene. The R.A. supported the families of those comrades who were shot or hanged. The R.A. organised relief for all the widows and orphans of bereaved parents. The R.A. cared for the prisoners of fascism. A short while after the fighting was over, the workers of the Soviet Union offered a shining example of solidarity, and sent one million Austrian schillings to aid the victims of the February struggle. This money was sent through the I.R.A. to the Engineer Weissel Fund.

The journey of the 1st and 2nd group of Schutzbundlers to the Soviet Union was the work of the R.A. and the elected representatives of the Schutzbundlers in the camps in Czechoslovakia. At the very last moment the leaders of the Austrian and Czechoslovakian social democrats refused to finance the 2nd group to the U.S.S.R., and thus not only handicapped this group but also endangered 60 Schutzbund comrades who were ordered to leave by June 1 the territory of the Czechoslovakian Republic. The police expulsion was the final step following upon the expulsions from the camps of the social-democratic emigrants. Although social democrats and Communists had fought shoulder to shoulder, all those who opposed the policy of the social-democratic party leadership were expelled. This expulsion meant that the "leaders" simply threw the men on to the streets, to starve, and

thus to fall an easy prey to the police. It was only the solidarity of the social-democratic and Communist workers that saved many of the expelled comrades from this severe fate.

While in the Czechoslovakian Republic, workers were not recognised as political emigrants owing to their revolutionary ideas, the social-democratic party committee declared—with reference to certain leaders of the Austrian metal workers' union, who handed over five millions of schillings to the Dollfuss government in order to buy their personal freedom—that it could not condemn them.

Stanek, the Steyr metal worker whom the fascists hanged, sacrificed his life for freedom. The leader of his union paid five million schillings of workers' money for his freedom.

The hanged and executed fighters paid with their lives and won a place in the hearts of the workers all over the world. The traitors bought with the money of the workers a place for themselves within the fascist unified trade unions.

On the one hand, the barricade fighters were denied the travelling expenses to the Soviet Union; on the other hand, it was the social-democratic management of the Matteotti Fund who sought and found the way, over the corpses of the fighters in the February uprising, to come to an understanding with Dollfuss. It has been proved to the whole of working-class public opinion that 25 per cent. of the money collected by the Matteotti Fund, to be distributed among the Austrian revolutionary workers, was placed through the Quakers at the disposal of the Dollfuss government.

This is treachery to the cause of proletarian class solidarity!

Social-democratic workers! Anti-fascists! As revolutionary workers you must draw the proper conclusions from this, and support the great international solidarity activity of the Red Aid, the organisation which comes to the support of all the victims of fascism, white terror and bourgeois class justice, no matter to which party they belong.

The International Red Aid is the one and only solidarity organisation which stands firm as the true ally of the revolutionary workers and toilers of the whole world in the struggle against bourgeois class justice, white terror, fascism and reaction.

We, Austrian Schutzbundlers, now living in the Soviet Union, have experienced in our own persons the truly fraternal solidarity of the International Red Aid. And we call upon you: Comrades! There are countless numbers of victims of fascism. Great and bitter struggles are in store for the working class of all countries! The tasks to be met by the I.R.A. are enormous! For us in the land of socialist construction, and for you in the countries of decaying capitalism, there is but one slogan! Join the great international non-party organisation of proletarian solidarity!

Long live the Austrian Red Aid!

Long live the International Red Aid!

Long live the solidarity of the toilers all over the world!

The meeting authorises its representatives to sign this open letter in its name.

R. Rosa, Burgenland; Zatloukal, Liesing; Franz Chucklik, Vienna XV; Michael Wiener, Vienna XI; Josef Berghaus, Gras; Alexander Dobo-Deutsch, Vienna VI; Isidor Gottlieb, Vienna II; Anna Moench, Vienna X; Alois Zehetner, Steyr; Fritz Mitter, Linz; Fritz Schwager, Knittelfeld; Josef Meissel, Vienna II; Rudolf Had, Vienna XVI; Josef Liebert, Vienna XXI; Josef Vogt, Vienna XIX; Johann Pfeiffer, Burgenland; Karl Weninger, Vienna; H. Kandler, Schrams; Fasching, Vienna; Ferdinand Beier, Vienna XXI.

Fascists and the Trade Unions

London, July 16.

A sensational document, said to be secret instructions from Sir Oswald Mosley to a selected number of the inner circle of the British Union of Fascists, was read out at a Newcastle meeting last night by John Marchbank, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. This document contained a black-list of trade unionists, socialist and Communist leaders, and other anti-fascists, who were to be "dealt with" when opportunity presented itself.

The document also gave instructions for organising fascist cells inside the trade unions—without disclosing the fascist identity of the people concerned—and claiming to have certain successes in this direction in the Northumberland and Durham mining unions.

India

Abridged Draft of Political Theses of the C.C. of C.P. of India

* It gives us great pleasure to publish in the "Inprecorr" the draft of the political theses sent to us by the **Provisional C.C. of the C.P. of India**. The publication of these theses is a fact of great significance; it shows serious progress of the Communist movement. In place of scattered and politically disunited groups, we see that on the arena of the world history a united Communist Party is coming. And on the basis of its platform of action, the programme and decisions of the C.I. and the open letters of the various Communist Parties, it has begun to work out its own tactical line and energetically develop practical activities.

The National Congress has entered a crisis. The cowardly and treacherous bourgeoisie, led by Gandhi, terrified at the prospects of a national revolution, is flinging itself into the arms of imperialism, and appeals to stop this mass struggle. The A.I.C.C., in its Patna decision, invites the toiling masses to have a vacation and occupy themselves with preparations for elections to the Legislative Assembly, and in such a way to adapt and subordinate themselves to the British rule. The "Left" national-reformists (the Congress Socialist Party, etc.), on the pretext of apathy of the masses, an apathy which in reality does not exist, are striving to reconcile socialism and capitalism, and under the cover of confused phrases about the socialist State, support the authority and leadership of Gandhi and his agitation of non-violence. Such a policy of the "Left" national-reformists is nothing else but a struggle against independence, against the interests of workers and peasants, against national revolution. The workers and peasants are against the treacherous policy of bourgeois Congress leaders. The determination of workers and peasants to fight the imperialists, landlords and capitalists is growing. The workers meet the attacks of the exploiters by strikes. In a number of places peasant uprisings take place. There is no apathy. On the contrary, the revolutionary hatred against imperialist and feudal exploitation is growing. The toiling masses are searching for new paths, for new leadership. This is the general situation at the present time when the Indian Communist Party comes forward on the arena of the world history. And if to-day the Party organisationally is not yet strong and shortcomings still exist, nevertheless there is no doubt that a united strong C.P.I. will be able, with the help of the C.I., to carry out a correct policy and win influence among the toiling masses and lead them to victory. The Communists must support the C.C. and, under its leadership, start to build local party organisations, and carry on among the workers and peasants in the mills, workshops, villages, in the trade unions and other mass organisations practical day to day work. The Communists must, as it is stated in the thesis, organise everyday struggles, rally the workers and peasants and, by a correct policy and practical work, win their confidence and in such a way systematically prepare and educate them for the revolutionary struggle, so as to be able in future, when the masses are prepared and necessary conditions exist, to conduct a revolutionary uprising for independence, land and bread.

Recent events in India show that the Communists are going ahead and that they have won increased influence among the workers and are successfully learning how to defend the interests of the workers.

The political thesis of the C.C. of the C.P.I. correctly emphasises that the Indian Communists must learn to participate in and organise the political struggle of the toiling masses, the struggle for independence. In order to build the Communist Party, to win the leadership in the mass movement and isolate the national-reformists, it is necessary for the Communists to organise and develop the struggle against the attacks of the employers, and at the

same time develop an active struggle for independence. It is necessary to respond actively and immediately to such issues as the "White Paper," the decision of the Congress leaders to abandon the civil disobedience campaign, etc., and respond not only in the form of articles, leaflets, etc., but by organising mass campaigns, actions, demonstrations, by strikes, and by energetically applying united front tactics. Only following such a line, the C.P., as it is correctly stated in the draft political thesis, will succeed in extending its influence, build mass Communist Party and establish the proletarian hegemony. And if some successes in the field of economic struggles can be noted, in the field of anti-imperialist struggle, only the very first steps are being taken. However, unless this is done the Communist Party will not be able, as it is mentioned in the political thesis of the Provisional Central Committee, to strengthen their influence and carry on a successful struggle for leadership. If the Communists do not develop energetic activity in the anti-imperialist movement, then the leaders of the National Congress and their "Left" agents, meeting with no resistance on the part of the Communist Party, will try to restore their influence and strengthen their shattered positions.

The draft of the political thesis correctly states that the Communists must do everything possible to expose the reformist leaders of the National Congress and show, using concrete examples, that the Congress leaders are not fighting for independence but, on the contrary, are disorganising the anti-imperialist struggle of the toiling masses. The C.C. of the C.P. of India speaks in its theses about these tasks. The job is to put them now into practice.

(1) BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

(Editor's Note: We omit the Introduction, which correctly deals with the international situation.)

A hundred and fifty years of British imperialist rule has reduced the millions of Indian toiling masses to unspeakable poverty and abject slavery. The entire social, political and economic structure of Indian society is subjected to the needs and the domination of the system of foreign imperialism, with the result that hundreds of crores of rupees are yearly squeezed out of India, and her natural development completely throttled. The national income per head has been reduced to such a low figure that the toiling masses are in a state of permanent famine and chronic starvation. "With all the power of the State in its hands, controlling the main branches of industry, railways, sea and river transport, banks and the credit system, the greater part of the land, forests and the irrigation system, British imperialism has retarded and still obstructs the economic development of our country in every way, supporting" and relying upon all that is backward and reactionary in our country."

For the preservation of its political ascendancy, British imperialism allies itself with the most reactionary social elements (such as princes, landlords, Taluqdars, compradors, moneylenders, etc.), and with their help hold India in social and economic backwardness. It preserves and perpetuates the obsolete and the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and oppression (the native states, landlordism, usury, semi-slavery in the countryside and in the plantations).

The situation in India is growing ever more critical day by day. Fall of prices of the agricultural commodities has brought the peasant to the verge of starvation. The growing unemployment, coupled with wage-cuts and rationalisation, has reduced the worker in the city to desperation. The growing inability of the peasants to pay rents and taxes is resulting in famines and epidemics in the countryside. To top this all, there is an intensification of political oppression and imperialist terror against the

* The draft of the political theses of the C.C. of the C.P.I. sent to us is written in a very detailed manner. Owing to lack of space we are compelled to publish it in an abridged form. In some places the abbreviations are marked.—Editor.

people in general. The strikes of the workers are being suppressed with greater violence. The taxes and rents are collected from the peasants with brutal methods which are reminiscent of feudalism, political movements are being crushed with unheard-of terror.

On the other hand, there has been a strengthening of the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses during the recent years. The working-class movement has grown in strength and consciousness—and has begun to come out as an independent political force. There has been a tremendous growth in the discontent of the middle classes, which found its expression in the spread of the terrorist movement. The anti-imperialist movement of the masses assumed gigantic proportions in the years 1930-32, and, in spite of the Nationalist bourgeoisie who took over control in order to localise and sabotage it, it was marked with a series of peasant revolts. It is becoming more and more clear to the people that the mass misery of the toilers, the imperialist feudal exploitation and oppression, and the enslavement of the people of India, is due to the rule of British imperialism in India. The only way out of this situation, the only way to put an end to this oppression and exploitation and to clear the path to progress is the unconditional overthrow of British imperialism and its Indian allies in India, the raising of the banner of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and the winning of National independence, for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Federated Soviet Republic.

(2) THE ATTITUDE OF THE VARIOUS CLASSES TOWARDS IMPERIALISM AND THE REVOLUTION

British imperialism is able to retain its hold on India only by relying upon the vested reactionary interests (like the princes, big landlords, moneylenders) and with the assistance of the Indian merchants and capitalists.

The princes and the landlords owe the rights to their property and the right to exploit the peasants and their subjects—almost entirely to the favour of British imperialism. The very condition of their parasitic existence is bound up with the domination of British imperialist rule. These classes therefore form the most stable and reliable allies of British imperialism in India. With the assistance of these classes, imperialism seeks to preserve its own reactionary rule and perpetuate all the most backward and mediæval forms of exploitation and oppression which are current to-day. In the new Constitution which is being hatched, British imperialism is going to give a permanent and stable form to this alliance, by guaranteeing an assured majority in the Federal Assembly to the reactionary bloc of the princes and landlords. This alliance will serve British imperialism not only against the revolutionary masses of India but also as a counterpoise against the bourgeois class which is pressing imperialism for an "equal partnership" in the right to exploit the Indian toilers.

(3) THE ROLE OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The birth and the development of the Indian bourgeoisie are more or less interlaced with those of British imperialism. The modern bourgeoisie in India has emerged from the Indian mercantile capitalists who grew rich by participating in the trade with the British merchants in the early decades of the 19th century. The accumulation of capital in the hands of this class was the basis of the formation of Indian industries and the growth of the Indian industrial capitalists. The aspirations of the young industrial bourgeoisie of India met with a firm resistance at the hands of the British imperialists from the very outset. The general policy of British imperialism has been to prevent the growth of large-scale industry in India, with a view to keeping India as an agrarian appendix and retain its monopolist hold on the Indian market.

Although it is true that the Indian bourgeois class in general would like to see an independent industrial development of India, it proved its inability to play a progressive role in the realisation of that demand against imperialism.

The desire of the Indian bourgeoisie to obtain a substantial share in the exploitation of the country is the basis of its oppositional role against imperialism. On the other hand, its role as capitalists and its intimate relations with the big landowning and moneylending interests is the basis of its role of a counter-revolutionary force disorganising and sabotaging the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle for independence.

The boycott movement of 1907-08 was under the leadership of the industrial bourgeoisie (which was then relatively small) and voiced the demand for an independent industrial development of India. They showed a tendency to favour revolutionary methods of struggle in achieving this demand, as against the liberal reformists of the old Congress school. Even in the first phase of the National Congress movement, when the inherent dangers of a revolutionary movement of the masses were not fully realised by the Nationalist bourgeoisie, this tendency did not go beyond a moral support to the terrorist actions.

In the post-war revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses of India, which grew up under the stress of the post-war crisis and under the influence of the successful proletarian revolution in Russia, the Nationalist bourgeoisie and its political organ, the Indian National Congress, took over the leadership of the movement, with the reactionary slogans of Khaddar and non-violence. The Nationalist bourgeoisie through its organ, the Indian National Congress was pursuing a dual policy. On the one hand, it was coming out as a champion of the people and as the leader of a mass movement, with the object of exerting pressure on imperialism to win for itself some concessions and to strike a favourable bargain with imperialism. On the other hand, it was using its leadership of the movement to disorganise the revolutionary struggle of the masses, to localise it and to sidetrack it into fruitless channels. As soon as it found that the movement was going out of the limits which it had set to it, it betrayed the movement—disorganised it, which helped the military and the police force of imperialism to crush the resistance of the masses.

In the present period of intense industrial and agrarian crisis the Nationalist bourgeoisie, in order to preserve control over the masses, again came forward with the slogan of independence and a mass civil disobedience. Here, again, the Indian National Congress pursued a dual policy. On the one hand it posed as the leader of a mass movement of the people in order to secure a favourable compromise with imperialism. On the other hand it played its counter-revolutionary role, disorganising and sabotaging the mass movement from within, and never actually organising a genuine mass civil disobedience movement. It betrayed the mass movement and concluded the Delhi pact as soon as the peasant movement, which grew under the stress of the agrarian crisis, began to assume a spontaneously revolutionary character.

The influence of the bourgeoisie over the masses is based on illusions which the Indian National Congress systematically tried to spread among the masses: firstly, the illusion that the bourgeoisie is fighting for independence and that a "united national front against imperialism" should be kept; and, secondly, the illusion about the possibility of a peaceful compromise with imperialism and the illusion that the National Congress is a national organisation which leads a revolutionary fight against imperialism.

While estimating the Nationalist bourgeoisie and the I.N. Congress in its relation to the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle, it is necessary to guard against some errors. The error of mechanically placing now the bourgeoisie completely in the counter-revolutionary camp of imperialism. This error arises from the refusal to see the economic conflict between the Nationalist bourgeoisie and British imperialism. From this point of view it becomes difficult to explain the character of the leadership and the present dominating ideology of the Nationalist movement. It leads to the under-estimation of the Nationalist bourgeoisie influence on the masses, which was able to fool its petty bourgeois following by phrases about "a joint national struggle," about "complete independence," etc., and to disorganise and sabotage the movement from within.

This under-estimation of the role of the Nationalist bourgeoisie leads to a wrong thesis about the leadership of the I.N. Congress. It is wrong to say that the leadership of the I.N. Congress is petty bourgeois or even that it passed into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie during the period of 1930-31. These wrong conceptions lead to "Left" reformism of the Royist type or to an opportunist toning down of the criticism of the Congress and the Royists.

Gandhism is not a petty bourgeois philosophy. It is an anti-revolutionary ideology of the nationalist bourgeoisie and forms the basis of its programme and tactics. It serves a double purpose. By its vague phrases about love, meekness, modesty and hard-working existence, the lightening of the burden of the peasantry, the national unity and the special mission of Hinduism, etc., it mobilises the support of the petty bourgeois masses, trying

to utilise their nationalist ideas and reactionary religious prejudices. By its doctrine of "non-violence" and "truth," etc., it creates a technique of diverting the revolutionary struggle of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal masses into fruitless channels—of actually disorganising and sabotaging the struggle (disorganising the struggles in 1922 and 1931, suppressing mass Civil Disobedience Movement, etc.). It is for this reason that "Gandhism" is bolstered up and financed by the industrial and a section of the commercial bourgeoisie and by a section of landlords.

"Left" Reformism! If Gandhism can be considered the right-wing of the Congress bourgeois camp, "Left" reformism must be considered the left-wing of the same. The role of this aspect of Congress ideology and tactics is to retain within the fold of bourgeois leadership those sections of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry who have begun to rebel against it. This it does by allowing its agents (Jawaharlal Nehru and others) to shout revolutionary phrases about socialism, Workers' and Peasants' Raj, to give equivocal support to the doctrine of class struggle, and so on. These phrases are used by the "Left" reformist agents of the Congress as a cloak to mask their real objective, which is to keep the rebellious petty bourgeois and peasant masses under the influence of the Congress and to assist actively the same in its task of disorganising and sabotaging the anti-imperialist struggle. This is proved by the words and deeds of **Jawaharlal Nehru**, who can be taken as an excellent exponent of Left reformism. While talking of socialism, abolition of landlordism, class struggle and of the Workers' and Peasants' Raj, he in the same breath declares his allegiances to "Gandhism." Recently he has declared that "as far as the methods are concerned, I have agreed in the past, and I agree now, wholly with the fundamental basis of Gandhi's methods of carrying on the struggle. Personally I would like to develop the economic programme in greater detail so that people may have a clear vision." (Actually to cloud their vision.) This gives a clear idea of the role of the "Left" reformists as agents of the Congress, whose special task is to prevent the breaking away of a section of the Congress following.

Finally, we have the latest and the most dangerous variety of "Left" reformism, viz., the **Royists**. This can be considered as the outpost of the Nationalist bourgeoisie inside the revolutionary anti-imperialist and workers' movement. The role of the Royists is to disorganise the advance-guard of the genuine anti-imperialist revolutionary movement from within. For this purpose, they pose as Communists and pay lip homage to the Communist International. They try to spread disorganisation inside the ranks of the anti-imperialist elements, outside the Congress by propounding the theory that "the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie has left the Congress and that the petty bourgeoisie has captured the leadership of the Congress" (the Task Before Us, p. 62) and thus trying to bring these elements back into the fold of the Congress. They ally themselves with the recognised agents of Congress like Jawaharlal Nehru, by advancing slogans like "Constituent Assembly." In the working-class movement they shout the slogans of militant class struggle, independent leadership of the working class, but in practice they fight against the revolutionary elements of the working class and ally with rabid economists and Liberal reformists, who reject the political struggle and invite the workers to submit to the open agents of the National Congress, like Bose and Ruikar. In this manner they perform the task of disrupting and disorganising the formation of an independent revolutionary anti-imperialist bloc under the leadership of the working class. During the C.D. movement of 1930-31, this variety of "Left" reformism, carried on the most disastrous work of disrupting the independent labour movement and bringing it under the influence of the Congress (Bombay).

(4) THE ROLE OF THE CITY PETTY BOURGEOISIE AND THE PEASANTRY

The petty bourgeoisie—as a class—is not a homogeneous one. It consists in the city of intellectuals, students, lawyers, doctors, technical employees, clerks, small shopkeepers, etc. In the countryside we have peasants, artisans, etc. The petty bourgeoisie, in a colonial country like India, plays an important role, inasmuch as it forms, generally speaking, a class which is subject to the exploitation and oppression of imperialism and suffering from the effects of the same. At the same time, it consists of various strata bearing different relations with the exploiting class in the town and countryside. A section of the petty bourgeoisie is definitely connected with the capitalists in the city and with the landlord

and moneylenders' interests in the countryside. This section has its face turned towards the exploiting classes and nurses the ambition to become one of them. While there are other sections which, owing to the exploitation of imperialism and capitalism, are daily falling lower and lower and are being reduced to the level of poverty-stricken proletarians. During the present crisis, the condition of this section is becoming very acute (increasing unemployment among middle class intellectuals, etc.).

This intermediate position of the petty-bourgeoisie, between the exploiting classes, capitalists and landlords, on the one hand, and the exploited toiling masses on the other, also determines its political role in the anti-imperialist struggle. Thus the petty-bourgeoisie in general cannot play an independent role. Either it falls under the influence of Gandhism, "Left" national-reformism and Royism, and thus gets transformed into an appendage of the national bourgeoisie, or joins the revolutionary anti-imperialist front, under influence of the revolutionary working class.

Peasantry. The overwhelming majority of the population in India, i.e., about 80 per cent., consists of peasants, living on agriculture. The peasantry cannot, however, be considered as a homogeneous class. The upper strata of the peasantry, consisting of well-to-do peasants and rich peasants, have landowning and moneylending interests and are also to some extent employers of agricultural labour. The overwhelming majority of the peasantry, however, consists of poor and middle peasantry, who employ no labour. The interests of this lower strata are diametrically opposed to those of the big landlords, moneylenders, traders, etc. It is this section of the peasantry which is the gigantic reservoir of revolutionary energy. In fact, as has been said about the Indian national revolution, it can succeed only as an anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. But the peasantry, not being an homogeneous class, being scattered and generally backward, is unable to assume an independent leadership in the anti-imperialist struggle. The history of the peasant struggles in the world have shown that the peasantry either falls under the influence of the bourgeoisie or that of the revolutionary proletariat. In the first case, it suffers defeat. In the latter case, the peasantry becomes the powerful ally of the revolutionary proletariat—a tremendous reserve force of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution.

The peasant population forms to-day a live volcano of seething discontent and rebellion. Imperialism is well aware of this danger, and is trying to stem the tide of peasant unrest by brutal police oppression (which is mediaeval in character), on the one hand, and by means of petty remissions and reforms, on the other. These reforms (co-operatives, village uplift, etc.), insignificant as they are, are being carried out by imperialism, with the assistance of the exploiting sections themselves. The Nationalist bourgeoisie tries to spread its influence among the peasantry and tries to pose as the champion of the peasant masses, mainly with the aid of the rural well-to-do peasants. On the one hand, it seeks to control the peasant masses under the slogans regarding "the fight against the satanic government" and of "non-payment of taxes." On the other hand, with the help of the upper strata of the village, it seeks to restrict and localise the peasant struggles, to keep them on strictly reformist lines, and, whenever they outgrow these limits, to disorganise and sabotage the struggle. This mechanism by which the Nationalist bourgeoisie utilises the peasant masses for its own purposes, betraying their interests at the same time, was clearly demonstrated in the N.C.O. movement of 1919-21, and more clearly in the more recent struggles of 1930-32.

The treacherous role of the Indian National Congress was clearly demonstrated when in March, 1931, under the stress of growing peasant unrest and rebellions, it hastened to conclude a pact with imperialism and assisted imperialism in the task of suppressing the peasant unrest. In the period after the truce Mr. Gandhi openly came out as the rent and tax collector of imperialism and of zamindars. He exhorted zamindars to trust the Congressmen themselves and "realise that the Congress is a bridge between the people and the government." He assured them that the Congressmen will on their part see to it that kisans fulfil their obligations to the zamindars. He warned the peasants to "reject the doctrine that their holdings are absolutely theirs to the exclusion of the zamindars." During 1931, i.e., after the truce, there was a strong rise in the peasant unrest, and in some places peasants started no-tax, no-rent movements over the heads of the Congress leaders (U.P.). The Indian National Congress sabotaged it, and after the no-tax ordinance was issued by the government (in U.P. and N.W.F.P.) it again nominally re-started the civil dis-

obedience movement in January, 1932, under the effect of the rebuff it received at the second round table conference, but actually did its best to disorganise and sabotage it wherever it was going on.

As a result of these experiences of the C.D. movement, discontent is accumulating among the peasantry against the leadership of the I.N. Congress. Congress itself is aware of it and is allowing its "Left" exponent to speak in equivocal terms about class struggle and shout vague phrases of the liquidation of landlordism. (Jawaharlal Nehru's recent utterances.) However, the consciousness of the peasantry is growing. But this process of isolation of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois leadership can never be complete unless and until the alternative proletarian leadership is demonstrated in the actual struggle.

The struggle against the bourgeoisie and bourgeois Congress leadership must be carried on consistently. It is necessary to expose the policy of Bose, Nehru, Roy, etc., who are trying to keep the rank and file with a slogan to revolutionise the Congress and convert it into revolutionary party. But while exposing this the Communists will not refuse through some of the mass organisations of the toilers to use the Congress platform and systematically combat the Congress reformism and its "Left" varieties. This tactical proposal of the Communist Party, which remains an independent party of the proletariat outside the I.N.C. and consistently combats the Congress policy and at the same time organises the toiling masses in the trade unions, peasant committees, youth organisations, anti-imperialist organisations, etc., has nothing in common with the treacherous policy of Royists and other "Left" national reformists.

(5) WORKING CLASS

The working class of India, although it forms a minority of the exploited toilers, occupies the key positions in the modern economic structure of India. It is the most revolutionary and the most determined opponent of every form of oppression, exploitation and slavery.

"The working class in India is subject to the most merciless exploitation by native as well as foreign capital; in certain industries the conditions of life and work amount to semi-slavery (mines, plantations). There is a complete absence of any working class political rights. The existing labour code is most unsatisfactory and even as it is, it is not uniformly applied by the capitalists and millowners. The level of the class-consciousness and the organisation of the Indian working class has developed tremendously.

This is proved by the history of the development of the working-class movement in India during the last two decades. Although the rise of trade unionism in India did not begin until 1919, still there were a number of economic and even political strikes before that period, especially in the advanced industrial centres. In the period of post-war crisis, i.e., during 1919-22, there was a further maturing of the Indian proletariat. During the period there were a great number of big strikes in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other towns, which brought forward the working class as an active political force. It was during this period that a systematic effort was made by the agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialism to take over the leadership of the working class movement by laying the foundations of the trade union movement on the lines of the reformist British trade union movement (first T.U. Congress, Trade Union Act, etc.).

The second phase of the working-class movement began in 1924. During this period a tremendous development of the strike struggle throughout India took place, and there was a rapid growth of class-consciousness and organisation, resulting in the complete ousting of the Liberal reformists from the leadership of the movement in a number of important places. In 1927-28, the workers, especially in Bombay and Calcutta, came out under the red flag, cleared out the reactionary leadership of the Liberal reformists and began building up their own gigantic organisations under their own militant leadership (Bombay textile strikes). During this period, the Communists, working through the workers' and peasants' parties, achieved the first success in rousing the workers to come out and participate in political demonstrations, etc., on their own slogans and under their own platform (boycott of Simon and Whitley Commissions—demonstrations in Bombay and Calcutta, etc.). The workers' and peasants' party movement which grew up on the basis of the slogans: "Independence through mass revolution

of workers and peasants"—"Workers' and Peasants' Republic," etc., took the first step towards its consolidation as an independent movement under the leadership of the working class and distinct from the national reformist congress movement (the first All-Indian Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference). It was the effect of all these events that caused the imperialist government to launch the Meerut Trial, in order to crush the rising working-class movement which threatened to make a bid as an independent political force, to become the leader and the organiser of the revolutionary mass movement of the workers and peasants against the treachery of the nationalist bourgeoisie and for the overthrow of British imperialism.

The advance of the working-class movement all over India resulted in rising discontent amongst the urban petty bourgeoisie. There was a growing radicalisation in this class, insistence on the demand for national independence, and a rapid spread and popularisation of the Marxist ideology among this class. These events, together with the growing resistance on the part of the British imperialists to grant any concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie (because of the world crisis in 1929-32), forced the Indian National Congress to adopt in words the slogan of "complete independence" (Lahore Congress, 1929) and to launch upon a reformist campaign in order to keep control over the masses, to retain its leadership over the masses and thus disorganise and sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the masses from within.

The period which succeeded the Meerut arrests was characterised not only by a severe and continued attack against the young revolutionary movement of the working class, but also by an attempt on the part of the national bourgeoisie and its "Left" agents to enter into the working-class movement and to split and disorganise it from within (G.I.P. railway strike, formation of Congress Labour offices in Bombay workers' area, split in G.K.U., national reformist activities of Khandalkar, Roy and others—split in the Calcutta Trade Union Congress—subsequent activities of the Left agents of the Congress, etc.). Because of this combined attack, the organisation of the working class suffered to a considerable extent during the past two or three years (G.K.U. and the G.I. Railway Unions). On the other hand, during this very period, great working-class actions took place, such as the further extension of the strike struggle to other working-class centres (Sholapur, Bangalore, Baroda, and so on); participation of the workers in spontaneous uprising against the imperialist police (Sholapur); clear demarcation of the revolutionary working-class movement from the national bourgeois movement (struggle of the Bombay workers against the Congress in 1930); and finally independent demonstrations by the working class under the leadership of the Communists against Gandhi and the Congress (demonstration in Bombay against Gandhi, etc.). These events show that in spite of heavy odds, the revolutionary working class is steadily growing in consciousness and liberating itself from the influence of the nationalist bourgeoisie and preparing itself to come forward as the leader and organiser of the revolutionary anti-imperialist and agrarian movement of the Indian toiling masses.

The conclusion at which we arrive is, therefore, that the working class is the most consistently revolutionary class. The rapid growth of the class-consciousness and the organisation of the working class during the last decades, its coming forward into the political arena as an active and independent force, proves that it is destined to establish its hegemony in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. **This destiny of the working class will not be realised spontaneously or automatically. It requires conscious efforts on the part of the most advanced and class-conscious elements of the proletariat.** For realising its destiny as the leader of the Indian Revolution, and for performing its historic task of organising the scattered masses of the peasantry and town poor for the struggle against British domination and landlordism, the working class must organise its own political party, the **Communist Party**—consisting of the most courageous, resolute, disciplined and of the most conscious and advanced elements. The struggle for the formation of a united centralised and a mass underground Communist Party is the first essential pre-requisite for the realisation of the historic mission of the working class of India.

There has been a tendency among some Communists in India to interpret the temporary setback suffered by the organisations of the working class in the year 1930 as a general spread of "reaction" among the proletariat. Further, it has been held that the working class came into movement under the influence of the dissatisfied petty

bourgeoisie and fell under its leadership. This interpretation is wrong. We have already shown above that the petty bourgeoisie "came into movement" under the influence of the independent political activity of the working class in 1928-29 (strikes, demonstrations against the Simon and Whitley Commissions and the revolutionary position of the working class at Nagpur T.U.C., etc.).

To accept the theory of "reaction" and to hold that the working class came into movement under the influence of the petty bourgeoisie in 1930, is to deny the independent role of the working class in the national revolutionary struggle—to deny the possibility and the need for fight at the present time for its hegemony in the anti-imperialist struggle of the exploited masses—and therefore to underestimate the need for the formation of the revolutionary party of the working class—the Communist Party of India. It must be clearly understood that there is a "growing revolutionary movement in India and growing independent political activity of the working class." To-day the advanced sections of the working class are liberating themselves more and more from the treacherous influence of the nationalist bourgeoisie and the Congress. This is proved by the fact that the very same reformist leaders who in 1930-31 swore by the Congress, are to-day speaking in a different tone before the masses. Realising that the Congress has lost its influence on the working class masses, they are to-day advising the workers to remain aloof from politics, to restrict themselves merely to economic struggle. This is to-day the only way in which they (Ruikar, Kandalkar, Roy) hope to isolate the workers from the influence of the revolutionary leadership. The formation of independent "labour" parties in the various provinces to-day is an indication of the same process. The national-reformist labour leaders can no more come forward before the workers with the slogans "support the Congress" or that the "workers and peasants are the hands and feet of the Congress." (Congress Labour Week in Bombay, 1930.)

In a booklet entitled "Our Task in India," M. N. Roy declares: "the backward Indian masses, brutally oppressed and mercilessly exploited by foreign imperialism and its native allies, are not yet politically conscious. They are not able to grasp big political issues. National freedom remains an abstract conception for them."

This view, that the Indian toiling masses, including the workers, are not yet ripe for the struggle for independence, is a flat denial of the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary struggle. Mr. Roy tries now to deceive the middle-class youths into the belief that he stands for the revolution by repeating phrases about the "hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle for independence" and about the "Communist Party" in his English leaflets (Our Task in India), but the actual course followed by the Royists is the merging with the "Left" Nationalists and national reformists (support of Bose, Giri and others), the limiting of the struggle of the working class to purely economic struggle (identification with Alve, Jhabhwala and Col); and the direct participation in the struggle against the Communists in the labour movement and in strike-breaking activities (events in Bombay in August and September). Thus in spite of the verbal support given by Roy in his eclectic writings to the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat, his theoretical statements and his whole practice consists of a bitter struggle against it and against the C.P. of India, against the interests of workers and peasants and against anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution.

(6) THE CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION IN INDIA

As laid down in the colonial thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the C.I., the revolution in India will have to perform the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which opens the way to proletarian dictatorship and socialist revolution. The imperialist domination in India bears the character of an absolutist State, under which there are no democratic rights, such as freedom of press, speech and association, and which is an open expression of the fact of the national enslavement of the Indian people as a whole. Finally, the imperialist government relies in its political and economic subjugation in the main on the support of the princes, landlords and zamindars, and therefore upholds the entire system of pre-capitalist exploitation in the countryside (landlordism, usury, semi-serfdom, feudalism, etc.).

The Indian revolution in its present state will have to carry out the following tasks laid down in the draft platform of the C.P.I.:

(1) The complete independence of India by the overthrow of British rule. The cancellation of all debts. The confiscation and nationalisation of all factories, banks, railways, sea and river transport and plantations.

(2) The establishment of a Soviet government. The right of nations to self-determination, including separation. Abolition of the native states. The creation of an Indian Federal Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic.

(3) The confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other property of the landlords, ruling princes, churches, the British government, officials and moneylenders and handing them over for use to the toiling peasantry. Cancellation of slave agreements and all the indebtedness of the peasantry to moneylenders and banks.

(4) The eight-hour working day and the radical improvement of conditions of labour. Increase in wages and state maintenance for the unemployed, etc.

When we say that the revolution in India will have to carry out these democratic tasks, we do not mean either that it will be a revolution under the leadership of the bourgeoisie or that it will aim at establishing the rule of "bourgeois democracy," i.e., rule of the bourgeoisie. In the class analysis of the Indian society which we have given above we have conclusively shown that the Nationalist bourgeoisie actively disorganises and sabotages the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement from within, and, further, that with the growing strength of this movement it goes over to more open forms of anti-revolutionary activity.

The experience of the class struggle shows that the success of the revolution will be guaranteed by a revolutionary alliance of the workers, peasants and the town poor, under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the C.P. of India, and therefore the state which will emerge out of the revolution will necessarily be a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government. In the words of the draft platform: "The Communist Party of India is the Party of the working class, the final aim of which is the achievement of Socialism and ultimately of Communism. The programme of the C.P.I. is totally different in principle from the programmes and ideas of the other parties and groups which are parties of the capitalist class and petty-bourgeoisie, not excepting national revolutionary parties. While the latter strive for the development of capitalism in India, the C.P.I. consistently and firmly fights for a socialist path of development. While the national revolutionary groups are fighting for bourgeois rule and a bourgeois form of government, the C.P. of India is fighting for the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government in India."

The structure of the state is built on the councils of representatives (Soviets) elected in every area, on the basis of the units of production. This ensures the drawing in of all the toilers in the task of governing as toilers, workers, peasants, artisans, and so on. This ensures a real democracy of the toilers, as it has already been preceded by a successful revolution, involving (1) the overthrow of the British rule; (2) confiscation and nationalisation of all factories, banks, railways, etc.; and (3) the confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests, and other property of the landlords, ruling princes, etc. The Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government of India will ensure the fullest democracy to the toilers and be an organ of dictatorship against the exploiting classes, and thus be a guarantee against the counter-revolutionary efforts of the imperialists and dispossessed exploiters.

In view of certain misconceptions which are current in India, with reference to the character of the revolution, it is necessary to stress that the task of the immediate stage of the revolution in India is not the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The tasks of creating the conditions for a proletarian dictatorship involves the overthrow of imperialism, abolition of landlordism, and the strengthening of the organisation of the proletariat in relation to other exploited classes. The creation of these pre-requisites can be achieved by the working class only in the closest alliance with the toiling peasantry, which thus forms the principal and the most important reserve force of the revolution. The Communist Party of India, being the Party of the proletariat, undoubtedly strives as its ultimate aim for the dictatorship of the proletariat and through it for the establishment of Socialism and complete Communism. But, basing itself on a correct Marxist analysis of the relation of class forces in India, it realises that first it is necessary to mobilise the widest possible masses for the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution.

But the process of the revolution does not stop there. The C.P.I. visualises the process of the Indian revolution as follows:—

“The successful solution of the problems facing the revolution against feudalism and for emancipation—will open up the possibility, with the help of the international proletariat and the class offensive of the exploited masses of our country, of the revolution developing through a number of stages into the proletarian revolution, thereby creating the requisite conditions for the development of our country on socialist lines, avoiding the further stage of domination of the capitalist system.”

But this development will be determined “by struggle and struggle alone,” i.e., by the revolutionary struggle of the colonial peoples and the world proletariat for the overthrow of imperialism, and of the exploiting classes who stand behind it.

Revolution in India a Soviet Revolution, and the Present Tasks

The character of the revolution as a workers' and peasants' revolution also determines the form of the organisation of the struggle. It is clear that the overthrow of the rule of British imperialism and the princes and landlords can only be achieved by the workers, peasants, and soldiers, under the leadership of the working class and its Party, the C.P.I. **In order, however, to arrive at this stage, and to ensure the leadership of the working class, it is necessary to develop now the struggle for partial demands and organise and prepare the toiling masses.** In the course of developing the struggle of the workers and peasants, combined with the formation of the mass trade unions, and especially the local organisations of the Communist Party, it is necessary to extend the struggles of the toiling masses. In the present conditions the general perspective of the struggle of the toiling masses is correctly expressed in the slogan of the general political strike. It is necessary to develop the strike struggles into a general strike and convert it into a general political strike. The draft platform of the C.P.I. lays down this task in the following words:—

“The C.P. of India calls upon all class-conscious workers and revolutionaries to assist in transforming individual strikes of the workers into a general political strike, as a resolute step in organising the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people for independence, land and a workers' and peasants' government under the guidance of the working class.

To develop the spontaneous peasant movement for the non-payment of rent, debts, and taxes into an All-India movement and direct it into the channels of an agrarian revolution. To develop a nation-wide movement against the Constitution, attracting the petty-bourgeoisie to the side of the workers and peasants and isolating the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois National Congress. . . . The organs of struggle will develop out of these steps and in such a manner that the leadership of the working class in the revolutionary struggle is progressively achieved. (This question is dealt with in the thesis in a more detailed manner.—Editor.)

It is of the utmost importance in every strike struggle, however limited and local, always to urge the workers to conduct their own struggles through the medium of their strike committees, elected from the entire mass of workers participating in any particular conflict. It will thus be possible to develop the initiative and fighting capacity of the working class and prepare and train an advance-guard from the working class, which will not only lead the workers but also the peasants and the other exploited sections. The workers who have thus learned to conduct their struggles through strike committees and other working-class organisations will be able to show the peasants the way to the organisation of the peasant struggle, in which the leadership is not in the hands of the treacherous bourgeoisie, but the local peasant committees elected by the toiling peasants. This will enable the peasants to seek their path towards the creation of revolutionary peasant committees, which will lead and carry out the tasks of the agrarian revolution. The anti-imperialist petty-bourgeoisie can be won, during the process of the development of the struggle, on the basis of general democratic demands and the specific demands of this class (clerks, technicians, etc.), to support the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses. (This question is dealt with in the thesis in a more detailed manner.—Editor.)

Thus we conclude that the revolution of the Indian people against British imperialism can be successful only as an anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, carried through by the exploited masses—viz., workers and peasants and the town poor— attracting the broad strata of urban petty-bourgeoisie to fight for

independence under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the C.P.I. It is necessary to develop the initiative and the fighting cadres mainly from the working class and also from the toiling peasants. This can be done only during the process of struggle, in developing mass actions and formation of various working-class organisations: trade unions, mill committees, committees of action and strike committees, and revolutionary peasant committees.

“Constituent Assembly”—A Reformist Slogan

The slogan of “Constituent Assembly” has been put forward by the renegade M. N. Roy against the slogan of the “Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic” put forward by the Communist Party of India. It has been pointed out above all that M. N. Roy and his group, masking themselves with revolutionary and pseudo-Communist phraseology, came forward during the civil disobedience movement of 1930-31, and called upon the working class to follow the Congress leadership and policy, and thereby spread disruption inside the ranks of the revolutionary workers (Bombay, splitting G.K.U.). Roy's policy emerges logically out of the imperialist policy of “decolonisation,” according to which British imperialism is playing a progressive role, and thus a way for a peaceful victory is secured. The leadership of the Congress and the C.D. movement, according to him, was in the hands of the petty-bourgeoisie (“Our Tasks in India,” page 46), and under this pretext he called upon the workers and peasants to follow the Congress leadership (workers and peasants are the hands and feet of the Congress—Royist slogan in 1930), i.e., to support the bourgeoisie. In 1930 Roy and his followers (in the declaration of June 8, 1930, published in Berlin and republished in India in the appeal of Sheik, Kabadi and Brojesh Singh in the magazine “Vanguard,” Bombay) maintained that:—

“The central political slogan of the Indian revolution should be the election of a Constituent Assembly, as against the Round Table Conference on the one hand and the Utopia of a Soviet Republic on the other. . . .”

He further went on to describe how the idea of the Constituent Assembly can be realised:—

“The local Congress Committees broadened through the inclusion of the delegates from the workers' and peasants' and small traders' organisations should become the units for the election of the Constituent Assembly.”

It is well known that the slogan of “Constituent Assembly” was a revolutionary slogan of the bourgeoisie at a time when this class played a revolutionary role. But it must be remembered that at that time while putting this slogan the bourgeoisie and some petty-bourgeois parties connected it with a slogan of a revolutionary insurrection. But Roy advanced this slogan without saying anything about the revolution while this is the central issue. Roy and his followers proposed to create under the protection of the British army “an organ of democratic power,” maintaining that the British would be unable to do anything “for the sovereign authority of the Constituent Assembly cannot be doubted.” (“Vanguard,” page 12; “People,” Jan. 21, 1931.) And now when the Indian bourgeoisie is reformist—this slogan was put forward as part of a reformist policy and served one purpose, and that is to fool a section of the petty-bourgeoisie following the Congress, who are showing radical tendencies and keep them under the Congress leadership. By proposing to make the Congress Committees, “broadened by the inclusion of the delegates of the workers' and peasants' and small traders' organisations,” Mr. Roy wished to perpetuate the illusion that the Indian National Congress is the organisation of the masses, with the object of bringing the workers' and peasants' organisations under the treacherous leadership of the bourgeoisie.

In his latest booklet, “Our Tasks in India,” which purports to be the programme adopted by the “Revolutionary Party of the Indian Working Class” which he styles “The Communist Party of India,” the Roy group has given a new formulation of the slogan. In view of the collapse of the C.D. movement in 1931-32 and the general leftward trend of the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, the Roy group was forced to change for a time its slogan of a peaceful victory through a Constituent Assembly.

But a careful perusal of this book reveals that beneath the layer of Communist revolutionary phrases is hidden a denial of Communist revolutionary practice. In this whole book, where he protects the bourgeois Congress, there is no mention whatsoever of such important steps as “the development of a general strike

and its development into a political strike." His policy, as it is described in the book, and especially all his activities are directed against the hegemony of the proletariat. Similarly, Roy writes about the nationalisation of land, etc., but at the same time he is against developing now the non-payment of rent, taxes, and debt movement. Roy speaks about the hegemony of the proletariat, but proposes to build a "party of radicals" to lead the masses and forms a reformist All-India Socialist Party, etc. This policy amounts to disorganisation of the struggle for independence and consists in the denial of the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses of India against British imperialism, it leads to the consolidation of the influence and the leadership of the treacherous bourgeoisie over the toiling masses and the betrayal of socialism.

Roy's "Constituent Assembly" is the same National Congress with the same bourgeois programme and substance. And now when the masses become dissatisfied with the Congress and its reformist policy, when the masses protest against its policy of abandoning and disorganising the mass struggle for independence, the bourgeoisie and its Right wing (including Swarajists, etc.) accept the slogan of Constituent Assembly and are trying under cover of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly, to carry out the old reformist policy, to mobilise support of the masses for compromise and Legislative Assembly. The facts of the last months proved clearly that the slogan of Constituent Assembly becomes the main weapon in the hands of reformists to fool the masses. The Communists are prepared to co-operate and to support any real revolutionary struggle for independence against British imperialism, in spite of any differences as to the main slogans which may exist. But the Communist Party will always fight reformism whatever forms or slogans it may adopt.

That is why the "Left" Nehru, Bose and Co. immediately came out in support of the Constituent Assembly. This also explains why the bourgeoisie, including Roy and his friends, are so bitterly opposed to the slogan of the Indian Federative Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Republic advanced by the Communist Party of India. For this revolutionary slogan of the Communist Party, which in the present period signifies the democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry, is wholly directed against imperialism, feudalism, and also against the treacherous reformist policy of the bourgeoisie, which is doing its best to draw the masses away from revolutionary mass struggle into the channels of support of reformist, parliamentary manoeuvres of the capitalists.

(7) STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE C.P. IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The principal objective of the C.P. to-day must be to come out as the conscious vanguard of the working class—and to move forward towards the demonstration of the independent leadership of the working class in opposition to the nationalist bourgeoisie in the struggle of the masses to overthrow imperialism and landlordism. We have shown that a revolutionary wave is rising in India. There is growing discontent among the workers against the Congress and its policy. The "Left" agents of the Congress dare not call upon the workers to support the Congress, but they call upon them to confine their struggle to pure economic struggle, or to organise themselves into an "Independent Political Party"—with a strictly reformist and legal programme of getting redressed their grievances through representation in Councils, etc. (Jhabwalla, Alew, Ruikar's speeches formulating the policies of Labour Parties in the various provinces). Similarly there is growing dissatisfaction among the peasantry and the middle-class youths with the Congress. In the present situation the application of correct tactics and strategy will to a great extent determine, "Whether the treacherous national bourgeoisie will continue for long to maintain their influence over the toiling masses, or whether the working class, headed by the C.P., having isolated the national reformists, will lead the toiling masses of town and village to a victorious struggle for independence, and the workers' and peasants' power (Open Letter).

Tactics in Relation to the National Bourgeoisie and Its Political Organ

As pointed out in previous sections, it is necessary to understand two things—that the national bourgeoisie has not as yet completely merged itself into the counter-revolutionary bloc of imperialism and feudal princes and landlords, and (2) that it is

carrying out a liberal opposition, whose main purpose is to disorganise and sabotage the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of the masses from within; it is dead against anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution of the toiling masses and is afraid of the working class. An incorrect appreciation of these two points may lead to incorrect tactics—as was shown by our experience during the C.D. movement. On the one hand there was a tendency to regard the anti-imperialist movement of 1930-31 as a movement of the petty-bourgeoisie. This interpretation involves a denial of the fact that the leadership of the C.D. movement never passed out of the hands of the national bourgeoisie. Further, it involves the denial of the proletariat and peasantry as the driving forces of the revolution. It was natural, therefore, that such a tendency should give rise to the "Theory of Reaction," to the practical withdrawal of the slogan of "General Strike" and to the efforts at securing unity with Khandalkar in such a manner that the differences between reformism and the class point of view disappear. These deviations, which have been discussed at considerable length in the "Open Letter," must be combated.

On the other hand, there was a tendency to regard the whole anti-imperialist movement of 1930-31 as a purely Congress movement and to remain aloof from it. It is a fact that during the C.D. movement of 1930-31 Communists did not realise the full significance of the movement and objectively isolated themselves from the struggle of the masses. This sectarian deviation, too, must be corrected.

It is necessary to realise that the national bourgeoisie and its organ, the National Congress, still wield considerable influence over the masses. The secret of its influence is not its positive political programme, but the assurances of its loyalty to the independence movement, the skilful use it makes of the hatred of the people towards bloodthirsty robber imperialism and of the still existing illusions of a "United national front." The Colonial Theses of the C.I. have put the position in the following words: "The masses see the chief immediate enemy of national emancipation in the form of the imperialist feudal bloc, which in itself is correct at this stage of the movement in India, Egypt, and Indonesia (as far as one side of the matter is concerned). It is in the struggle against this ruling counter-revolutionary force that the Indian, Egyptian, and Indonesian Communists must proceed in advance of all. They must fight more determinedly, more consistently and more resolutely than any petty-bourgeois section of the national revolutionary group."

But this fight cannot be carried on in a manner unrelated to the exposure of the bourgeoisie and the "Left" agents. In fact, a determined and resolute struggle against imperialism by the Communists necessarily involves the struggle for the leadership of the toiling masses—the ruthless struggle against national reformist leadership. In the words of the Open Letter:—

"In order to isolate the National Congress and all the 'Left' national reformists from the toiling masses, in order to help the separation of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution and to establish the hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle of the people, the Indian Communists must take the most energetic part in the anti-imperialist movement and must be in the forefront of all activities, demonstrations and clashes of the toiling masses with the imperialists, coming forward as the organisers of the mass struggle everywhere and all times exposing openly and by concrete examples the treachery of the bourgeois National Congress and its "Left" wing. It is necessary to participate in all mass demonstrations organised by the Congress, coming forward with our own Communist slogans and agitation; support all the revolutionary student demonstrations, be at the forefront of the clashes with the police, protesting against all political arrests, etc., constantly criticising the Congress leaders, especially the 'Left,' and calling on the masses for higher forms of struggle, setting before the toiling masses ever more concrete and ever more revolutionary tasks." (Here the theses describe in a detailed way how to expose the boycott slogan.—Editor.)

The slogan of civil disobedience was never actually carried into effect. The Congress promised to do this, but every time when the movement for the non-payment of rent, taxes and debt began to develop, the Congress leaders came out and disorganised it.

Harijan Movement

Similarly, while exposing the stunt of the Harijan movement as a means of side-tracking the attention of the masses from the political movement, we must also show to the untouchable toilers that their emancipation cannot be achieved by their being taken into the fold of Hinduism. The problem of the untouchables, who are for the most part landless labourers and semi-serfs, cannot be radically solved until imperialism and landlordism and all remnants of feudalism are overthrown. We must expose the "Harijan movement" of Gandhi before the untouchable workers and peasants by showing to them that "Gandhi and the other Congress leaders call for the maintenance of the caste system (Hinduism), which is the basis and justification for the existence of the socially outcast pariahs." We must point out to the untouchables that "only the ruthless abolition of the caste system in its reformed Gandhist variety, only the agrarian revolution and the overthrow of the British rule will lead to the complete emancipation of the working pariahs and slaves."

United Anti-Imperialist Front under Proletarian Leadership

In order to isolate the nationalist bourgeoisie and its political organs, the Indian National Congress, from the masses, in order to develop the anti-imperialist struggle, the Communist Party must win the leadership in the anti-imperialist movement of the masses. Only a strong C.P. with its roots in the proletarian masses will be able to come forward as the leader and organiser of the toiling masses in their struggle against British imperialism, to build a united anti-imperialist front under proletarian leadership—to liberate the masses of the peasantry and town petty-bourgeoisie from bourgeois influence and convert the peasantry into its ally in the revolutionary struggle.

The C.P. of India must develop a broad anti-imperialist movement, taking now as one of the starting points a campaign against the Constitution. One of the forms of broad anti-imperialist movement can be the **Anti-imperialist League**. The League must come out as an organisation opposing the policy of the Congress. It must constantly criticise the national reformist leaders and organisations, and participate under its own banner and slogans in the mass demonstrations, etc., organised by the Congress.

The isolation of the national reformist organisation and leadership from the toiling masses can be achieved only when the Communists prove able to demonstrate **in action** their leadership in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the struggles of the peasants and workers. To do this the C.P. must come openly before the toiling masses, and, besides carrying work direct in its name, in the leaflets, etc., signed by the C.P., meetings, etc., should also utilise every open mass organisation as well, as, for instance, trade unions, the Anti-imperialist League, etc., working there as the most consistent defender of the interests and demands of all the exploited classes against British imperialism, as the most resolute and determined fighter for national independence, land, and a workers' and peasants' government.

The struggle for the realisation of the hegemony of the proletariat must necessarily be a struggle against Royism as well. This struggle against Roy must be carried out on the basis of concrete material and examples, comparing their pseudo Communist phrases with their anti-revolutionary practice. It is necessary to multiply hundredfold our activity among the working class and demonstrate the treachery of Roy and his followers in the struggle. It also means that it is permissible and advisable to propose a united front on concrete issues to those mass organisations (trade unions, etc.), which are led by the reformists, including those of Roy-Karnik-Kara variety.

Another petty-bourgeois group, which the C.P. has to deal with, is the terrorist. As stated above, the phenomenal growth of **terrorism** is due to the rising discontent among the impoverished middle class of the villages and towns. Further, after 1928, and under the influence of the revolutionary movement of the workers, socialist and Communist phraseology began to find currency in these groups. It is quite likely that the terrorists may develop social revolutionary tendencies, i.e., they may take up mass work among the peasantry on the basis of a bourgeois peasant programme. Although some of these groups repeat Marxist-Communist phrases, and oppose Gandhism in their leaflets, they do not recognise the class struggle in practice and are still labouring under the "illusions of a united national front." In this way they are under bourgeois influence and believe in the possibility of an independent bourgeois capitalist development in India, under the

rule of the Indian bourgeoisie. With the development of class struggle in India, i.e., with the development of the struggle of the workers and peasants against imperialism and landlordism and millowners, the process of differentiation will take place among them. It is the duty of the C.P.I. to win over the rank and file of the terrorist groups, and especially of those groups who are showing inclinations towards Marxism and Communism, to the standpoint of consistent Marxism and of the draft platform of the C.P.I. While recognising the heroism and the self-sacrifice of individual terrorists, it is essential to point out the futility and harmfulness of the method of individual terrorism, showing at the same time that Communists believe that it is only the mass action of the revolutionary workers and peasants and the town poor which will overthrow the rule of British imperialism. Individual terrorist acts create obstacles to the work of the revolutionary organisations of the toiling masses by over-emphasising the role of individual action as against mass action. Even actions like the Chittagong Raid, while demonstrating the possibility of a successful attack upon certain sectors of the imperialist power by relatively small armed groups of revolutionaries, remain but isolated events totally unconnected with the masses. It is necessary, therefore, to carry on agitation among the rank and file of those terrorist groups and win them to the side of Communism.

Tactics of the Agrarian Revolution

The Colonial Theses of the C.I. have correctly pointed out that the agrarian revolution is the axis of the national revolution in India and the colonies. The C.P.I. will be able to establish its leadership in the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses against imperialism only when it unfolds the banner of the agrarian revolution. In India, the national bourgeoisie, through the upper layer of the village, still wields certain influence on the peasant masses. But because of the experience of the struggles of the past three to four years this influence is waning. Because of the continued agrarian crisis, which has increased the burdens on the shoulders of the already impoverished peasantry, there has been a tremendous growth of a spontaneous peasant movement. In certain parts (Burma) it assumed the character of a guerilla warfare. In U.P., C.P., and Bengal there have been a series of peasant uprisings. The national bourgeoisie and its organ, the National Congress, while putting forward the slogans of a "no-tax" campaign, in reality did everything actively to sabotage it. Under the pressure of the spontaneous rising of the peasants, the I.N.C. called off the movement and, after the Gandhi-Irwin pact, it actively helped the British imperialists to collect taxes and rents from the peasants. In U.P., at the end of 1931, the no-tax-rent campaign was started by the peasants in spite of the I.N. Congress, and the Congress hastened to participate in it, again to localise and disorganise it. To-day the Congress has retreated still further: it has called off the mass civil disobedience movement and dropped the item of no-tax campaign even from its programme. Jawaharlal Nehru, who talks of destroying landlordism, etc., has reaffirmed his complete agreement with Gandhi's latest moves and methods. It is the duty of the C.P.I. to expose these treacherous activities of the National Congress and its "Left" leaders before the peasantry and point out to them, on the basis of concrete instances, that the Congress is an organisation supported by the bourgeoisie and liberal landlords and moneylenders, and that it will never really fight for the interests of the workers and peasants. The C.P.I. must point out to the peasantry and show in actual practice that it is the working class alone which can consistently support all its demands and help to organise its fight for them.

The general demands which the C.P.I. must put before the peasantry are enumerated in the Draft Platform under the Peasant Demands. They are as follows:—

(1) The C.P. of India stands for the confiscation without compensation of all the lands and estates, forests and pastures of the native princes, landlords, moneylenders, and the British government and their transfer to the use of the toiling masses of the peasants through peasant committees. The C.P. of India stands for the complete destruction of mediæval landownership, and the cleansing of the whole country from all mediæval rubbish.

(2) The C.P. of India struggles for the immediate nationalisation of all plantations and for putting them at the disposal of revolutionary committees, elected by the plantation workers, to be used in the interests of the entire Indian people.

(3) The C.P. of India struggles for the immediate nationalisation of the entire irrigation system, the complete annulment of all debts and taxes, and the handing over of the direction and control over its work to revolutionary peasant committees, elected by the toiling peasants.

(4) The C.P. of India calls on the peasants and the village proletariat to carry out all kinds of political demonstrations, to make collective refusals to pay exactions and taxes.

(5) The C.P. of India calls for a refusal to pay rent, the cost of irrigation, contributions, and to refuse to carry out any work whatever (begar) for the landlords, native princes, and their agents.

(6) The C.P. of India calls for a refusal to pay debts and obligations to the government, landlords, and moneylenders in any form whatever.

(7) As a practical slogan of agitation among the peasants and as a means of giving the greatest consciousness to the peasant movement, the C.P. of India calls for the immediate organisation of the revolutionary peasant committees, with the aim of carrying on a struggle for the revolutionary-democratic changes to free the peasants from the oppression of Anglo-Indian imperialism and its feudal allies.

(8) The C.P. of India calls for the independent organisation of the village proletariat, especially the plantation workers, for fusing it with the proletariat of the towns, under the banner of the Communist Party, and for electing representatives of it to the peasant committees.

The C.P. of India is firmly convinced that the complete, consistent and firm carrying out of the above-mentioned political and social changes can only be achieved by overthrowing British rule and forming an Indian Federated Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government.

In order to popularise these demands amongst the peasantry and to carry out the tasks outlined therein, it is necessary to send class-conscious workers from the industrial areas and tried revolutionary students to the countryside and utilise their contacts with the peasantry to form **peasant groups**. These groups will be the nuclei for spreading revolutionary propaganda and literature in the countryside, and with their help it will be possible to participate and take initiative in the local peasant struggle for day-to-day economic demands of the peasantry. With the help of these groups it is necessary to participate in the local peasant conferences, etc., held under the auspices of reformists and nationalists and put forward our programme before the peasants. Wherever possible, attempts should be made to form local peasant unions, rallying large masses of poor and middle peasantry. With the help of all these organisations it will be possible to organise mass resistance to the oppression of local exploiters (landlords and moneylenders) and the imperialist government. These committees and local unions will be the instruments for spreading the class struggle in the countryside. In every individual conflict of the peasant masses against the government, landlords, and moneylenders, it is necessary to organise a peasant committee, which will be elected by the peasants themselves, and which will be the leading organ of the struggle. In the day-to-day propaganda it is essential to acquaint the peasantry with the struggle of the working class against the capitalists in the city, and to explain to them how the workers' organisations and workers' strike committees are run. It is necessary to organise independent political demonstrations of the peasants, and workers' and peasants' conferences, in which the main political slogans of the draft platform and the general and special workers' and peasants' demands must be put forward.

The revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants has to be shown, and will be achieved in struggle.

Wherever a dispute with the government on taxes or rent, or debt dispute with the landlords or moneylenders arises, it is necessary to organise mass resistance, conducted by a peasant committee elected by the peasants participating in the same. In such conflicts it is essential to form "**peasant guards**" in order to defend the peasants against the attacks of the exploiter and his agents. Effort must be made to widen the resistance of the peasantry over ever-larger areas and give this resistance a political character.

The perspective to be placed before the peasantry must be that of an All-Indian no-tax, no-rent, no-debt struggle. (Here the political theses describe the problem in a more detailed manner.—Editor.)

Tactics with Reference to the Working Class

The formation and consolidation of a united, centralised, underground mass Communist Party on an All-Indian basis must form the fulcrum of all Communist strategy and tactics in its work among the working class and the toiling masses generally. This task was first formulated by the Second Congress of the Comintern as the foremost task. Later on, at the Sixth World Congress, in the Colonial Theses, the C.I. laid down, on the basis of the tremendous development of the working-class movement in India during 1926-28, and its growing independent role and of the springing up of strike leaders from among the workers themselves, that:—

"In India the conditions for the creation of a mass Communist Party have matured. The union of all Communist groups and individual Communists scattered throughout the country into a single independent centralised Party represents the first task of the Indian Communists."

The period of 1926-28 resulted in the formation of a basis for the organisation of a mass underground C.P.I., and this task was put on the agenda, when the process was temporarily interrupted by the Meerut arrests. In the period that followed, working-class activity increased in depth and breadth; there was an intensification of the class struggle and the growth of class differentiation between the national reformist and the working-class movement. (Here the Political Thesis deals with the question in a more detailed manner.—Editor.) The C.P. has lagged far behind. The C.P. continued to remain a bunch of Communist groups, not united organisationally and in some cases not even politically and to a certain extent isolated from the working masses. This tendency of localism and provincialism must be firmly rejected. To-day it is absolutely necessary not only to strengthen the provincial organisations by basing them on local and factory groups of conscious and trained workers, drawn from the day-to-day class struggle, but at the same time it is necessary to weld all the true Communist groups who take their stand upon the Draft Platform of the C.P.I. into a centralised, underground mass Party. In the words of the "Open Letter to the Indian Communists," which was issued by the C.C.s of the Communist Parties of China, Great Britain, and Germany:—

"It is necessary to come out decisively for an All-Indian C.P. While increasing local work (especially in Calcutta, etc.) in every possible way, it is necessary at the same time to move the centre of gravity of Party work to the All-Indian activity and begin to build the Party, carrying on the struggle for a common political line, creating a net of local party organisations, developing the sense of responsibility, Party feeling and discipline, encouraging local initiative and courageously drawing into our ranks workers and those intellectuals who are true to the working-class cause. The basic principle of the organisational policy of the C.P. must be the formation of factory nuclei. The strength of the C.P. is determined by the **degree of its contact with the broad toiling masses; above all, with the proletariat**. The only correct form of organisation able to secure this contact and the fighting ability of the Party is the system of **factory nuclei**. Particularly in India, under conditions of terror and comparatively high concentration of the proletariat, the formation of factory nuclei is an **absolutely essential, obligatory, and highly important task of the Party**. It is necessary to get in touch with and draw in all active industrial workers, because that is the chief guarantee for the building of an underground Communist Party, able to withstand the terror and lead the struggle of the working class." ("Open Letter.")

The non-existence of such **factory nuclei** and the irregular functioning of the existing basic units of the provincial organisation forms one of the principal weaknesses of the C.P.I. to-day. It must be remedied immediately.

Another weakness of the Communist movement to-day is the inability to develop and extend underground forms of movement, struggle and organisation. The Communist cadres have considerable experience of open mass work, but they have still to learn to devise methods to **combine "legal" and underground activity**. Without this it is impossible to organise and lead the toiling masses to revolutionary struggles. Without this it is impossible (under present conditions) to create a mass Communist Party. To neglect **underground forms of the movement means a refusal to create the C.P.**, a refusal to conduct the revolutionary struggle

to organise the masses under the banner of the C.P. The refusal to use both legal and semi-underground forms of the movement leads again to sectarianism, to self-isolation from the masses, leads to refusal to create a mass underground Communist Party. The refusal to carry on work in the trade unions, in the reformist as well as national reformist trade unions, leads to isolation and sectarianism.

"It must be thoroughly realised (and this will determine how seriously and consistently the Communists stand by the underground Party and the revolutionary struggle) that the leading organs of the Party organisations must be in an **underground position**, and that mixing the underground and open apparatus of the Party is fatal and plays into the hands of the police and government provocation. While developing the underground organisation in every way, measures must be taken for preserving and strengthening the backbone of the Party organisation. For the purpose of all kinds of open activity (in the press, meetings, leagues, trade union, etc.) special groups and commissions, etc., should be formed which, working under the leadership of the Party, should under no circumstance injure the existence of underground nuclei." ("Open Letter.")

For the purpose of consolidating and cementing the ideological unity inside the united C.P.I. and for the purpose of widely explaining and discussing the current questions and the principles of the Communist movement it is necessary in the **shortest possible time** to create an underground printed organ of the Central Committee and legal newspapers. The underground organ will serve the purpose of co-ordinating and guiding the activities of the provincial organisations and knitting them closely together. Through this underground organ it will be possible to lead and influence the local legal organs of the Party organisation. This will ensure the working out of a united Communist line and the establishment of unity of views and methods of struggle. This paper must become, in the sense of Lenin's teachings on the role of the Central Party organ, the agitator and organiser of the toiling masses and of the Party. While conducting underground Party organs, it is necessary to exhaust all legal possibilities of popularising the teachings of Marx and Lenin, and of creating Marxist literature on Indian problems, through the help of the legal papers and press.

Trade Union Movement

The main task of the C.P.I., as the Party of the proletariat, is to win over the majority of the working class to the platform and policy of the C.P.I., to win them over to Communism. This can only be achieved on the basis of open mass work among the workers, both in the political as well as in the trade union field. Trade unions form the elementary mass organisations of the workers, including workers of all kinds of opinions and degrees of development and traditions. It is the most important general task of the C.P.I. to utilise this channel of contact between the vanguard and the broad masses of the proletariat. It is the duty of every Communist to join a trade union and to fight from within for the class programme of revolutionary leadership and policies. It is necessary to participate in the day-to-day struggle of the workers, because it is the every-day experience of the class struggle which will help the workers, **with the aid of the Communists**, to accept revolutionary policy and Communist leadership. It is necessary, where there is a need, to build mass Red trade unions, and also to work in the reformist unions. It would be wrong to regard the work in the reformist unions as something different and in opposition to the work in the Red trade unions, or the creating of new unions. On the contrary, these tasks are interconnected, and their **combination** will speed up the liberation of the proletariat from the influence of national reformism. For building up mass trade unions it is necessary to carry out energetic everyday work in the mills and workshops, carry out a persistent struggle for the everyday needs of the workers, build mill committees, organise mass trade unions with properly elected management committees, which would be composed mainly, and where it is possible exclusively, out of workers from the mills. The management committees should function regularly, and the president or secretary should not replace the management committee or the trade union membership. The membership meeting should be called regularly to discuss the affairs of the union, of the mills and various questions concerning the conditions in the whole industry and all questions concerning the working class and the country, both economic and political. Trade unions cannot re-

main aloof from the political life and still more from the struggle for independence.

The Communist Party, while pursuing this policy in the trade union movement, will simultaneously constantly explain to the workers the difference between the class policy of the Communists and the harmful bourgeois policy of the national reformists, the "Left" national reformists, etc., who are doing their best to convert into and to keep the working class as the obedient appendix to the nationalist bourgeoisie. At the same time the Communists stand for the application of the united front tactic and are even prepared to amalgamate parallel trade unions, providing a platform of class struggle is accepted, the right of the Communists to put forward and defend before the workers their suggestions is preserved, and the management committees are thoroughly working class in composition and are properly elected, i.e., by the workers. This tactic of united front or amalgamation of parallel trade unions does not signify peace or armistice with national reformism, does not signify that the Communists should cease to explain to the workers the difference between the Communist policy and the reformist policy, or should cease to convince the workers to choose militant, class-conscious workers in the leadership of the trade unions.

It is necessary to distinguish **between** the trade union organisations led by the national reformists or liberal reformists and the reformists or national reformist leaders. United front with the trade unions (if they have masses or have influence among the masses) or even amalgamation with them does not mean unity with the leaders, and this should be clearly understood. On the contrary, it might create, providing a correct policy and energetic everyday work of the Communists is carried out, the best conditions for winning over the misled or confused workers to the banner of militant working-class policy. This should be clearly understood by every class-conscious worker. Any other interpretation of the united front or amalgamation of some parallel trade union as a peace or armistice with the reformist leaders is wrong and opportunistic. During the years 1926-28 there was a growing differentiation between the liberal reformists, who are the open agents of imperialism, and the militant section of the trade union movement. This process of differentiation consisted in the rapid isolation of the liberal reformists from the masses of workers during the strike struggles in Bombay and Calcutta in 1927-28 (the elimination of N.M. Joshi from the textile workers' movement in Bombay—building up of the G.K.U.—strengthening of the militant fraction in G.I.P.). The liberal reformists tried to stop this process by engineering a split of the A.I.T.U.C. at Nagpur (1929). In the later period (1930-31) there was further clarification in the "militant" front which consisted in the differentiation between the national reformists and the Communists. In the C.D. movement the national reformist agents of the Congress made a strenuous effort in **Bombay** to isolate the revolutionary working-class leadership from the trade union movement, so as to prevent the exposure of the treacherous role of the Congress in the eyes of the toiling masses. The I.N. Congress, with the aid of the "Left" reformist agents in the trade union movement, effected a split in the G.K.U. by demanding support of the Congress policy in the leadership and began a ruthless struggle against the revolutionary workers with the financial help of the Congress. A similar struggle began also in the G.I.P. union. The Indian capitalists, with the assistance of the Royists, succeeded in effecting a further split in the All-Indian T.U. Congress at **Calcutta**.

The split had a political basis. It was engineered by those who wanted to isolate the Communists and join hands with the liberal reformists for the betrayal of the working-class masses. Immediately after the split M. N. Roy wrote an article in "Independent India" (August 21, 1931), in which he made an offer to Joshi, Giri, and others for Trade Union Unity. The basis for unity here offered is "Pure Trade Unionism," i.e., economism. In concluding his article he expressed his joy at the fact that the Communists, whom he called "ultra leftist disturbers of trade union unity" "are now out of the way." Since then they have been carrying out strike-breaking tactics with the help of and in the interests of the Congress millowners. They have been carrying out a systematic struggle against the Communists and expelled them from the union (G.I.P.). In view of the growing discontent among the working masses about the Congress, some "Left" national reformists have ceased now for a time to support openly the Congress and even mildly criticise it, so as to prevent

the masses from being influenced by revolutionary politics, and retain the influence of the Congress bourgeoisie, preaching that the workers should remain aloof from revolutionary struggles and limit themselves to everyday economic problems only. To-day a further Leftward trend of the masses is forcing them to form an "Indian Working Class Political Party," with the reformist programme of improving the lot of the workers by constitutional methods and council entry. The revolutionary trade union movement has carried on a consistent struggle against "Left" national reformism, although it did not succeed sufficiently in explaining the bourgeois essence of the splitting policy of the reformists and proved unable to mobilise the ranks of the workers against the splitters for the unity of the working class. There cannot be unity, peace with the national reformist leaders, but it is possible and advisable to offer a united front to the trade unions led by them. We must help the workers to understand in the course of the practice of the class struggle, in the course of the mass actions the difference between the Communists and the reformists. It is clear that united front must be proposed for mass actions on definite concrete issues and should not become merely negotiations between the leaders. It is wrong to look at the past splits as if they were the results of personal "intrigues" and not the results of the process of class differentiation. It is totally wrong to maintain that these "Left" national reformist leaders were once "good revolutionaries" and that they have been driven into the camp of counter-revolution by the lack of "tact," etc., on the part of individual comrades. Such theories prevent the Party from seeing the national reformist danger and unmasking it politically in time. It leads to the tendency not to criticise the reformist and national reformist leaders owing to the fear that this might lead to the isolation of the Communists. The refusal to criticise the reformist leaders would spell the doom of the Communist movement, as it would consolidate the positions of the bourgeoisie among the working class. To-day the organisational strength of the revolutionary trade union movement is not considerable. At the same time there is a growing revolutionary trend in the working-class masses (as is displayed by the growing strike struggles of the workers against wage cuts in Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad, etc.). This disparity in the weakness of the revolutionary organisation on the one hand and the growing militancy of the workers on the other cannot be remedied by a peace with the national reformist leaders. It is necessary to understand correctly the causes of our partial isolation from the working masses. It has been caused by the neglect on our part to do sufficient day-to-day trade union work, and to explain our differences in the trade union congress to the masses on the basis of concrete struggles. It would be a serious error to interpret the struggle against the national reformists in such a way that it is necessary to withdraw from the reformist unions and refrain from working among the masses who follow them.

These errors must be corrected. The revolutionary wing of the trade union movement must work to strengthen the Red Trade Union Congress. It must formulate its demands and policy and clearly show, both in words and in action, that it fights for the interests of the workers. The Communists must influence the Red Trade Union Congress and carry on agitation among its members to accept the following policy, viz.: (1) the formation of Red trade unions based on factory committees, whose leadership should be elected directly by the workers and consist of advanced revolutionary workers; (2) strenuous struggle against the reformist and national reformist leaders who form a reactionary bloc with the imperialists and the Congress; (3) closest association with and leadership of the daily struggle of the workers for their partial demands, organising participation in all individual and general strikes, the formation of strike committees elected by the rank and file workers, where the Communists must work hard to gain leadership; (4) closest co-ordination between the economic and the political struggle of the working class; (5) co-operation and support of the militant international trade union movement; (6) the constant propagation of the slogan of general political strike among the workers, "calling upon them to transform individual strikes into a general political strike, as a resolute step in organising the revolutionary struggle of the mass of the people for independence, land, and workers' and peasants' government under the guidance of the working class"; (7) on the basis of all the workers' demands laid down in the draft platform of the C.P.I. the Communists must influence the Red Trade Union

Congress and help it to become a functioning body, they must forthwith begin reorganising and strengthening the class unions affiliated to it, place them on a functioning basis—begin setting up unions in industries where the workers are still unorganised—organise regular fraction work in the reformist trade unions and in the Red trade unions, as well as carry out the exposure of the national reformists in the actual struggle and energetically apply the tactics of united front.

While carrying out energetic trade union activity, it is useful at the same time to form open mass local political organisations of the working class. Such open local political organisations represent one of the forms of open activity and can help to spread political education among the working class. It is necessary to form open political organisations for the working youth to spread the revolutionary political education of the young workers into the ranks of the Party. Such working-class youth organisations must be formed in each industrial centre, must recruit working-class youths and also draw in the best elements amongst the revolutionary students tried in the field. They must carry on a fight for the redress of grievances of young workers, must generally assist in the work of the revolutionary trade union movement, conduct study classes, etc., for the Marxist-Leninist training of the young workers, must assist and participate in political activities on the basis of the main political slogans of the draft platform. Besides organising such open working-class youth organisations, it is necessary to take steps to build a **Young Communist League of India**. It is advisable to work in the workers' leagues and workers' parties in the provinces. The Communists must understand that these are a temporary and subsidiary form of mass activities. These organisations can be used to draw wide masses of the workers and toilers, to develop mass struggles and be utilised as open platform for political demonstrations, processions, meetings, etc., for the popularisation of the main slogans of our anti-imperialist programme providing the Communist Party is established. These organisations must be controlled by well-trained and class-conscious Communist workers, organised in Communist fractions. It must be remembered that these organisations must not become rival organisations to the C.P.I. It must be clearly understood that such organisations will be of a temporary character, because British imperialism will not allow the existence of any organisation opposed to British imperialism and developing mass resistance; if in any place such organisation is formed, it can be of use only as an auxiliary organisation from which to recruit workers for the C.P. The formation of such organisations must not lead to a position when the Communist Party does not speak openly in its name on every incident and every expression of class struggle; on the contrary, the C.P. and its local organisations must issue their leaflets, must build nuclei in the mills, must recruit workers for the C.P., must everywhere be heard by the workers and lead their struggles. Another task which will devolve upon such organisations, especially at the present juncture, is the struggle against the reformists who are forming political parties in the provinces. This will have to be done on the basis of the exposure of their activities, explaining that they do not defend the interests of the workers, and are only spreading legalist and constitutional illusions.

Comrade Johann Kovacs—Victim of Hunger Strike for the Release of Comrade Rakosi

As is known, six weeks ago the political prisoners in Hungary entered on a hunger strike in order to support the struggle of the Hungarian proletariat for the release of Comrade Rakosi. The Hungarian authorities proceeded with the greatest brutality against the political prisoners in order to smash the hunger strike by means of forcible feeding.

A young comrade, Johann Kovacs, 23 years of age, who had been sentenced to two years' hard labour on account of his Communist activity, continued the hunger strike in spite of it. He died on June 22, as a result of the hunger strike. His relatives were informed of his death only on June 27, after his burial which took place in secret.

It has further transpired that the other comrades, who after two weeks' torture abandoned the struggle, were condemned to five days' solitary confinement in dark cells and deprived of all privileges for a period of six months.

The White Terror

Why the New Trial of Rakosi is Being Staged

On April 24 this year the eight and a half years' sentence passed on Rakosi, on a charge of having attempted to reorganise the illegal Communist Party in Hungary, came to an end. When Rakosi was arrested in 1925 it was clear that the Hungarian terrorists intended to do everything possible to send him to the gallows. Together with a number of other comrades who were arrested with him he was placed before a court-martial with power to pass sentence of death or acquittal. Thanks to the world-wide protest of the working class, the court-martial did not dare to sentence him to death, and he and his fellow prisoners were handed over to the ordinary courts. After having spent eleven months in prison, Rakosi appeared before the court and conducted himself as a gallant soldier of the proletarian revolution and a deadly enemy of the bourgeoisie. The vicious sentence passed on him was intended to break him mentally and physically. The Hungarian terrorists felt sure that Rakosi would never survive a sentence like that; but in fact, he not only remained alive, but his spirit is still unbroken, despite inhuman conditions, despite innumerable "disciplinary punishments" and long periods of solitary confinement on bread and water. At the end of his sentence Rakosi was still alive, and other means had to be found to finish him off. Rakosi is now to come before the court again on charges connected with his activity as a People's Commissar during the Hungarian Soviet Republic fifteen years ago, and this time the sentence is to finish off what the last period of imprisonment failed to accomplish.

Fifteen years ago a revolutionary proletarian government was in power in Hungary. For over four months its law was the only law which prevailed throughout the country. It controlled the armed forces and, through the soviets, it ruled the country. It issued decrees, it defended the frontiers against imperialist aggression, it regulated production, it organised the food supplies, it controlled the financial system and it issued its own currency. In other words, it ruled. After four and a half months it was overthrown and there was a bourgeois restoration. However, despite the victory of the counter-revolution, the historical fact that the proletariat had ruled for over four months did not cease to be a fact, and the actions of the proletarian government did not thereby cease to be legal acts of a properly constituted government. The laws of the proletarian dictatorship were valid laws sanctioned by the State power, and for over four months they were the only laws.

However, the victorious bourgeoisie did not wish to recognise these facts. It declared all the governmental actions of the proletarian dictatorship to be common crimes and it fought against the defeated class enemy not in the name of its own interests, but with the provisions of the bourgeois criminal code. The People's Commissars were made individually and collectively responsible for all the activities of the proletarian dictatorship. In this way the judicial apparatus of the white terror drew up a general indictment of all the People's Commissars, including 262 charges of murder, charges of banknote forgery, charges of entering private dwellings, charges of limiting personal freedom, etc. The counter-revolution did not even care that just the fact of this collective indictment stressed the political nature of the charges. The legal constructions with which the indictment were drawn up were hair-raising, and the authorities insisted idiotically in regarding the validity of the bourgeois criminal code as having been uninterrupted. In view of the four and a half months of normal and regular proletarian rule the indictment was nothing but a brutal farce. Even on its deathbed bourgeois society will no doubt insist that it is the only legal order of society and will condemn everyone who raises a hand against it as a common criminal. For bourgeois society a proletarian revolution is nothing but a formal violation of the bourgeois criminal code.

As a People's Commissar (he was first of all Vice-Commissar for Trade, later Commander of the militia in Budapest, and then Political Commissar of the army division which defended the Salgotaryan mining basin against the invading Czechs) Mathias Rakosi also violated the paragraphs of the bourgeois criminal code fifteen years ago, according to the attitude of Hungarian class justice, and now, after having served a term of eight and a half years' imprisonment, he is to stand his trial again.

The fascist terror likes to garb itself in the ragged mantle of "legality." It was the case with Dimitrov; it will be the case with Thaelmann and now with Rakosi.

Rakosi can be saved and he must be saved! The international proletariat forced the Hungarian terrorists to place Rakosi before an ordinary court eight and a half years ago instead of hanging him summarily as they would have liked, and to-day they can again save him if they raise a shout with one accord: Thus far, and no farther!

Appeal of Mathias Rakosi's Sister

To all Toilers, Brothers and Comrades!

The Hungarian ruling class is preparing for a judicial murder of my brother, Mathias Rakosi. He was arrested in the year 1925 and brought before a military court on account of his political activity. I remember seeing him standing quietly and coolly, even under the shadow of the gallows, defending the cause of the working class before the capitalist court. Already at that time the whole cultured world was aroused. A powerful movement of solidarity, led by the International Red Aid in all countries, compelled the hangmen to abandon the idea of executing my brother. His case was transferred to the ordinary court which sentenced him to eight and a half years' hard labour.

This prison sentence became harder every year as a result of the cruel treatment and systematic physical and moral impositions. I was a powerless witness of the struggle which my brother conducted in prison against the brutal regime and the corruption of the prison management in order to improve the situation of all the prisoners. It often occurred that I was insulted and driven away. I even had to serve a three months' prison sentence only because I did not leave my brother in the lurch in his difficult situation. In the winter of 1929, during the coldest days, my brother was flung, without winter clothes and without even a mattress, into an unheated underground cell without windows in order to serve a three months' disciplinary sentence. Your protest, comrades, rescued my brother from this murder cell.

Out of this eight and a half years' penal servitude Mathias Rakosi passed more than three years in disciplinary prison cells, starving in darkness and cold. Seven times he was sentenced to disciplinary punishment. Six times he was compelled to resort to the last weapon of protest against inhuman treatment, the hunger-strike. He has been on hunger-strike no less than 54 days.

And now, after having served his sentence, after his health has been undermined by compulsory labour, hunger and disciplinary punishment, the brutal government wishes to bring him to the same court which sentenced him eight and a half years ago; it wants to bring him to the gallows, a plan which at that time was frustrated by a storm of indignation from all honest people.

Mathias Rakosi's only guilt is that, although he is physically weak, in spite of the monstrous hard labour sentence, he is unbroken in his determination to continue the fight for your cause, for the emancipation of all toilers from hunger and misery, from fascist terror. My brother is again threatened, just as eight and a half years ago, with the death sentence.

Brothers and comrades! All of you who have helped to wrest Dimitrov from the clutches of the fascist hangmen, raise again your powerful voice against the contemplated murder, wrest my brother from the hands of the Hungarian hangmen!

Enforce the release of Mathias Rakosi!

Gisella Rakosi.

Polish Fascism Learns From Hitler

The rise of the revolutionary wave in Poland is proceeding at an ever-increasing speed. An eloquent proof of this fact is offered by the wave of strikes which have taken place of late. In the first quarter of 1934 more workers took part in strikes than in the whole of 1933. The majority of these strikes took on a definitely political character; for instance, the strike which took place in Lublin as a protest against the action of the police in firing on a demonstration of unemployed workers; the protest strike which took place in Zdzunska Wola against the terror waged by the authorities during the municipal elections; the strike in the Lodz textile area, etc.

The magnificent demonstrations which took place all over Poland on May 1, and particularly the widespread participations of peasants in these demonstrations; the protest demonstrations against the fascist coup d'état in Latvia and against the visit of Goebbels in Warsaw, all these happenings gave sound proof of the growing revolutionisation of the Polish masses.

The fear of the developing proletarian revolution is driving the Polish bourgeoisie to redouble its preparations for war against

the Soviet Union. The signing of the pact with Germany; the policy pursued by the Polish Foreign Minister Beck in Geneva; the visit of Goebbels to Warsaw and the reception which was accorded him, are all symptoms of the real intentions of the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski. In order to break the revolutionary resistance of the masses the fascist government of Poland is adopting the oppressive methods of the Hitler dictatorship to an increasing extent.

This process of "Hitlerisation" in Poland was seen clearly after the murder of the Polish Minister of the Interior, *Pieracki*. Mass arrests began all over Poland immediately after *Pieracki's* assassination. Members of the national-democratic party and of the Undo party (bourgeois Ukrainian party) were also arrested, but the main weight of the drive of arrests and persecutions was directed against the revolutionary workers and peasants and their organisations. Even in the official statements it is admitted that tens of thousands of workers and peasants have been arrested. However, the fascist dictatorship is not satisfied with this.

On June 18 it was announced that the government had decided to open concentration camps. Article I of the new decree provides that:—

"Persons whose activity or attitude gives rise to the suspicion that danger to law and order or to the social structure of the country threatens from their side may be arrested and placed in isolation in institutions which are not intended for the custody of convicted criminals or of persons in custody and charged with offences against the laws."

In other words, it is not necessary that the persons indicated should commit any sort of "crime" or do anything at all in particular; "suspicion" is quite enough to justify their arrest and isolation. Who is to decide whether the necessary "suspicion" of a threatening danger is given in any specific case? The decree provides that the authorities, i.e., the police, including Messrs. Zaremba, Tkatchuk and the other heroes of Luck, Kovel, Sosnovice, shall decide. To make quite certain that no one shall interfere with the discretion of such authorities, Article II, Paragraph 4, declares that there shall be no possibility of appeal against the decision of the police to intern a person. Once having been interned such a "suspect" may be held as long as the police feel inclined to hold him. Such prisoners are to be compelled to work. In other words, Pilsudski's concentration camps are to be the exact models of Hitler's camps.

In order that the last vestige of doubt about the nature of these concentration camps should be dispelled the Polish Prime Minister Kozlovski declared:—

"These isolation camps, or rather concentration camps, will be under a *strict and severe regime*. They will be no more than an instrument in the hands of the State to administer severe punishment."

The normal Polish prison regime is one of the most notorious in Europe. The regime which is to prevail in the concentration camps is termed "strict and severe" in advance even by the government. Pilsudski and his colleagues have not been long in demonstrating that they listened very attentively to Goebbels when he visited them, and that they are thoroughly capable of acting on his advice.

These new methods have naturally not fallen out of a blue sky. Pilsudski and his friends have never hesitated to use ruthless and brutal terrorist methods against the revolutionary working class. The past few months have provided us with many characteristic examples: the introduction of a special regime in the prisons; the mass administration of corporal punishment in the prisons; the beatings in Graudenz, Plock, Koronovo and Vronki, etc.; the ruthless use of firearms against workers' demonstrations in Lublin, Pabjanice, etc.; the murder of Rydigo, Jablonovski and others; the beatings before the courts in Luck and Sosnovice, etc.

The united front of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship is growing and strengthening, and wider and wider masses of the toilers are joining it. The will to fight and the will to power is now awake in sections of the workers and peasants which were formerly practically unpolitical. The events in Lublin and Katowitz, where masses of workers made determined and courageous attempts to rescue working-class prisoners from the hands of the armed police, have proved that the working masses are prepared to go on to the streets in defiance of the armed police.

The increasing struggle of the working masses, and parallel with it the growing terror wielded by the fascist dictatorship, have

given the *Red Aid* organisation of Poland new and great tasks. The tasks in the immediate work of assisting the victims of the terror and their dependents are increasing rapidly, and this applies even more to the tasks of the struggle against the terror itself and against the danger of war. The great tasks with which the *Red Aid* of Poland is at present faced are to mobilise the masses against the latest methods of the fascist terror—the establishment of concentration camps—and to develop the struggle to repulse the new attacks of the fascist dictatorship.

The *Red Aid* does not stand alone in this struggle. The workers of the world reacted to the happenings in Luck with powerful demonstrations. The international solidarity of the proletariat was expressed in Great Britain and France, in the United States and Canada. In all countries such protest demonstrations were carried out and funds in support of the prisoners of Luck and their dependents were collected.

The workers of the world will not fail to answer the latest provocations of Pilsudski and the fascist terror, the concentration camps and murders, with the intensification of the anti-fascist struggle.

The Red Aid of Holland At Its Post

The traces of the first barricades in the red workers' quarters of Amsterdam had not yet disappeared, the workers who were killed by the furiously shooting soldiery of Mr. Colijn had not yet been buried, when the *Red Aid* proceeded to fulfil its tasks in this historical situation.

Already on July 6 many workers were arrested and the arrests are being continued. A number of trials are being prepared. The distribution of literature has been prohibited in Amsterdam; as a matter of fact martial law is still in force. The "*Telegraaf*," a fascist organ, announces that up to 15 years' hard labour can be pronounced for the crimes with which the accused are being charged.

On July 9 the first victims of the collisions were borne to the grave. A powerful demonstration at the cemetery showed the sympathy of the population for the victims of the fight.

The *Red Aid* of Holland had already on July 5 spread a manifesto calling for the support of the fighters. Two days later the *Red Aid* circulated the first collection sheets. The collection of money showed brilliant results, particularly in those districts in which the struggle had raged most furiously. The *Red Aid* has paid the expenses for the burial of a number of workers killed. The first instalments of relief have been paid out to the victims of the fight. Legal advice and defending counsel will be provided for all the arrested.

A special edition of the organ of the *Red Aid*, "*Afweerfront*," appeared on July 10, giving a detailed description of the struggles with numerous pictures. This number had a very good sale. An illustrated pamphlet is being prepared.

The bourgeoisie is contemplating the suppression of the revolutionary organisations, including the *Red Aid*. A united front of the bourgeois papers, including the central organ of the social democracy, "*Het Volk*," is inciting the government to prohibit the revolutionary organisations. The government intends to secure the passing of an Enabling Act, empowering the government to adopt further measures against the revolutionary working class and to pave the way for the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship. In these endeavours the government will find the support of the social-democratic leaders, but it will encounter the fierce resistance of the revolutionary workers. The "argument" of armoured cars has not induced the unemployed to put up with the reduced unemployment benefit.

The struggle of the *Red Aid* of Holland, which must be supported by the international proletariat, is being conducted under the following slogans:—

For the immediate release of all the arrested! Compensation for the wounded and the relatives of the murdered workers! For the immediate withdrawal of the suppression of the "*Tribune*," the paper of the revolutionary workers! Down with the military terror! Away with the Colijn government! For the militant united front of the unemployed and factory workers against cuts in wages and unemployment benefit! For the *Red Aid*, the solidarity organisation of the Dutch working class!

The Verdict in the Rumanian Railway Workers' Trial

By N. Grigorescu

The military court in Craiova, after 36 days' proceedings in the railway workers' trial, has announced its verdict. In spite of the fact that the complete innocence of all the accused was proved, in spite of the fact that the proceedings conclusively proved that a policeman had been killed by the police themselves, the military court convicted all the accused. **Doncea and Petrescu were sentenced to fifteen years' hard labour each, Vasilichiei, Gheorghiu-Dej and Chivu Stick to twelve years' imprisonment each, and the other three accused to eighteen months' imprisonment each.**

Right up to the last moment of the pronouncement of the sentence the attitude of the accused was heroic. Hundreds of protests and declarations of solidarity with the accused were handed in to the court. The bourgeois paper, "**Dimineata**," had to report that workers' delegations were arriving daily from all parts of the country, giving expression to the protest of the workers against the trial and demanding the release of all the accused.

The blood-bath of Grivitzza, which cost the lives of four hundred workers, has been continued by this sentence, which imposes almost a hundred years of hard labour on eight accused. The sentence was pronounced amidst energetic protest from the accused. The indignation of all the toiling sections of the population, and even of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals at these monstrous sentences was openly expressed. In all railway workshops the workers declared their complete solidarity with the convicted.

The military court has pronounced its final decision. But the Rumanian working class and the international proletariat have not yet spoken their last word. The working class of Rumania will continue the struggle with the greatest possible energy.

The sentences imposed on the Rumanian railway workers mean certain death owing to the monstrous and murderous conditions which prevail in the Rumanian prisons. Thus in fact the military court has condemned the leaders of the Rumanian railway workers to death. The international proletariat must rescue these new victims of class vengeance. The verdict of the military court of Craiova is an alarm signal and the whole world proletariat must hear it and act accordingly.

Fight Against Imperialist War and Fascism

The Situation of the Working Women of Italy and the Struggle Against War

By Estella

The position into which fascism has forced working women in Italy is one of such hardship that even the fascist trade unions find themselves obliged to raise demagogic protests. The trade union functionaries "protest" not infrequently in the fascist newspapers against the competition represented by the low wages paid working women, to the disadvantage of the working men, and demand that "measures" be taken. But such measures generally aim at greater profits for the capitalists: A number of the women employed in an undertaking are discharged, and replaced by men, whose wages are, however, considerably reduced in order to "equalise" them with the wages of the women workers. The remaining women workers are then threatened with dismissal if they do not submit to further curtailments.

According to the collective agreements concluded by the fascist trade unions, and valid at the present time, women workers are being paid wages between two and eight lire for eight to nine working hours. Wages exceeding eight lire are extremely rare, even for skilled women workers. As a rule, however, not even these starvation wages are actually paid out to women workers, because the collective agreements are systematically violated by the employers, especially with regard to wages. This is evidenced by the enormous number of complaints raised collectively and individually against the industrialists yearly (more than 500,000).

If these wages are now to be further reduced by 7 to 10 per cent., as announced by Mussolini in his speech of May 26, then it is obvious that the work of the women can only be regarded as a kind

of semi-gratis work, a kind of compulsory labour, differing from what is understood under compulsory labour only in being carried on in the factories for the direct profit of the employers, instead of in concentration camps for the benefit of the State.

As a matter of fact the working women of Italy are forced to work at wages which do not suffice to cover the barest necessities of life. The collective agreements are concluded by the fascist trade union functionaries, without the workers involved having any say in the matter. In case of unemployment the majority of the working women do not even receive the unemployment benefit granted to the men for the period of three months.

A few figures from the fascist papers themselves give a clear idea of the want and misery into which the great masses of the working people are plunged, and the effect upon the working women. In Milan a night shelter has been opened for women only. In 1933 no fewer than 51,593 women, destitute of bread or shelter, took refuge here. The majority of these women were between the ages of 30 and 50, that is to say, they were working women who should have been at the height of their powers.

The "**Work for Mother and Child**," taken up by fascism during the last few years, gave aid in 1933—as pompously announced by the fascist press—to more than two million mothers and children. But those who know that this work confines itself to providing free accommodation only for expectant mothers who are utterly destitute, that its children's homes take in only deserted children, that the dining rooms for expectant mothers are open only to women who can prove that they have absolutely no other means, upon which they are given one meal a day—those who know this see in the figure of two millions a clear proof of the poverty and misery of the greater part of the working women of Italy after 12 years of fascism. It must be remembered that the "**Mother and Child**" action gives no aid to women whose complete destitution is not acknowledged, even if they are out of work, if only one single member of the family has employment, so that the women are forced to pay the costs of their confinement themselves, or to pay back in instalments the maternity aid given them by the municipality. Even those working women who pay the maternity insurance (in Italy there is an obligatory maternity insurance, which has to be paid by all working women between the ages of 15 and 60), and whose dues are fully paid up, receive only 300 lire as "birth premium," though in reality the expenses of medical or hospital aid alone exceed this sum.

Therefore it is not surprising that in Italy the cases of confinements in the open streets, in railway compartments, etc., are increasing in frequency. The newspapers of the great industrial towns (for instance, "**Lavoro Fascista**," June, 1934) frequently record such "joyful events."

Although fascism is carrying on a demagogic campaign against women's work, the proportion of female labour is increasing as compared with male labour. In Italy's trade and industry alone the number of women employed at the present time is 1,500,000, and has increased in these branches of gainful work from 26.5 per cent. to 27.2 per cent.

This is the result of the fact that fascism is doubly anxious to replace male labour by female: In the first place, women workers performing the same work are paid from one-third to one-half less than male workers. And in the second place the employment of large numbers of women signifies that in case of war the men called up can be rapidly replaced by women.

It is not by accident that in spite of unemployment the number of women employed in various branches of industry, especially the chemical industry, is growing. Now that the preparations for war are being openly supported by fascism, juveniles and women are being given employment in a number of factories manufacturing arms and munitions.

The situation confronts the Communist Party of Italy, and all revolutionary workers, with important and urgent tasks.

The struggle against war must be extended and better popularised among working women. The working women have demonstrated emphatically that they will and can fight against fascism, against exploitation. Again and again they have defied fascism; in innumerable incidents of the class struggle, of the protest movements, of the strikes and demonstrations, they have forced the exploiters to retreat. These day-to-day struggles of the working women must be linked up with the struggle against war. The demands of the working women, especially the demand for equal pay for equal work, must be supported by the whole of the toiling masses, and working men and women must join their

efforts in the struggle to prevent the war which is being prepared by fascism.

The campaign in preparation of the *International Women's Congress against War and Fascism* has commenced to reach broad strata of the working women of Italy. The Italian Initiative Committee which has been formed, and is composed of socialist, anarchist, Communist, and non-party working women, has issued an appeal to all the women of Italy to raise the alarm against the war being prepared by fascism, and to work for the defence of the Soviet Union and for participation in the World Congress. Thousands of copies of this appeal are being secretly circulated in the works and factories, in the rural districts, in the workers' houses.

In spite of fascist reaction and the Ovla (political police of the fascist government), agitation against war is extending. The exploited women workers, the toiling masses of the women oppressed by fascism, are intensifying their struggles against exploitation, against oppression, against war.

The struggles for immediate economic demands, against armaments, against the militarisation and fascisation of youth, are preparing the women revolutionary fighters of to-morrow, are steeling the cadres of working women, and when the day comes when the men are sent to the front and the women left in the factories, they will be ready to continue and intensify the struggle against fascism, and thus to ensure the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

For the Socialist Fatherland of the Soviet Proletariat

By L. F. Boross (Moscow)

It is no accident that the social-democratic and bourgeois press are raising the question to-day, in their own manner, of whether the proletariat has a fatherland or not. The question is very topical at a time when the most aggressive forces of the international bourgeoisie are exerting their utmost efforts to organise a raid on the Soviet Union.

Every war ever waged has been carried on in the name of "defence of native country." It would have been nonsense, in the last war, to send the French workers into the trenches on behalf of the profits of the French industrial and banking magnates, and the German workers on behalf of the German. "Defence of native country" was the magic formula enabling the capitalists to drive millions to the slaughter, and to induce them to massacre their class brothers in the interests of their class enemies, their exploiters and tormentors. It is only the class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat which resists this chauvinist agitation in all countries, and which wrote on its banner Marx's words: "*The proletariat has no fatherland.*"

When this slogan had penetrated the broad masses of the toilers, many crowns rolled in the dust, and a sixth of the globe was transformed into the fatherland of all those toiling millions of the whole world who had had no fatherland at the beginning of the first imperialist world war. And now, after seventeen years have passed, the bourgeois press asserts, with artificial naïveté, that the "Russians" are issuing laws against the betrayal of the socialist fatherland, the socialist native country. The Soviet press is writing articles about the love of the Soviet toilers for their country, their fatherland. What has become of internationalism? Obviously a nationalist wave is sweeping over the Soviet Union.

What has happened that this same press, which has been accustomed to comment with contempt on "lack of patriotism" and "Jewish internationalism," now begins to dispute with the Bolsheviks on the purity of proletarian internationalism? What is the cause of the sensational fact that "*The Times*" and the "*Berliner Boersenzeitung*," as well as *Mussolini's* press, have come forward as champions of Marxist internationalism, against the "anti-Marxist" and "nationalist" Bolsheviks?

The cause has been very simple. The Soviet press published an addendum to the penal regulations on counter-revolutionary crimes. The new regulations provide the severest penalties for *high treason* (literally translated: treason against native country), and the offences coming under this heading include espionage, betrayal of military secrets, or desertion to the enemy, committed

by citizens of the Soviet Union. In the case of members of the Red Army, extenuating circumstances are not permitted, but for other citizens of the Soviet Union extenuating circumstances may mitigate the penalty, and the death sentence may be commuted to deprivation of liberty for a term not exceeding ten years. The law further envisages severe terms of detention for every Soviet citizen of full age, including the relatives of the traitor, who have known of projected treason and have not informed the authorities.

Soviet newspapers have pointed out in their leading articles, when commenting on the new law, the profound enthusiasm and love which the toiling masses of the Soviet Union cherish for the free socialist fatherland which they have achieved at the cost of enormous sacrifice, in heroic revolutionary struggles. They have pointed out that these toiling masses are prepared to protect this socialist fatherland with their lives against the class enemy. Why? A leading article in the official organ of the Soviet Union, the "*Isvestya*," gives a clear reply to this question:—

"Our socialist Union is our native country, not only because we were born here; this formal reason is no decisive criterion for us. Our socialist Union is our native country by virtue of the great *historical aims* which we are pursuing . . . in virtue of the fact that these aims are arousing the enthusiasm of the toiling masses of the whole world."

The Soviet proletariat loves and protects its fatherland, for the reason that it is the *socialist fatherland of the toiling masses of the whole world*. This is the reason why the bourgeoisie howls like a wounded animal if the Soviet fatherland is mentioned. There was a time when the proletariat, called upon by the bourgeoisie to defend its "fatherland," replied resolutely: "*The proletariat has no fatherland.*" This reply shook the foundations of the imperialist world. And what hopes and prospects are left to the imperialist bourgeoisie to-day, when the toiling masses, given weapons in order that they may destroy their brothers across the frontiers, reply: "Truly we have now a fatherland, the great Soviet fatherland, which we defend, and whose soldiers we are. And we shall protect it against you first of all."

For the international bourgeoisie it is a horror to hear of a fatherland spoken of as the one-time exploiter and tormentor of the toiling masses of the Ukraine, the pogromist and reactionary *Yachenko*, speaks in his memoirs of civil war in the Ukraine:—

"It was not a march, not a campaign, not a ride . . . only a wild flight, a flight from the danger surrounding us everywhere, from the front, from behind. . . . For us the fields of our country were transformed into a desolate primeval forest, and we felt ourselves like a herd of hunted animals lost in a strange region, where other and hostile animals could overpower us. . . ."

This is the feeling of the one-time exploiters in the Soviet fatherland, who endeavour to regain their lost power.

"We have never been so well off as here. We have never before felt ourselves so much at home. We have never before seen such solidarity as here. Never have I lived with such freedom from anxiety about the future."

These words were spoken a few days ago in Moscow by an *Austrian* Schutzbundler, a detachment leader from the 18th District of Vienna. His words were confirmed by the enthusiastic applause of the 200 Schutzbundlers present. These are proletarians who only recently were still under the influence of anti-Soviet social democracy. When they were fired upon by the guns of the bourgeoisie of the country of their birth, they realised where their real fatherland is. They realised that their fatherland is where the weapons, the guns, are in the hands of their class brothers; where the whole of the power, where all wealth belongs to the workers, to the toiling masses.

With feelings of hatred and alarm the bourgeoisie hears the word: "Soviet fatherland." This fatherland has been created not only by the proletariat of Russia. Thousands of German, Austrian, Latvian, Hungarian, Chinese, and other proletarians fought side by side with the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, during the years of the civil war, in the ranks of the Red Guard and the Red Army. The word Soviet fatherland enchanted and disrupted the ranks of those soldiers and sailors sent out by the capitalists with the mad assumption that they should destroy their own proletarian fatherland.

Hundreds of thousands of proletarians of the capitalist coun-

* Quoted from "*Isvestya*," June 14.

tries sacrificed their last penny in 1921, when the Soviet fatherland was visited by the drought disaster. Hundreds of thousands and millions of the toiling masses now raise their fists threateningly in all the cities of the capitalist countries, whenever the bourgeoisie makes an endeavour to damage the Soviet fatherland. "A war against the Soviet Union is a war against us, Japanese proletarians." The Japanese Communists proclaim this courageously in their factory newspapers, though every word of the sentence may bring them death. "Long live the Soviet Union!" "Hands off the Soviet Union!"—these are words which the German proletarians hurl in the faces of their executioners. These are the words which are heard everywhere where there are exploited and oppressed.

The Soviet Union, where all power is in the hands of the workers, is the only fatherland of the enslaved and oppressed workers, peasants, and other toilers, all the world over. The Soviet Union, where there is no unemployment, no anxiety for the coming day, is the fatherland of all those millions in the capitalist countries, who have been thrown on the streets as "wreckage," or who are threatened with this fate at any moment. The Soviet Union, on whose collective farms the peasantry, ably supported by the proletarian power, are advancing rapidly to prosperity, is the fatherland of all the poor and middle peasantry of the world who suffer from the multifarious robbery imposed upon them by the State, the banks, the landowners, and usurers, who live in constant uncertainty, never knowing what fresh torments the next day may bring. The Soviet Union, which has been transformed from a prison, confining almost 200 oppressed nations, into a land of free and mutually advantageous collaboration among all the peoples living on its territory, is the fatherland of the hundreds of millions of the toiling masses of the oppressed peoples and of all colonial slaves all over the world.

When *Otto J. Schmidt*, the leader of the "*Chelyuskin*" expedition, was asked how the collective of one hundred souls on the ice floe was able to maintain such heroic discipline in face of two months of uninterrupted danger of death, Comrade Schmidt replied:—

"We did not think about astonishing the world, we did not want to be heroes. We simply had to fight for our lives with the best methods given us by the Soviet organisations, and taught us by the Communist Party."

The Soviet fatherland is above all the fatherland of the toiling masses of the whole world for the reason that it shows them the best—no! the *only* method—of fighting for their lives, for lives worthy of human beings, for the prosperity and freedom of the whole of the toiling masses. And the Soviet Union itself, numbering millions, is the most decisive factor in this struggle. To defend the Soviet fatherland means, to every member of the toiling masses, within and without the Soviet Union: to defend his own life against enslavement, exploitation, want, and misery. The defence of the Soviet fatherland is the highest law of the international class struggle and the supreme guarantee of victory on a world-wide scale.

The Week in the Soviet Union

Formation of a People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union has decided on the formation of a People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs which will incorporate the O.G.P.U. The new People's Commissariat is entrusted with the maintenance of revolutionary order, the safety of the State, the protection of socialist property, the registration of civil contracts, and the protection of the frontiers. The following main sections will be organised in the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs: (1) Safety of the State, (2) workers' and peasants' militia, (3) protection of the interior and of the frontiers, (4) fire brigade, (5) work camps and work settlements, (6) registration of civil contracts, and (7) administrative-economic section.

The corresponding People's Commissariats for Internal Affairs will be established in the Federal Republics on the basis of the regulations of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union. The R.S.F.S.R. will receive, instead of a People's Commissariat, a bureau of a plenipotentiary of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union.

The court collegium of the O.G.P.U. will be dissolved. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and its local organs will be instructed to hand over the criminal cases, after the conclusion of their examination, to the corresponding courts for

further treatment. Cases concerning the administration and the safety of the State are to be transferred to the Supreme Court, cases concerning high treason, espionage, etc., to the military collegium of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union or the military tribunals. A special department will be organised in the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs which on the basis of special provisions will be empowered to pronounce by administrative measures the penalties of exile, labour camp up to five years and expulsion from the Soviet Union.

Jagoda, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs

Comrade Heinrich Jagoda, who has been appointed People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, belongs to the old generation of revolutionaries who were prominent in the organisation of three revolutions and are now occupying foremost positions in the construction of Socialism.

Jagoda is the son of a small artisan of Nishni-Novgorod. When he was still a student he belonged to illegal circles, these living laboratories of revolutionary ideas which captured ever fresh points of support among the masses. In the years 1904-5 Jagoda worked in an illegal printing works and took part in building up the defence organisation. In the year 1907 Jagoda joined the Party, at the time of blackest reaction, and he has been fighting for 27 years under the banner of the Party, occupying the most responsible and most dangerous posts in the front of the proletarian revolution. After his entry into the Party he passed through the usual path of the professional revolutionary: illegality, arrest, imprisonment, exile. After the February revolution Jagoda worked in the Bolshevik military organisation. In the October days he stood in the ranks of the immediate participants of the struggles of the great revolution. Soon after the October revolution Jagoda became editor of the newspaper "Village Poor." In the years 1918-19 he fought at the fronts of the civil war. In 1920 he was elected a member of the Presidium of the Cheka and became one of the closest collaborators of Dzjershinski. Since the year 1924 Jagoda has been deputy chairman of the G.P.U. He became prominent in this position as active leader of the struggle against the counter-revolution and the wreckers, but also as a splendid organiser of the economic and cultural work of the G.P.U. His name is connected with the famous commune "Bolshevo" as well as with the construction of a number of first-class Soviet farms and the construction of the White-Sea-Baltic Canal.

The Sixteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. elected Jagoda as candidate of its C.C., the Seventeenth Party Congress elected him as member of the Central Committee. In addition, Jagoda is also member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

The "Pravda" on the Formation of the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs

In its leading article of July 11th the "Pravda" writes: "This decree on the formation of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs is proof of the consolidated power of the Soviet Union and of the unshakable firmness of the Soviet fatherland. The land of the proletarian dictatorship towers up like a powerful rock. The forces hostile to the proletariat have been smashed inside the Soviet Union. The collective farm system has finally and irrevocably triumphed. On the whole the kulaks have been liquidated. The proletarian dictatorship is strong as never before, the power of the Soviet Union is great as never before, and its international situation is consolidated. The Soviet Union is strong, thanks to the tens of thousands of tons of pig-iron and steel which are daily produced in the Soviet smelting furnaces and Martin ovens. The Soviet country is strong, thanks to the new hundreds of Soviet tractors which are daily manufactured in the Stalin-grad, Kharkov and Cheliabinsk works. The Soviet country is strong, thanks to the large network of new towns, factories and Soviet farms; it is strong, thanks to the 200,000 collective farms, each of which is becoming a stronghold of the Soviet power. Powerful aeroplane squadrons are hovering over the Soviet country, protecting the peaceful work of 170 millions of people against air attacks. The Soviet country is strong, thanks to the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army, which is equipped with the last word in modern technique. Millions of collective farmers are acquiring the necessary skill for the defence of their country. The Soviet Union is also strong owing to the fact that the toiling masses realise that they are working, fighting and triumphing for their own cause, a fact which applies to no other country in the world.

One of the proofs of the strength of the Soviet Union consists in the incorporation of the O.G.P.U. into the newly established People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. O.G.P.U.! This name is mentioned with deepest love by scores of millions of workers and peasants both inside and outside the Soviet Union. "Terror of the bourgeoisie and untiring guardian of the revolution—sharp sword of the working class," thus Stalin called the O.G.P.U.

Untiring guardian of the revolution! After the October revolution the G.P.U. crushed the counter-revolution and ruthlessly smashed the resistance of the enemies of the proletariat. Numerous conspiracies, cases of espionage, terror, sabotage activity, all these intertwining forms of the undermining of the proletarian dictatorship were discovered and liquidated by the Cheka and later the O.G.P.U. With lightning rapidity it hit the agents of capitalism who wanted to weaken the power of the Soviet country. Arising from the proletarian revolution the O.G.P.U. also proved that it is not only able to punish but to educate. Whilst ousting the poisonous reptile of the counter-revolution from the workers' and peasants' country, the O.G.P.U. at the same time remodelled tens of thousands of human beings who had been mutilated by capitalism. Thousands of former bandits, members of anti-Soviet groups, criminals, the scum of bourgeois society, were converted in the camps and labour communes of the O.G.P.U. into honest working members of the new socialist society.

The State apparatus is working with increasing precision in tune with the rhythm of Soviet planned economy. The Soviet court, which is consolidating and improving its work, is now able to guarantee a complete and rapid examination of all cases concerning the security of the State. Hence the court collegium of the O.G.P.U. is being dissolved by government decree.

Of course, the formation of this new People's Commissariat does not mean a weakening of the struggle against the enemies of the Soviet State, the agents of international capital. The Soviet Court will know how to deal ruthlessly with the traitors who will not escape the attentive eyes of the organs of the new People's Commissariat. Revolutionary order now reigns in the towns and villages of the Soviet Union, whilst the streets of the capitalist towns are flooded with the blood of people executed without any court proceedings. The fascist bourgeoisie tries to drown its anxiety and fear of the approaching day of revolution in the blood of the revolutionary workers, in the blood of the toilers, even in the blood of its own followers. Even in the streets of "peaceful" Amsterdam proletarian blood was shed during the last few days. Tanks, gas, armoured cars and machine-guns—these are the arguments of bourgeois "order," and the capitalist governments are employing them more and more frequently and more and more brutally. On the other hand, the revolutionary order in the Soviet Union is becoming more and more firmly established. The strengthening of the role of the Soviet courts will result in a further strengthening of the socialist feelings of justice of the masses.

Book Reviews

P. M. Bykov: *The Last Days of Tsardom**

By R. B. (London)

The author of this book was the chairman of the Ekaterinburg Soviet when, in July, 1918, that body decided that in view of the approaching capture of the town by the Czechs the last of the tsars and his family should be executed. No one could write with more authority upon this subject.

As Andrew Rothstein points out in his preface, giving chapter and verse for his statement, the capitalist admirers of the tsardom have built a legend around Nicholas that is as far from the truth as it possibly could be. None who have made even the most perfunctory study of the reign of Nicholas, the Bloody, could be deceived by this legend, but if there be any among the working class who still believe that Nicholas and his spouse were—in the words of Sir William Jowett, K.C.—"a devoted couple who, according to the best of their beliefs, were doing their best for Russia," then they should read this book of Bykov.

If the Romanov legend needs de-bunking, the job is done very

thoroughly here, both in the historical preface and in the main body. For those, also, who are pleased to place the execution of the Romanovs in the same category as the sadistic debauches of Nazidom, this book will also come as a salutary corrective.

Bykov in this book traces the events that led up to the Revolution of 1917, the struggle of the bourgeoisie after 1905 for a share in political power commensurate with the economic power they wielded. Thus, as the incapacity of the tsarist bureaucracy led to disaster after disaster in the imperialist war, the bourgeoisie came more and more into opposition to it. By February, 1917, a Palace Revolution was definitely prepared, while the imperial government having got wind of this fact had prepared a counter-blow. But before either could take effect the working class entered the field.

This book describes the abdication of Nicholas and the decision of the provisional government to deprive Nicholas and his wife of their liberty, "in order to save them from the fury of the aroused masses." At Tsarskoye Selo and, later at Tobolsk, the tsar lived, a prisoner in name, but in great state. His friends, the monarchists, assisted by Kerensky, hoped to smuggle him away to England, whose government had promised hospitality. But the vigilance of the workers prevented this taking place. The workers saw what a rallying point for all the forces of reaction the Romanovs at liberty in England would be.

The style in which Nicholas lived in those days may be seen from the fact that he had with him, in addition to a number of Court officials, a retinue of domestics—beginning with his valet and ending with the kitchen boy—numbering thirty-five in all.

The happy days of the Romanovs came to an end with the advent of the October Revolution. In February, 1918, the Romanov family were deprived of their luxurious living and transferred to soldiers' rations. The tutor entered in his diary on the first day of the new regime: "As from to-day butter and coffee are excluded from our table as articles of luxury." On April 26 the family was transferred to the proletarian Urals, away from the White plotters for their rescue.

In Ekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk) it was arranged that the Romanov family should be tried at the first suitable opportunity for their crimes against the people. But by July it became obvious that the town would have to be evacuated. The military command reported to the City Soviet that the situation was very bad. The Czechs had already outflanked the city from the south, and were attacking it on two sides. The Red forces were inadequate and the city might be expected to fall at any time.

A decision was taken to execute the Romanovs without waiting for trial. Their execution and the destruction of the bodies was entrusted to the commanders of the guard and a few reliable Communist workers. The execution of the tyrant and his brood was carried out in the basement of the house that had been their last dwelling place. The body was taken to the forests and buried in quick lime. Thus ended the Romanov dynasty.

The counter-revolution took the town. They wreaked a bloody vengeance on the workers, but they never found the bodies, nor any remains which they could tout round as holy relics. In 1919 the Whites, under the infamous Kolchak, were routed from Siberia, and once more Ekaterinburg became a fortress of the proletarian revolution, never more to be relinquished.

Andrew Rothstein in his introduction provides a picture of Nicholas from the pen of Golovin the moderate Liberal President of the Second Duma. Golovin says of him, among many other unpleasant things:—

"By nature cunning, double-faced and cowardly, he readily consents to let another's head bear the brunt of the hatred aroused by his own internal policy. . . . He always acts deliberately, crookedly, often malignantly sneers at society, yet at the same time maintains a cowardly screen of dissembled simplicity. To maintain the greatest power in his own hands he sticks at nothing. The interests of the dynasty and of petty personal pride are for him above the interests of the State."

This is the creature of whom the British interventionists would fain have made a martyr and a hero. His execution was no mere act of revenge. It was undertaken as an act of social defence at a critical moment in the history of the Revolution, and the great mass of the workers will endorse the heroism of those Urals' workers who took so decisive a decision at a crucial moment and thus deprived the reaction of a rallying point around which to focus the forces of counter-revolution and intervention throughout the world.

* *The Last Days of Tsardom*, with introduction by A. Rothstein. Martin Lawrence, London. 2s. 6d.

Twenty Years Ago

The Twentieth Anniversary of the First Imperialist World War

These theses on the 20th Anniversary of the outbreak of the imperialist war represent the work of a group of scientists collaborating in the Institute for Economics and World Politics.—En.

The 20th anniversary of the first imperialist great war is a date commemorating one of the bloodiest crimes which capital has ever committed against the peoples of the whole world, and at the same time the threatening warning signal of the fresh crime being prepared by international capital. It is a date on which a balance-sheet is issued in the international struggle between socialism and capitalism, the signal for a fresh international attack on the fortifications of wage slavery, of the financial strangulation of the peoples, and of colonial slave rule. The lessons taught by the outbreak and spread of the imperialist war, the lessons of the struggle between predatory war and proletarian revolution, the lessons of the struggle between socialism which has conquered and created the great stronghold of the Soviet Union and decaying parasite, capitalism—doomed to extinction and therefore ready for war and fascism—all these lessons are the guides for the action to be taken to-day.

I. "The Secret with which the Birth of War is Surrounded"

(1) In order to deceive the masses of the people, and to consolidate its class rule over them, the imperialist bourgeoisie makes every possible effort to veil the "real circumstances of the great secret with which the birth of a war is surrounded." (Lenin, Vol. 27, p. 372.)

"The law of the unequal development of capitalism in the epoch of the rule of financial capital means that there is a spasmodic development in some countries in comparison with others, a rapid ousting of some countries by others on the world's markets, periodic redivisioning of the already divided world as result of war conflicts and military catastrophes, an aggravation of the conflicts in the camp of imperialism, a weakening of the front of world capitalism; the possibility of breaking through this front by the proletariat of a number of countries, the possibility of the victory of socialism in some countries." (Stalin, VII. E.C.C.I. Plenum. Vol. 2, p. 318.)

"Since 1871 Germany has strengthened three to four times more rapidly than England and France, Japan ten times more rapidly than Russia." (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 233.)

"The war has arisen out of the imperialist relations of the great Powers to one another, that is to say, out of the struggle for the division of the spoil, out of the quarrel as to who is to swallow up this or that colony or small State. And in this war two conflicts of interest take the leading part: firstly, that between England and Germany; secondly, that between Germany and Russia. These three great Powers, these three mighty highwaymen, are the leading factors in the present war, the remainder are dependent allies." (Lenin, Vol. 19, p. 352.)

(2) The rivalry between England and Germany for the rule of the world markets, and for the redivision of colonial spoil, has brought about a rapprochement between English and French imperialisms. England thirsted for the destruction of its most dangerous competitor, Germany, whilst French imperialism was anxious to take revenge on German imperialism for the defeat of 1870, and endeavoured at the same time to maintain and secure its own colonial spoil and its financial interests in Turkey and in the Balkans. As early as 1891, the Franco-Russian alliance treaty was concluded. After Japan, supported by England (alliance treaty of 1902), had dealt an annihilating defeat to tsarist Russia on the fields of Manchuria, England was anxious to form at the same time an imperialist united front against the Persian revolution, and persuaded the tsarist government to sign an agreement (31st August, 1907) on the division of the spheres of influence in Asia (Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet). The aggravation of the struggle

between Russian and Austro-German imperialisms in the Balkans and Turkey (Dardanelles question) promoted the temporary rapprochement. Tsarist Russia was the "mighty reservoir of European imperialism," "the watch-dog of imperialism in Eastern Europe," the "agent of West European imperialism in squeezing out of the population hundreds of millions in interest on the loans," the "most faithful ally of West European imperialism in the dismemberment of Turkey, Persia, China, etc." (Stalin, "Problems of Leninism." First sequence. Moscow, 1931.) The Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 signified in addition to the German-French agreement of 1904, the formation of a new imperialist grouping, opposed by the Entente to the Triple Alliance.

(3) The war between China and Japan in 1894, the war between Italy and Abyssinia, the war between Greece and Turkey in 1897, the war between the United States and Spain in 1898, the conflict between England and France in the Fashoda question in 1898, the war by England on the Boer Free States in South Africa in 1899-1900, the war of the imperialist Powers against China for the suppression of the Boxer rising in 1900, the war between England and Tibet in 1904, the war waged by Germany to suppress the rising of the Herero in South-West Africa in 1904-1905, the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-05, the conflict between Germany and France with regard to Morocco in 1905-06, the conflict between Japan and the United States in 1907, the Russian intervention in Persia in 1908-1912, the annexation of Bosnia by Austro-Hungary in 1908-09, the second Morocco conflict between France and Germany in 1911, the Italo-Turkish war on account of Tripolis in 1911-12, the first Balkan war in 1912, the second Balkan war in 1913, the Greco-Turkish conflict in 1914—all these wars and conflicts were preliminary stages on the road to the general world massacre.

"In thousands of different ways, in thousands of newspapers, from thousands of pulpits, speeches are trumpeted on patriotism, on culture, on native country, on peace and progress, and all this simply in order to obtain fresh hundreds of millions of roubles for every imaginable tool of annihilation, for cannons, for dread-noughts, etc." (Lenin, complete works, vol. 6, page 358.) "Armaments are considered as a national cause, a patriotic cause; it is assumed that all participants will keep the secret strictly. But the shipbuilding yards and cannon foundries, the dynamite and arms factories, are international undertakings, in which the capitalists of the various countries utterly cheat the 'public' of these various countries, for ships and cannon are manufactured here just as well for England against Italy as for Italy against England." (Lenin, *Ibid.*, page 405.) "International capital does excellent business in wars and armaments." (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 334.)

The general staffs became tremendously active, and the movers of the imperialist coalition plans kept zealously at work (repeated meetings of the chiefs of the general staffs of Austria and Germany in July, 1914, the meeting of Wilhelm II. with Franz Ferdinand, the Anglo-French agreement of 1912 on a joint military action against Germany, the conclusion of the Franco-Russian naval convention in 1912, etc.). All peace conferences and disarmament negotiations served the sole purpose of gaining an idea of the strength of the enemy and of concealing military espionage.

(4) The immediate impetus for the outbreak of the war was given by the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, on 28th July, 1914, in Sarajevo. The military manoeuvres carried on by Austria near Sarajevo, in the immediate vicinity of the Servian frontier, were nothing else than a provocation against Servia. This provocatory action on the part of Austro-German imperialism encountered a similar provocation from the secret organisation of the Servian officers, the "Black Hand," subsidised by the tsarist government. The murder of Franz Ferdinand, carried out by a Greater Servian terrorist organisation, was committed with the connivance of certain dissatisfied circles of the Austrian aristocracy and of the Hungarian large landowners. The fairy tale spread by the bourgeoisie on "How the war arose" is pure lies and deception. Whilst Germany continued to urge

Austria to war on Serbia and on tsarist Russia backing it up, at the same time British diplomacy commenced as early as July 8th to incite tsarism to make an armed attack on Austria and the Germany standing behind it. At the time when the President of the French Republic, Poincaré, was visiting Petersburg, the last secret agreements on a joint Franco-Russian action were concluded. The dispatch of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia was fixed intentionally for the date of Poincaré's departure from Russia. The alliance of the French Exchange and Russian tsarism had decided to accept the challenge of Austro-German imperialism.

English diplomacy did not at first openly show its cards in the game which was to cost the lives of dozens of millions of people. Whilst cautiously encouraging tsarist Russia and France behind the scenes, it fostered at the same time certain illusions in Berlin as to English intentions to preserve neutrality in the impending European war. It came forward with proposals of "peace" and "intermediation," but these came invariably too late, and were carefully arranged to ensure their failure. Meanwhile, British diplomacy, protected by this cloak of pacifism, was able to take part, in profoundest secrecy so far as the masses of the population were concerned, in the kindling of the conflagration between the European Powers. It was not until the whole mechanism of diplomacy and mobilisation was in full swing in all the leading imperialist countries of Europe, making the war finally inevitable, that English imperialism finally threw down its mask, and exploited the violation of Belgian neutrality as a pretext for taking part in the war which it had been preparing for years, and which it had deliberately continued to incite during the pre-war crisis. The violation of Belgian neutrality formed part of the definite plans of the general staffs long before the war, both in Germany (Schlieffen plan) and in France and England (negotiations in 1906 and 1911).

'5) Lenin wrote as follows on the collapse of the Second International, which freed the hands of the bourgeoisie for the imperialist war:—

"The opportunists had long been preparing this collapse by rejecting the socialist revolution and substituting for it bourgeois reformism; by repudiating the class struggle with its inevitable transformation into civil war at certain moments, and by preaching class collaboration; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism under the name of patriotism and defence of the fatherland and ignoring or repudiating the fundamental truth of Socialism early expressed in the Communist Manifesto, namely, that the workers have no fatherland; by confining themselves in their struggle against militarism to a sentimental philistine point of view, instead of recognising the necessity of a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries against the bourgeoisie of all countries; by turning the necessary utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois legality into a fetish of this legality, and into forgetfulness of the duty to have illegal forms of organisation and agitation in times of crises." (Lenin: "The War and the Second International," page 60.) Social democracy worked for the ideological and organisational disarming of the proletariat in the interests of imperialism. "The military organisation was at hand; in this organisation there was no betrayal of leaders; it called the masses individually, confronting each with the ultimatum: 'Either you go in the army according to the advice of your leaders or you will be shot.' The masses could not act in an organised fashion, because their organisation previously created (an organisation embodied in a 'handful' of Legiens, Kautskys, and Scheidemanns) had betrayed them. As for the creation of a new organisation, time is required, determination to throw out the old, rotten, obsolete organisation is required." (Lenin: "The War and the Second International," page 37.)

This disarming of the proletariat, and its subjugation to the war machine of imperialism, were made possible by the alliance between the allegedly Marxist centre around Kautsky and his consorts and the openly bourgeois reformism. On the one hand the Second International, on the insistence of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, undertook at the International Socialist Congress in 1907 in Stuttgart "to do their utmost, in case of war, to bring it to an end as speedily as possible, and to utilise the economic and political crisis created by the war for the purpose of arousing the masses of the people and accelerating the overthrow of the rule of capital." This undertaking it repeated at the Basle Congress in 1912. But in daily political practice the social democratic parties pursued the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, and actively supported their imperialist plans, and spread at the

same time illusive hopes that the "democratic" forces of capitalism, to which they reckoned internationally united financial capital, would be able to avoid the danger of a world war. Sembat, the future minister of war, the advocate of Kerensky with Poincaré in intervention matters, designated the decisions of the International Congress as a mere scrap of paper. In Germany, the Molkenbuhns, Noskes, Eberts, etc., gave quite open support to the Kaiser in questions of international and colonial policy. Kautsky and his followers had developed their theory of "ultra-imperialism," the theory of the "absorption" of all "national antagonisms" by super-national financial capital. Bebel made an attempt to avoid the German-French conflict by means of a conference of German and French parliamentarians in 1913. The oaths taken by Hervé, Vaillant, Keir Hardie, to resort to the general strike or the uprising as the reply to a war, were nothing but the self-deception of despairing petty bourgeois who were already hopelessly entangled in the nets of imperialism.

The social-democratic centre, the pacifist bog, covered and promoted this open support of imperialism.

The Party of the Bolsheviki, long before 1914, was the only Party realising in actual practice the legacy left by Marx and Engels in all questions, including the war question. From the first beginnings of the revolutionary workers' movement in Russia onwards, Lenin and his followers made the struggle for the Communist revolution the guiding line of their whole activities. (See "Who are the friends of the people," 1894.) Bolshevism gave the revolution of 1905-07 its decisive character, transforming it into a "general rehearsal for October," which aroused a number of revolutions in the East (Persian revolution 1906-1911, Turkish 1908, Chinese 1911-1913), and a number of revolutionary movements in the West and the East. Crushed by the "loads of petty-bourgeois opportunist rubbish in the socialist parties" (Lenin: vol. 13, page 110), weakened by revisionism and centrism, the socialist labour movement in the West was unable to develop before the war a really independent and revolutionary proletarian wing capable of a complete rupture with the opportunists of the Second International, and this although the Bolsheviki exerted themselves to the utmost (Copenhagen Congress 1907) to weld together an international "Left."

II.—The Development and the Stages of the Imperialist War

(a) The Collapse of the Plans for a "Lightning War"

(1). At the beginning of the war the governments of both blocks stopped at nothing in order to manoeuvre the enemy politically into the position of "attacker." Whipping up a storm of chauvinism and utilising the support accorded to the war by the treacherous social democracy the bourgeoisie of all the belligerent countries did their utmost to present their own country as the victim of an unprovoked attack and to present their own war aims as ideals of freedom. The Allies operated with loud shouts of their "struggle for democracy" and their "defence of poor little Belgium and poor little Serbia," whilst the members of the Triple Alliance presented themselves as fighters against tsarist oppression and against predatory British imperialism. The general staffs of both coalitions prepared themselves for a short and pleasant little war which was to bring them victory, complete and speedy, over their opponents. However, these hopes showed themselves to be ill-founded in the very earliest stages of the war.

The losses suffered by all the armies concerned as a result of the use of antiquated fighting tactics and methods were enormous. These losses were rendered still more frightful as a result of the attitude of the army commanders, who regarded the men at their disposal as so much "cannon-fodder" and sacrificed their lives ruthlessly. In the first few months of the war the French armies alone lost over six hundred thousand men, including over three hundred thousand dead and missing.

The semi-victory of the Marne made the question of the further conduct of the war an urgent one. The "race to the sea" began (15th September to the 15th November) and represented the last period of "manoeuvre warfare." When it had ended both sides were ensconced in a fortified line of trenches from the Belgian coast to the Swiss frontier. Both sides dug themselves in and erected barbed-wire entanglements. Under the cover of these defences they began to prepare themselves for new operations, whose course, when they did begin, demonstrated how thoroughly the imperialists of both sides had deceived themselves when they had hoped for a speedy and decisive victory.

The new methods of warfare demanded the "mobilisation of industry," and at the same time showered enormous profits into the lap of the capitalists who supplied the governments with war materials. In the very first months of the war it was seen clearly that the army of the tsar was completely unprepared for the conduct of a war under modern conditions. At the demand of the French government, and in accordance with the agreement which had been made with France for the supply of cannon-fodder for the struggle against Germany, two big Russian armies were flung, without the necessary preparation and with divided forces, against a smaller but modern German army. The result was one heavy defeat after the other. The victory of the tsarist armies as a result of their numerical superiority over the Austrian troops with their unreliable, anti-Habsburg composition, led to the temporary occupation of almost the whole of Galicia, which immediately suffered all the atrocities and oppression of a tsarist occupation. After bloody struggles on the Vistula, the tsarist general staff was reluctantly compelled to abandon its adventurous plan for a march on Berlin. The winter of 1914 found the troops of the tsar and the troops of the Austro-German armies stuck in the trenches of Poland and Galicia.

At the end of October, 1914, Turkey entered the war against the Entente. On the one hand it was jockeyed into the war by Germany, which had promised support, and on the other hand it was provoked by the Allies, which had rejected its peace proposals.

By the end of 1914 the imperialist war had taken on the character of a world war, with the bombardment of the Dardanelles by a Franco-British fleet, the advance of the tsarist troops into Persian territory towards the frontiers of Iraq, the Caucasian-Turkish front, the war in Africa and the declaration of a British protectorate over Egypt. The Allies mobilised all their resources, both militarily and industrially, and both at home and in their colonies. Germany plundered the areas it had occupied in Belgium, Northern France and Poland.

(b) The Fronts Solidify

(1) Along a front over eight hundred kilometres in extent, anything from two to over four million men lived in trenches on both sides of the line for more than three years. Workers and peasants in uniform lay in mud and blood suffering terrible privations and subjected to an almost continuous bombardment by all calibres of guns. An advance of a few hundred yards often cost tens of thousands of lives.

The failures on the French front in 1915, the terrible losses suffered by the French army and the halting development of the war industry—all these things intensified the bickerings between the bourgeois parties in France. A period of never-ending crises in the Cabinet and in the general staff began, and not only in France, but also in Great Britain and other countries.

In May, 1915, the big German offensive in Galicia and Poland opened up. The retreat which the Russian armies were compelled to beat owing to the shortage of munitions developed into a rout and enormous quantities of war materials were left in the hands of the advancing enemy. All the successes gained in 1914 were destroyed. Austrian troops again occupied Lemberg. The German troops entered Warsaw and established a fearful regime of occupation over Poland. By the end of September the Russian retreat had ended and the armies had dug themselves in along a new front extending from the Gulf of Riga to the Bukovina. Poland, Galicia, Lithuania and Latvia were lost to Russia. During its retreat the tsarist command drove millions of the population of the lost areas before the army into the Russian Hinterland as "fugitives" and organised anti-Jewish pogroms under the pretext of fighting "espionage." The defeats suffered by the tsarist armies led to a change in the High Command. The Rasputin clique made Nicholas II. the Supreme Commander of the Russian armies, and at the same time tsarism made a number of concessions to the bourgeoisie in return for its mobilisation of industry for war purposes.

Despite its victories, the German command began to suffer severely from its lack of reserves. In the East, operations were stifled in the mud and blood of trench warfare along a line of over 1,200 kilometres.

(2) During the course of 1915 the fighting fronts were still further extended. New millions of people were drawn into the war. After long negotiations with both sides, Italy signed an agreement with the Allies on the 26th April, 1915. In this agreement the Allies declared themselves prepared in return for Italy's

support in the war to divide the spoils with Italy and grant it big areas in Southern Austria, the Albanian harbour Valonia, the Greek islands of the Dodecanes, a part of the Turkish possessions in Asia Minor, and a part of the African colonies. This agreement was obviously directed not only against the German bloc, but also against the allies of the Entente, against Serbia which demanded the area occupied by the Croats. A new front sprang up—the Italian front. Fighting began on new fronts in the Balkans. The fighting in Gallipoli, a narrow peninsula with frightful climatic and sanitary conditions, cost Great Britain 230,000 men, including 30,000 dead. The fighting in the Balkans proceeded to the accompaniment of intensified bickering amongst the Entente Powers and of diplomatic intrigues on the part of both war blocs. During the operations in the Dardanelles (March, 1915), Great Britain and France agreed to let tsarist Russia have Constantinople and the command of the Dardanelles after the successful conclusion of the war. In the same year, Germany succeeded in drawing Bulgaria into the war on its side in return for promises of territorial aggrandisement at Serbia's expense after the war.

At the beginning of October, 1915, a great army composed of German, Austrian, and Bulgarian troops took up the offensive against Serbia, smashed the Serbian army, and occupied the greater part of Serbia.

In February, 1916, Germany turned its attention to the Atlantic coast and at the same time Great Britain sharpened its blockade of Germany.

(c) In the Hell around Verdun

(1) In its efforts to find a way out of the cul de sac of trench warfare the German High Command decided to launch a new offensive against the "chief enemy"—France. The section of the front opposite Verdun was chosen as the scene of operations.

The necessary masses of troops, supported by a huge concentration of artillery, were brought to the sector, and the bloody drama of Verdun began.

The frightful carnage around Verdun is an object-lesson of the terrible cul de sac into which both imperialist coalitions had run themselves. The bitter struggle for every foot of ground, pitted with shell holes, around the ruins of the forts, lasted throughout the year. The losses on both sides totalled something like 700,000 men, including at least 250,000 dead, on this one sector of the front alone.

In order to draw German troops away from the Verdun sector the Entente launched an offensive on the Somme, which opened on the 1st July and lasted until the end of the year. In the "Hell on the Somme" both sides lost about a million men. The German troops lost over a hundred thousand prisoners alone and 350 guns. This was the beginning of a certain swing over in favour of the Entente.

(2) The only big success which the tsarist troops won throughout the war was the "Break-through at Luck," in Volhynia, which was carried out in June-August by the Russian armies on the South-West front. In this action the Austrian army lost over 700,000 men, including 217,000 prisoners. This success was due to the numerical superiority of the Russian forces and to the fact that the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian army had already reached an advanced stage. It represented also the last big military effort of tsarism.

In order to deliver a blow against Austro-Hungary and Bulgaria, the Entente diplomats had been trying for a long time to persuade Rumania to join the war on the side of the Entente. As the price Rumania was promised not only Hungarian Transylvania, but also Russian Bessarabia. Rumania accepted the price and sent its armies into Hungarian territory. The campaign ended with a tremendous defeat of the Rumanian army, and in December German troops marched into Bucharest.

(3) In 1915 and 1916 the war extended in the Near East and brought untold suffering to the peoples of Armenia, Persia, Iraq, and Palestine, in addition to subjecting the troops engaged to terrible privations. In February, 1916, the forces of Yudenitch occupied Erzerum, and in April Trebizond and Bitlis. The troops of Baratov marched into Persia and advanced on Bagdad. In Arabia the British agent, Lawrence, bribed the Arab sheiks of the Hedjas and instigated an "insurrection" against Turkey in the desert, which threatened the Turkish army in Palestine in the rear. The colonial peoples were seized with the war fever and became victims of imperialist plundering, military conscription and forced labour in the rear of the imperialist armies.

(4) On the 16th May, 1916, the biggest naval battle of the war took place off the west coast of Jutland. Sixty-four ships of the line, 50 cruisers and 170 destroyers, as well as other naval units, took part in the action. The British fleet lost 14 vessels, or a total of 117,000 tons, while the German fleet lost 11 vessels, with a total of 60,000 tons. After this battle neither of the fleets involved ever put out to sea again with the intention of meeting the enemy.

Big battles on sea slid into the background, and instead a new form of naval warfare came into prominence and developed rapidly—submarine warfare—a form of warfare which spelt increasing privations and suffering for the masses. The German submarines torpedoed capital ships of the enemy in the Atlantic Ocean, along the British coasts, in the Bay of Biscay, in the Baltic Ocean, in the White Sea and on the coasts of Morocco, and they slipped through the Straits of Dover into the Channel and along the French coast.

(d) The Revolutionary Crisis Advances

(1) In the Hinterland and at the fronts of the imperialist war the beginnings of a new and dangerous phenomenon began to show themselves—the exhaustion and discontent of the masses. The bourgeoisie made an attempt to swing round the helm of world politics and the feelers for the conclusion of an imperialist peace became more numerous (the negotiations of Austria with the Entente and of Germany with Russia, the first peace proposals of Wilson and of the Pope, etc.) under the cloak of pacifist phrases, phrases about a “democratic peace,” peace without annexations, etc.—phrases which have since been thoroughly exposed by the Bolsheviks. In reality the Entente was preparing to carry out new offensives, and the collapse of these offensives produced the first mutinies in the French and Russian armies. In the summer of 1918 a mutiny occurred in the German navy. In 1917 the February Revolution in Russia produced a tremendous echo throughout the world. In April, 1917, the Franco-British offensive was opened up and led to a military debacle and the revolutionary insurrections in the French army.

(2) On the Italian front the Italian forces strove to fight their way through to Trieste and suffered tremendous losses. At the end of October the Austro-German armies suddenly made a powerful drive against the Italian front, which broke up before the blow. The debacle of Caporetto intensified the revolutionary ferment in the Italian army, but it was suppressed by the Italian High Command with the assistance of the social traitors.

In the Balkans the Entente succeeded with the help of Venizelos in drawing Greece over to the side of the Allies.

In the Near East a British army pressed forward towards Bagdad, and in March it entered the town. The next stage was the occupation of the petroleum fields in Mossul. At the end of 1917 the British forces penetrated into Palestine and occupied Gaza, Yaffa and Jerusalem.

(3) In the meantime the German submarine operations developed on a gigantic scale. One of the consequences of the unrestricted submarine warfare was the entry of the United States of America into the war on the side of the Allies. American finance-capital reaped a tremendous profit from its war supplies to the Allies, and the United States developed from a debtor of France and Great Britain into a creditor. American finance-capital was not disinclined to enter the war on the side of the Allies and so to clinch the outcome of the war because in the event of the Allies, or in other words, America's debtors losing the war, the prospects for payment would have been very poor. America therefore entered into the mass slaughter and took care to derive all possible advantage from the Peace Treaty of Versailles and its successor agreements (Dawes Plan, etc.).

The imperialist war necessarily produced a revolutionary

crisis. “In tsarist Russia, where the disorganisation was worst of all and where the proletariat was most revolutionary . . . the revolutionary crisis broke out first of all.” (Lenin.)

The October Revolution which broke the chain of imperialist dominance, opened up the period of revolution, and showed the masses the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The new proletarian Republic utilised the antagonisms between the various imperialist Powers to its own advantage and thanks to the brilliant strategy of Lenin it gained a breathing space in which it built up the Red Army for the struggle against the White Guardist armies and against the threatening intervention of the allies. In this situation, suffering from blockade and hunger, and with all its forces at the point of exhaustion, German imperialism, like a gambler faced with ruin, placed all its resources on one card—and lost. With the increasing flow of American troops into France (in April there were only 300,000 men, but by November there were already about a million American troops in France) the relation of military forces changed to Germany's disadvantage. In the second half of 1918 the allied armies, equipped with thousands of guns, tanks and aeroplanes, opened up their offensive against the German front and the German army had lost its picked cadres.

“The suppression of the revolution in Latvia, Finland, and the Ukraine cost Germany the disintegration of her army. The defeat of Germany on the Western front was to a great extent due to the fact that the old German army no longer existed. . . . The spirit of protest grew. ‘High treason’ became a daily phenomenon in the German army.” (Lenin.)

In the Balkans the war ended with the collapse of Bulgaria, whereupon the remnants of the Austro-Hungarian empire were compelled to accept the predatory terms of the armistice agreement. With the end of the war the old Austro-Hungarian empire ceased to exist.

Both Italy and Rumania were now amongst the “victors,” and they exploited the internal antagonisms in the camp of the Allies.

In the countries of the Near East the imperialist war came to an end with the annexation of Iraq and Palestine and the occupation of Persia by the troops of British imperialism, and with the annexation of Syria and a part of Asia Minor by France. At the same time a powerful national-revolutionary movement developed in the Eastern countries oppressed by the Allies—Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, India, and China. The colonial slaves of imperialism who had paid their oppressors heavy tribute in blood began to transform the war for the oppression of the peoples into a national-revolutionary war.

The losses and destruction caused by the imperialist war were tremendous, and in this connection no other war of history can compare with it. About 43 million people were mobilised by the Allies during the war, and of these about nine millions were killed or died of wounds or disease, or were missing. The bloc of the Central European Powers mobilised about 25 million men, and of these about four millions were killed, etc. The number of wounded ran into many millions. The epidemics, etc., which broke out and spread in connection with the imperialist war caused innumerable losses amongst the civilian populations. The working people of the districts occupied by the enemy (Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, Poland, Galicia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia, the Western Ukraine, etc.) suffered terribly. The imperialist war showed the reactionary nature of capitalism in all its clarity in its present stage of imperialist development, but at the same time it cleared the way for revolutions, civil war and national-revolutionary war all over the world, and prepared the way for the victory of Socialism everywhere.

(To be concluded.)