

INTERNATIONAL

17 1933

Vol. 12 No. 57

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY
ALABAMA

22nd Dec. 1932

CORRESPONDENCE

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Dönhoff 2856 and 2867.

CONTENTS

Lenski: The Situation in Poland and the Communist Party	1218	The White Terror	
Politics		O.: Continue the Action against the Terror in Yugoslavia!	1226
Obarov: The Manoeuvres of the Dictatorship Government in Yugoslavia	1219	Proletarian Commemoration Days	
Coenen: The New Government in Belgium	1219	P. Mif: The Fifth Anniversary of the Canton Commune	1227
From Soviet China		The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries	
Chie-Hua: Spread of the Soviet Movement in North China	1220	Kostas Grypos: The Situation of the Working Class in Greece	1230
Against Imperialist War Preparations		In the International	
R. Bridgeman: Britain and the Lytton Report	1221	G. S.: About the Carrying through of the Decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.	1230
The Chinese Soviet Government and the Lytton Report	1222	A. Struik: Organisation Questions of the C.P. of Holland	1234
Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union			
D. Saslavski: Engineers from the Bench	1224		
W. New Work—New Life. V.	1225		

The New Boncour Government in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The new Cabinet has been formed. The Ministries are distributed as follows: Prime Minister and Foreign Minister—Paul Boncour, Minister for Finance—Cheron, Public Works—Georges Bonnet, Interior—Chautemps, War—Daladier, Air—Painlevé, Agriculture—Queuille, Justice—Gardey, Colonies—Sarraut, National Education—DeMonzie, Ministry for Welfare—Danielou, Trade—Julien Durand, Post—Laurent-Eynac.

The radical Herriot Ministry, which came into office as a result of the "Left" May elections, has been overthrown by the pressure of the mass movement against the proposed restoration of the finances by cutting down the salaries of the State officials and the pensions of ex-servicemen, war-widows etc. The growing unrest of broad sections of the working population in face of the threatening danger of war also contributed not a little to the overthrow of the Herriot government. A change of government was required in order to continue the nationalistic and anti-working class policy by means of new illusions created among the masses. The Boncour Ministry which was formed on Sunday evening, appears to satisfy these demands.

There exists no essential difference between the new government and its predecessor, as 19 members of the present Cabinet were already in the old Cabinet. One can therefore say that its composition is practically the same as that of the Herriot Government.

It is noteworthy, however, that Boncour is simultaneously putting out feelers to the Right and to the Left. Six Ministers have already held office under Poincaré and Tardieu. Two

Left Radicals are in the new government instead of one at the time of Herriot. The Finance Minister is Cheron, who held the same office under Poincaré and Tardieu. Paul Boncour and Eugene Frot, two former social democrats, secure the new government the support of the social democratic fraction, with whom they have maintained close contact even after their withdrawal from the Party.

During the negotiations which preceded the formation of the government, several Ministerial portfolios were offered to the social democrats by Paul Boncour. His negotiations with Blum and Renaudel were carried out in a very friendly spirit. Blum himself stated that there were no fundamental differences of opinion revealed.

The Left mask which the new Ministry has been able to preserve in this manner will, even if only temporarily, foster pacifist and reformist illusions. Nevertheless, like its predecessor, the new Ministry constitutes an intermediate stage to a bourgeois concentration government.

Paul Boncour's appointment as Prime Minister has been well received by the press of the Right. Nationalist circles have always appreciated his patriotism, as he is the author of the military law of 1927, the famous Boncour-law which provides for the mobilisation of the whole nation, including women and children, in the event of war. He is known to be an eager defender of the security clauses of French imperialism and a convinced supporter of the Versailles Treaty. A few weeks ago at Geneva he supported the Japanese standpoint against China. He, the former social democrat, has been elected to the Senate by the nationalist "Union Nationale"

by a considerable majority. And finally, he is the man who described Polish militarism as the guardian of European civilisation.

Be that as it may, the most urgent problem which Boncour is expected to solve is the restoration of the finances. His first measure will be to have a vote taken immediately on the granting of a 12th part of the budget (which the government will then have at its disposal if the budget is not passed before January 1st), and then to demand powers to raise a loan of 3 to 4 milliard francs in order to cover the expenditure at the end of the year. By this means he will probably gain some weeks' respite.

But what will the situation be then? It is said that Paul Boncour intends to abandon Herriot's financial plans in order to carry out a big administrative reform. That is to say, he intends to continue the attacks on the salaries and wages of the civil servants and government employees by roundabout means. He hopes for the support of the reformist organisations in this. If the comparison is permissible, there exists a certain parallel between Boncour and General von Schleicher. Boncour, too, is to some extent a "social" general, whom the

social democracy benevolently tolerates by veiling his chauvinistic anti-working class policy.

A remarkable thing in this connection is the great reserve shown by the "Populaire", the daily organ of the French socialist party, of the 19th inst. It writes, among other things, that one must first know what the financial measures are before one can speak about them. It further writes that Boncour's decision first to submit a financial statement to Parliament should be approved of in any case. Thus it is intended, by means of the social democracy, to weaken the resistance of the masses to measures of the government which allow of no postponement.

The "Echo de Paris" is of the opinion that the new Cabinet has all the weaknesses of the old, with some others added, and predicts for it a very short existence.

This is the conviction of Boncour himself, whose chief task is, with the support of the social democratic party, to sow confusion and thereby lighten the task of the coming government, which will be a strong government, to use the favourite expression of Boncour who is waiting to take over the position of dictator.

The Situation in Poland and the Communist Party.

By J. L e n s k i.

The VI. Party Congress of the C.P. of Poland was held at a decisive stage in the development of the revolutionary upsurge. In regard to the intensification of the economic crisis, Poland holds the record in comparison with the other capitalist countries. Some parts of Polish economy are on the verge of actual collapse. The decline in industrial output has already led to a crippling of some branches of industry.

Unemployment and short time work have severely hit the overwhelming majority of the industrial proletariat, which is rendered dependent on bourgeois charity. The agrarian crisis, which resulted in a catastrophic decline of agriculture, has called forth an unexampled impoverishment of millions of peasants, who are reduced to conditions of semi-serfdom.

The financial bankruptcy of the country is increasing apace. The deficit in the State budget is increasing from month to month so that an inflation is imminent.

The revolutionary movement in Poland has reached a higher stage in the two years since the V. Party Congress. The strike wave, which spread from the small and medium undertakings to big industry, has now seized the main mass of the working class. In the present year the number of workers who have engaged in strikes is over a million. The resistance of the working masses to the offensive of the bourgeoisie sometimes assumes the form of a counter-attack against the fascist dictatorship and the employers.

The leading role of the Party has been strengthened on all sectors of the revolutionary front. The Party achieved considerable successes in the leadership of the daily struggle of the working class, in particular in economic strikes.

The Party Congress made a thorough appraisal of the social fascist manoeuvres and emphasised that the disintegration of social fascism does not proceed as rapidly as would be warranted by the revolutionary upsurge.

On the basis of the everyday fights, which in connection with the end of capitalist stabilisation represent the chief means of leading the masses in the approaching big revolutionary fights, the Party must systematically expose and prevent in time the social fascist manoeuvres.

The Party Congress expressly mentioned the lagging of the unemployed movement behind the movement of the factory workers. It issued to the Party clear directives for the development of the mass struggle of the unemployed and its linking up with the strike movement. The Party Congress further set up as an actual task increased work among the peasantry.

The Party Congress dealt very thoroughly with the national question, in particular with strengthening the leading role of the Party in the national emancipation movement of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

The Party Congress designated as one of the most important tasks the organising of political mass strikes as the best means of linking up the proletarian struggle with the revolutionary movement of the peasantry and the emancipation movement of the oppressed nationalities. The political strike must already now become a weapon in the struggle against the imperialist war.

By means of the political strikes, which are developing on the broad basis of the economic fights, the Party is preparing the masses for the political general strike. Such a strike presupposes a great aggravation of the whole situation and a high level of the revolutionary activity of the masses. In connection with the lessons drawn from the general protest strike on March 16, the outbreak of which came as a surprise to the Party, the Party Congress emphasised the necessity of preparing such actions of the working class.

The question of the anti-war campaign and work among the soldiers was thoroughly discussed by the Party Congress. The Congress, which recorded the accelerated preparations of Polish imperialism for war and the masking of these preparations by pacifist phrases on the part of the fascists and social fascists, called upon the Party organisations to increase the fight against the imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. At the same time it worked out concrete directions for this work.

In regard to the matter of organisation, the doubling of the membership of the Party and of the Young Communist League since the V. Party Congress constitutes a great success. The Party has become a mass party in spite of its illegality. The task of creating a firm basis in the most important factories has not yet been solved. A great shortcoming, which has an adverse effect in connection with the strike wave, is the organisational weakness of the revolutionary trade union movement. The strengthening of the red trade unions, of the factory groups of the Red Trade Union Opposition and a persistent fight for the masses in the reformist, Christian and other trade unions, are the necessary preconditions for a closer unity of the Communists with the masses and for securing successes in the strike movement.

Regarding the struggle against deviations, the Party Congress called attention to the concrete symptoms of Right opportunism, the most dangerous deviation, especially in face of the social fascist manoeuvres, as well as to the sectarian treatment of the workers who are still in the hostile organisations. In addition, the Party Congress emphasised the danger of Trotzkyism.

The VI. Party Congress concluded its work by adopting the programme of the Party.

The decisions of the VI. Party Congress will help the C.P. of Poland to become the real leader of the million masses in the fight for the overthrow of the bloody dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

POLITICS

The Manoeuvres of the Dictatorship Government in Yugoslavia.

By Obarov (Belgrade).

The fights of the hunger-ridden working and peasant masses against the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia are assuming increasingly sharp forms every day. Apart from the strikes, to which the workers are resorting to an increasing extent in their fight against wage reductions and for shorter worker hours, and the students' demonstrations, which are again on the order of the day, the peasants' revolts are now assuming the form of armed collisions with the gendarmerie and the whole apparatus of oppression of the dictatorship government.

The dictatorship government and its press, which attempted for a long time to conceal the fact of the armed collisions in Lika (Croatia) are now compelled to abandon the tactics of silence. Needless to say, the agents of the dictatorship seek to belittle these events and to hide their real cause by accusing fascist Italy of having provoked these collisions and organised them by its agents, the Croat emigrants Dr. Pavélitch and Dr. Pértchéz. The real cause of these armed collisions, however, is to be sought in the situation of the peasantry in this region. The Lika peasant, like the peasants in the whole of Yugoslavia, is squeezed dry, deprived of every possibility of earning his living, and in addition crushed down by a heavy burden of debts and taxes. Under these circumstances, the appearance of the Ustachi (Croat Komitaji) only served as the occasion for letting loose all the accumulated bitterness and discontent of the peasant masses towards the Belgrade dictatorship. It is quite understandable that the Lika peasants welcomed with sympathy the armed fight of the Ustachi against the gendarmerie of the dictatorship. Only a few days ago a group consisting of Ustachis and peasants attacked the gendarmerie station in the village of Bruchani with bombs. In the course of the ensuing fight, 22 gendarmes were wounded (according to the new organ of the national revolutionary Croat group "Croatia's Way"). The authorities preserve silence regarding the number of casualties on both sides. How popular the insurrectionary movement is among the population is also shown by the fact that two high school students from the town of Gospitch took part in this attack on the gendarmerie station.

In view of these increasing armed collisions, the military-fascist dictatorship is hastening to strengthen its apparatus of oppression in Lika. The towns and villages are swarming with gendarmes and soldiers. To cap it all, the already starving mountain population are compelled to supply food to this punitive expedition.

The capitalist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, which feels that its existence is seriously endangered, is now attempting to keep afloat by means of manoeuvres. In view of the danger of fresh conflicts with the working masses in town and country, the Senate decided to prolong the moratorium on peasants' debts. It should be remarked, however, that the poor peasants have themselves maintained this moratorium, for they have ceased making any payments on account of debts because it is only with the greatest difficulty that they are able to pay their taxes. A further manoeuvre is the parliamentary comedy which the president of the Government, Srehkitch—member of the "White Hand" and of the court clique—played at the beginning of November, when he handed in the resignation of his Government, only to be entrusted two days later by the King with the formation of the new Government. After this comedy the "Novosti", the organ of the dictatorship government, tried to make out that "the government crisis had been solved by parliamentary means". This government crisis has in no way changed the situation. After this comedy, Srehkitch, in a speech he delivered in Belgrade, promised "a systematic return to a sound democratic regime". The representatives of the dictatorship also promise a new and more liberal constitution, as well as new parliamentary elections. A new law regarding municipal elections is also being drawn up.

All these promises and new legislative measures are intended to mislead the masses, to create illusions and in this way hinder the development of the struggle of the working class and the movement for national emancipation. At the same time, however, they are an expression of the political and economic

weakness of the military-fascist dictatorship. The purpose of the proposed law on the parliamentary elections is to enable "His Majesty's Opposition" to play at "Opposition" in the Scupchtina and in the Senate. As regards the Bill on Municipal Elections, in order to show its character it suffices to point out that it gives to the Banus (governor) the right to annul any decision of the municipal council and to dissolve at will any municipal council.

In order to save the capitalist system and the crown of Alexander the last, the military-fascist dictatorship has been endeavouring for over a year to create a party of its own: the Yugoslavian party of democratic-radical peasants. The dictatorship government is now manoeuvring with the aid of this new party and the promise of a return to a democratic regime. Their lackeys in the Scupchtina and the Senate, who fear that the dictatorship will suffer shipwreck, do not show any particularly great sympathy for the party of the dictatorship. Even the civil servants, in spite of the pressure exerted upon them, are holding aloof from this party. The agents of Srehkitch have even attempted to take advantage of the poverty and hunger of the mass of the people in order to create the basis for their party: those peasants who allow themselves to be enrolled as members of the new party receive an allowance of grain in order to save them from starvation. But even this policy of loaves and fishes has proved a complete failure.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is increasing its action among the masses every day and successfully exposing the manoeuvres of the dictatorship government. It welcomes every genuine revolutionary action against the bloody regime of exploitation and oppression, just as it approves the armed fight of the Lika peasants—at the same time warning them against isolated putschist actions which are doomed to failure—and calls upon them to take part in the common fight of the peasants, workers and oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia against the capitalist dictatorship.

The New Government in Belgium.

By Coenen (Brussels).

A new Catholic-Liberal government has been formed in Belgium. As was foreseen the General Council of the social democratic party rejected the offer of collaboration with the Catholic Ministry conveyed to them by the Liberal leader Devèze. This offer was not even discussed, being regarded as not meant seriously as De Broqueville, who had been entrusted with the task of forming a new government, had not formulated the offer even according to the requirements of the Constitution. On the evening of December 16, the Liberal fractions of the Chamber and Senate declared that it was not opportune to request De Broqueville to open negotiations with the social democrats; this declaration however was decided on only by 24 votes against 11. Later (this time by 32 votes against 4) the Liberal fraction approved of the conditions which Devèze and Broqueville had agreed upon for the formation of the new government.

At that time it was believed that the Ministry had already been set up. But this was not the case, for the Liberals were still not agreed regarding the distribution of the Ministerial posts. On December 17, on the request of Broqueville, a whole group of them were sent to the King. Finally, Devèze, whose friends did not wish to enter the government, nevertheless accepted a ministerial position, whilst the Liberal Bovesse withdrew from the government. The composition of the new Ministry is as follows: De Broqueville—Prime Minister, Poulet—Minister of the Interior and Posts and Telegraphs, Jasper—Minister of finance, Van Isackes—Minister for Industry and Labour, Carton de Wiart—Minister for Social Insurance, Sap—Minister for Public Works and Agriculture, Tschoffen—Colonial Minister, Hymans—Foreign Minister, Devèze—Minister for War, Fort-homme—Minister for Railways, Janson—Minister for Justice, and Lippens—Minister for Education.

Devèze and Broqueville announce that the entry of the first named into the government is only for a short time. It is quite obvious that the government do not reckon on a long period of office and are preparing to set up a concentration cabinet, which shall include the social democrats. The recent negotiations with the Liberals are instructive in this respect. On the other hand, Vandervelde himself has declared that certain financial measures, which appear to be unavoidable, could only be enacted by a three-party government.

The Pact under which the Catholic and Liberal parties have united to form a government is very significant. The first three conditions are as follows: a law against every kind of revolutionary activity; a law against disrespect to the flag and the royal family; defence of the national idea against every attack. Thus it is obvious that the new Government is determined to pursue its policy of oppressing and exploiting the working masses by means of increased repressive measures. It is therefore obvious that the aid of the socialist leaders will become urgent.

The Intensification of the Crisis and the Change of Government in Finland.

By N. D. (Stockholm).

The government crisis in Finland, which now appears to be temporarily solved, is an expression of the intensified economic crisis which became particularly apparent in the Autumn months.

According to the official statistics, which are very incomplete, and also faked, the index figure of industrial output in the current year fell to 71 as against 110 in the year 1929. The number of unemployed is officially estimated at 75,000. In reality their number is considerably over 200,000 and this in a population of 3½ million. The broad masses of the peasants are becoming rapidly pauperised, and ever larger numbers of the working masses are openly opposing the fascist regime.

The resignation of the Sunila government took place because the leading government party, the peasant party, in view of the growing opposition to the existing regime, was afraid of becoming discredited. For this reason the peasant party, having regard to the Parliamentary elections in the coming year, wished to free itself at all costs from government responsibility. The much-debated government proposal to fix the maximum rate of interest at 7 per cent. was used by the peasant government as a pretext for bringing about a breach and at the same time to provide themselves with a good election cry.

In actual fact the enormous and extortionate interest charged by the banks and private money-lenders represents a ruthless robbery of the broad masses of peasants. But the leaders of the peasant party are far too closely bound up with these usurers to have meant anything serious with their proposal. This is shown by the fact that the regulation of interest rates was to apply only to the private money-lenders and not to the banks.

According to the "Svenska Pressen", the practical effect of the government proposal would be that the creditors would call in the loans granted by them, and prolong them only in return for a considerable increase of the interest. It is quite possible that the peasant party realised this when they made their demagogic proposal.

It must be borne in mind however that there are various antagonisms in the fascist camp, resulting from the different group-interests of the big capitalists and big peasants, which were expressed in the debate in Parliament on customs duties and exports. A symptom of this friction was the proposal of the big capitalist party to set up a financial dictatorship in place of the peasant government which has resigned. The result of the bargaining is however, the setting up of a coalition government in which all the fascist parties are represented, with the exception of the social democracy.

The social democratic press is bewailing the fall of the peasant government, which considerably intensified the fascist terror and the exploitation of the broad working masses. The social democrats have already declared themselves ready to support the new coalition government, provided it maintains a "Parliamentary" facade. The leading bourgeois papers rightly remark in this connection that the bourgeoisie have no occasion to do away with this Parliament, which in all questions has supported the fascist regime.

The new government will without doubt increase the fascist terror against the working population. But just as little as it is able to abolish the economic crisis, just as little will it succeed in holding up the counter-offensive of the working and peasant masses led by the illegal Communist Party.

FROM SOVIET CHINA

Spread of the Soviet Movement in North China.

By Chie-Hua.

With the development of the general revolutionary crisis in China the revolutionary movement is making rapid headway also in the North of the country. This fact is most clearly expressed in the strike-struggles of the workers in the capital towns, in the fights by the peasants against the unbearable taxes and ground rents, in the wide-spread partisan movement against Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, in the spread of the Soviet movement from the Southern provinces to the North.

The conference of the provincial committee of the Communist Party of North China, which took place in June last, pointed the way to the coming development. Its main slogan was: "Develop the partisan fights and set up new Soviet districts in North China!" Under the correct leadership of the Northern Conference, the self-sacrificing work of the Communists in the Northern provinces bore a good fruit. In the past few months there has been a big development of the partisan movement.

In the districts in the neighbourhood of Paoting (in the province of Hopei, formerly Chili), the partisan troops have achieved many victories. The districts in which the partisan troops are operating include Chin-Wan, Kao-Yang, Poyei, Niehsien, Manh sien, Tanhsien etc., which formerly belonged to the regional government of Paoting.

The partisans are organised in three battalions. The first is operating in Niehsien, the second in the southern villages of Kao-Yang, and the third in Poyei. Each battalion comprises three companies, six sections and 27 squadrons.

The revolutionary committee of Paoting has issued the following programme for the partisan movement:

1. Confiscation of the land of the big landowners, the churches, and the counter-revolutionary elements, and the distribution of the land so confiscated among the agricultural labourers, poor and middle peasants.
2. Confiscation of the goods and property of the big landowners, gentry and counter-revolutionary elements and their distribution among the poor and needy.
3. Abolition of the innumerable heavy impositions and taxes.
4. Cancellation of all extortionate loans.
5. Destruction of all tenancy agreements and mortgage deeds.
6. Disarming of all troops of the landowners and counter-revolutionaries and arming of the worker and peasant masses.
7. The population receives the right to produce their own salt and sell their surplus.
8. Abolition of the whole official "salt system" and "salt control police".
9. Increase of wages and reduction of working time.
10. Setting up of the Soviet Power and organisation of the red workers and peasants' army.

The first partisan battalion was formed at the end of August in the Northern part of Niehsien and Kao-Yang. On August 20, the revolutionary armed force had captured the three small towns of Sinchuan, Sunchaochun and Yutienzen, and disarmed the local military and police forces of the Kuomintang. In September, a bourgeois paper, the Takunpao, reported that the reactionary forces had only 40 rifles left in the whole district, whilst on the other hand the red troops had captured more than 300 rifles. Following this first victory of the insurgents, regular partisan troops developed. The movement spread to other districts and today there exist the above-mentioned Soviet districts. The working masses are fighting with all their might in order to establish the Soviet Power in fresh districts.

In the frontier district of Shansi the Soviet movement, with the 26th red army as its main force, has also made very big progress. Here the 26th Red Army achieved an overwhelming victory on August 26, when they captured numerous rifles, 11 machine-guns and thousands of rounds of ammunition. A captain who was taken prisoner was immediately handed over to the tribunal which the local workers and peasants had organised. The majority of the captured Kuomintang soldiers joyfully declared themselves ready to join the Red Army. Some who wanted to return to their homes were given their fares.

This victory was followed by others. Mention should be

made of the victory near Shichen, where the 10th brigade of the Kuomintang, under the command of Li-Kwei-chin was put to flight by the 26th Red Army; many weapons and much ammunition were captured, and 40 Kuomintang soldiers with full equipment voluntarily went over to the Red Army. In the ranks of the 11th Brigade of the Kuomintang army in Chinyang, in the province of Kansu, there were likewise mutinies which ended in the mutineers going over to the Red Army. The members of the Red Army, as well as the soldiers who have come over from the ranks of the enemy, receive a share of the land which is distributed and also take active part in the administration of the Soviet district.

In November the Red Army had advanced as far as Shansi. At the end of November the governor of Shansi sent a request to Chiang-Kai-shek for military reinforcements, because the 4th Red workers' and peasants' army, 35,000 strong, had already advanced to the frontiers of Shansi.

This spread of the Soviet movement in North China is of particularly great importance in view of the heroic partisan fights against the Japanese army of occupation in Manchuria.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARATIONS

Britain and the Lytton Report.

By R. Bridgeman.

(Secretary British Section, League against Imperialism.)

An active campaign is being conducted in Britain in support of the Report of the International Commission appointed by the League of Nations to make an enquiry on the spot into the Manchurian situation.

The League of Nations Union which refused to have anything to do with the World Anti-War Congress at Amsterdam, and the National Peace Council (formerly the National Council for Prevention of War), which numbers among its Vice-Presidents the Bishop of Birmingham, the Dean of Canterbury, the Canon of Westminster, the Chief Rabbi, and the Master of Balliol, are taking part in the campaign and Lord Cecil of Chelwood is giving it all his support with a view to securing the adoption by the Assembly of the League of Nations of the whole of the Lytton Report.

The League of Nations Union claims to operate independently of Party distinctions. Its Honorary Presidents are Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Mr. Clynes and Mr. Lloyd George. Its Joint Presidents are Lord Grey of Fallodon and Lord Cecil, and the latter has been unremitting in his efforts to secure the whole-hearted acceptance of the League of Nations by the British people. A considerable measure of success has attended his efforts.

The fact is sometimes forgotten by members of the League of Nations Union when they adopt a severe attitude towards Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, that the imperialist spirit which is manifest throughout the Versailles Treaty was exhibited with special plainness in the treatment of the German possessions in the Chinese province of Shantung. Section VIII of the Peace of Versailles (Article 156) unhesitatingly assigned the former German possessions, rights, titles and privileges, railways, mines and submarine cables in the territory of Kiaochow not to China to whom they rightfully belonged, but to Japan, who had conquered them by force of arms, and was seeking to use the position as a base for further conquest of Chinese territory. The Chinese people naturally refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles which gave away their territory, and at Washington in 1922 owing to American pressure Japan was compelled to restore the German possessions in Shantung to China.

The attitude of the Chinese people today is just as hostile towards the Lytton Report as it was towards the Versailles Treaty. It secured a reversal of Section VIII of the latter and it must be supported by the workers of Britain in its endeavour to secure the rejection of the Lytton Report, because this report shows itself to be no less imperialist than the Treaty of Versailles itself, inasmuch as it makes elaborate provision for the preservation of Japan's special position in Manchuria.

Lord Cecil and his fellow-imperialists lose no opportunity of calling special attention to the 10th and last of the conditions put forward by the Lytton Commission for

securing a satisfactory regime for the future in China, in addition to the autonomy of Manchuria and the recognition of Japan's rights and interests there. This condition is of such importance that it must be quoted textually from page 131 of the Report:

"Since the present political instability in China is an obstacle to friendship with Japan and an anxiety to the rest of the world (as the maintenance of peace in the Far East is a matter of international concern), and since the conditions enumerated above cannot be fulfilled without a strong Central Government in China, the final requisite for a satisfactory solution is temporary international co-operation in the internal reconstruction of China, as suggested by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen."

This recommendation has been made because the imperialists feel the need for arresting the growing sovietisation of China. They therefore go out of their way to emphasise the alleged incompetence of China to manage her own affairs, calling attention to the present disorder without any explanation as to the real reasons (unequal Treaties, extraterritoriality, foreign concessions etc.) which have brought about impoverishment and maladministration, and then proceed to lay down a line of policy to facilitate international cooperation with the Chinese Government for making the Central Government as strong as possible in order to defeat the spontaneous movement of the workers and peasants to organise the country on new lines. That the success of the workers' revolution in Soviet Russia, and the rapid improvement in the conditions of the people to which it has led, have inspired the people of China who are suffering under capitalist mismanagement today even more acutely if possible than the Russian workers suffered under the Tsars, with the desire to overthrow the present system by revolutionary action, needs no explanation.

The League of Nations is the strongest counter-revolutionary organisation in the world, with the possible exception of the Catholic Church. It is alive to the strength of the revolutionary forces which are rapidly developing in China and it recommends international co-operation with the counter-revolutionary forces in China.

The Labour Press has made practically no reference to this important feature of the Lytton Report. H. N. Brailsford, in a misleading article in the "New Clarion" merely adopts a tone of irony with reference to the League of Nations, saying that it is seeking to waste time by appointing the Commission, but he does not even mention the recommendation for international co-operation with a view to the internal reconstruction of China. Lord Cecil is franker because his imperialism is of older growth than that of the Labour Socialists. He sees that the British working class will not follow Sir John Simon in giving practically unreserved support to the aggressive policy of Japanese imperialism. Lord Cecil is calling for a rigorous refusal by all countries to recognize Manchukuo, the refusal of loans, and of the sale of munitions to Japan.

While, however, the call in Britain for disarmament is loud, and while no voice is raised more often in favour of disarmament than Lord Cecil's, he puts forward no demand for the withdrawal of the British armed forces, which are stationed in China. These forces were used to screen the Japanese landing last winter at Shanghai, and the naval portion has been used in support of the counter-revolutionary activities of the Central Government in the Yangtse Valley.

Other notable features of the Lytton Report are the organisation of a special gendarmerie in Manchuria with the collaboration of foreign instructors. This is a favourite imperialist device. At the time of the partition of Persia Swedish officers were placed in control of the gendarmerie in Persia, the Turkish Empire employed Albanian Police in Palestine, and when Britain was granted the mandate over Palestine by the League of Nations, she recruited the gendarmerie staff from the Black and Tan army which had been ravaging Ireland, and sent it direct from Ireland to Palestine.

A gendarmerie under foreign instructors is always liable to become the instrument of imperialist oppression.

Further (p. 134 of the Report) the Commission recommends that an adequate number of foreign advisers, of whom a substantial proportion should be Japanese, should be appointed in Manchuria, while two foreigners of different nationalities would be selected from a panel to be submitted

by the Council of the League of Nations to supervise the constabulary and the fiscal administration respectively. These two officials would exercise extensive powers.

Then the international Bankers, the old Consortium in a new guise, are to be given control over the finances of the three Eastern Provinces of China, by means of the selection of one foreigner as a General Adviser to the Central Bank of the three Eastern Provinces from a panel submitted by the Board of Directors of the Bank of International Settlements.

But perhaps the most striking feature of the Lytton Report is the omission of any reference to the interest in and influence on, Far Eastern Affairs of the United States of America and notably to the important letter addressed by the Foreign Secretary of the U.S.A. to Senator Borah last February in which he indicated that the Nine-Power Treaty signed in Washington in 1922 had been violated and that the disregard of this Treaty would disturb the whole structure of the agreements entered into at Washington.

The Nine-Power Treaty was only one of several arrangements entered into at the Washington Conference, all of which were interrelated and interdependent. They involved the willingness of the American Government to surrender their commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave its possessions at Guam and in the Philippines without further fortification.

Modification or abrogation of the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty could not be considered without at the same time considering the other premises on which that Treaty was really dependent.

The Chinese Soviet Government and the Lytton Report.

The Provisional Central Soviet Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic has issued the following appeal:

Kiangsi, October 6, 1932.

Workers, peasants, and all the oppressed masses of China!

The Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China has long declared before the masses that the League of Nations is the organ of the imperialist robbers for partitioning China. It sent the Lytton Commission to China, and the chief commission of which is to draw up a plan for the division of China and the suppression of all the revolutionary movement under the banner of the Chinese Soviet.

The Lytton Report openly made known in the most shameless fashion, the new plan of the division of China. It admits publicly that the Japanese imperialists and other Powers are not only justified in occupying Manchuria, but in partitioning China as a whole.

It further approves the occupation of Manchuria, and the bombardment of Shanghai by Japanese imperialism.

It calls upon the world imperialism to form a solid united front to partition China, exterminate the revolutionary movement of China, and first of all fight most ruthlessly against the nation-wide revolutionary national war and the agrarian revolution as led by the Chinese Soviet Government, annihilate the volunteer corps in North-Eastern provinces and suppress the anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist movement and boycott all over China.

It shamelessly maintains that Manchuria should be "autonomous State", maintaining an international gendarmerie, so that it may serve as a base in the offensive against U.S.S.R. by the world imperialism.

Covered with the phrases like "Sovereignty belongs to China", etc., it attempts to disarm the anti-imperialist masses and hypnotize them.

Finally, it orders the Kuomintang to suppress the Red Army with more energy, to act more faithfully under the command of the imperialists, to sell out all national interests, to annihilate with full force the anti-imperialist movement and boycott movement and to slaughter the masses more barbarously!

The Soviet Government declares before the workers, peasants, soldiers and all oppressed masses of China that should the real revolutionary national war against the partition of China by the world imperialism be carried out at all, the reactionary regime of Kuomintang, the street-clearer for the partition and the suppressor of the national war, should be overthrown!

The Kuomintang and its Government accepts the Report loyally, recognising in it the principles for settlement. The discussion and studies of the Report and the verbal opposition to certain points as expressed by the governments of different cliques of Kuomintang are but smoke screens.

On the back bench of it they are carrying out the bargain—a cheap sale! These are old tricks renewed. The Kuomintang would present Manchuria and Shanghai to the imperialists as a sweet Christmas cake, and with full force and on all fronts fight against the workers' and peasants' Red Army which leads the revolutionary national war!

Under the direction and support of the imperialists, the Kuomintang mobilises millions of troops to attack the Soviet Government, the anti-imperialist Government of the masses, with the intention of annihilating it and to block the way of the Red Army to stand shoulder to shoulder with the heroic anti-imperialist soldiers.

At the same time it helps the imperialists to slaughter the volunteers of the North-Eastern provinces which are against the imperialist occupation, to suppress the anti-imperialist movement, the boycott movement, the strikes, to slaughter en masse the workers, peasants and all the toiling masses to show their loyalty to the imperialists.

We can wage a successful revolutionary national war only if we overthrow the Kuomintang regime. The Soviet is leading the workers' and peasants' Red Army and the broad, toiling masses of the Soviet districts in the fight against the imperialists and Kuomintang to break down the fourth campaign, and it will wipe off the reactionary regime of Kuomintang by revolutionary war!

Masses of China, arm yourselves! Fight against the fourth campaign of Kuomintang against the Soviet and Red Army, overthrow the dominance of the Kuomintang, the watch-dog of imperialism; defend the Red Army and the Soviet power!

The Soviet Government alone will lead the revolutionary national war, wage war against the Japanese imperialism directly, and oppose the partition of China! The workers' and peasants' Red Army is the armed force of the masses which carries out the national war!

Workers' and peasants' Red Army, fighters of China! The workers, peasants, and broad toiling masses of the Soviet districts! Carry on with full energy the revolutionary war, take up a resolute offensive against the imperialists and Kuomintang in order to break the fourth campaign!

Workers, peasants, soldiers, and all the toiling masses of the Kuomintang districts! Arm yourselves, organise volunteer corps, carry on strikes, carry out the boycott movement, fight against the imperialism and Kuomintang!

All the revolutionary masses! Stand under the Red Flag of the Soviet! Answer the partition of China with the revolutionary national war!

Overthrow the Kuomintang rule! Drive the Japanese imperialism and all other imperialism out of China!

For the All-China Soviet power! For the emancipation and independence of China!

The Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China.

Chairman: Mao Teh-tung.

Vice-Chairman: Hong Ying, Chang Kuo-tao.

The Mind of the British Militarists.

By Tom Bell (London).

** On November the 10th, the eve of Armistice Day which was made the occasion for a great display of Military and Naval strength in England, and propaganda for the coming war, Mr. Baldwin made a "sensational" speech in the House of Commons. Taking for his text Aerial-Warfare he depicted the horrors of the next war which he said would be fought out by air-craft, with terrible consequences to the civilian population from fire and poisonous gases. He declared it was impossible for London to be absolutely proof against a marauding enemy and for these reasons the British Government was in favour of the abolition of the use of aeroplanes for war purposes.

The entire press took this speech up as another great gesture of England for disarmament and peace. But was it so simple as all that? No doubt, Baldwin wanted to make the flesh creep of the millions who would be thinking "War" on the next day, Armistice Day. It is also a matter of fact that England's invulnerability as an island protected by a powerful Navy

has gone. Baldwin himself admitted that London could not be protected against raiders from the air. Therefore, the proposal to do away with air-warfare, **on condition that other Powers do the same**, has its corollary; if other Powers will not agree, we must go ahead and strengthen our air-defence force. A very subtle form of propaganda for preparedness.

That this is not mere speculation may be gathered from statements, almost immediately after by two Generals: One, by the Air-Marshal Sir Geoffrey Salmond, and the other by Brigadier-General J. Charteris. General Salmond took the occasion of a dinner in Holborn Restaurant to the Royal Air Force Association to make the following statement:

"Statesmen and others who contemplate a war in the future know very well that if they have the temerity to take such a responsibility they lay open their country to terrible attacks from the enemy, who will take no notice of the old frontiers, but transfer the attack immediately to the home front . . . Anything that can shorten a war, and the air forces of the world are the most powerful arm to do such a thing, should not be abolished, but should be retained."

Such a statement from the Chief of the Air-Staff seemed to be in complete contradiction to the declared policy of the Government. The question was raised in the House of Commons and the Government reply was to the effect, that the speech was made before a private assembly, was not intended for publication and the Government did not propose to take any action. We can only conclude that between Baldwin and Salmond there is a clear subdivision of labour.

General Salmond's speech was taken up by Brigadier General Charteris in a letter to the "Daily Telegraph" and developed with all the logic of the military mind. The views of Charteris leave no doubt as to how the war-lords are thinking. Charteris declares Salmond's speech to be like "a blast of cold commonsense in the super-heated air of international idealism". He then takes Salmond's arguments further, and asks, "are the aims of the disarmament Conference—to lessen the horrors of war, in particular to the civilian population, and to make war less probable—compatible?"

"Supposing", he says, "You abolish submarines, air offensives, chemical and bacteriological war. What then? Are the civilian parliaments and the civilian public opinion which inspires and impels them, less or more likely to risk the hazard of arms?" And the General replies: "If you lessen the effects of the fear of war, you increase the probability."

Here, the moral sentiments of the politician Baldwin are set aside with the ruthless logic of the General.

Says Charteris:

"If you want to reduce the horrors of war—and, as the Air Marshal points out with force, prolong its duration—reduce your armaments qualitatively, quantitatively, and by any and all other practical means. If you want to minimise the possibility of war, and, if war should occur, to reduce its duration, multiply the evil consequences upon the civilian population of all belligerents. Let physical fear, fear of death, fear of being maimed and tortured play its part and you will increase amazingly the willingness of nations to submit disputes to arbitration in preference to war. You will increase what is called good-will among the nations."

During the great war the English propaganda played much upon "frightfulness" as a peculiar Prussian product. Every time a British merchantship was sunk by a German submarine, it was an example of "Prussian Frightfulness"; the same when gas-fire was introduced. But there we see that the imperialist war mind is alike whatever the nationality of the imperialists: cynical and callous.

The General next goes on to tilt at the "Economists" who are shutting down the shipyards and reducing the strength of the Navy. He asks, very pertinently, if the lowering of taxation due to the abolition of armaments, even if simultaneous and universal among all the nations, will enable them all to find more profitable markets for their wares?

"Perhaps", he concludes, "it is not altogether a bad thing if the action of the United States with regard to the war debts should give us time to reflect still further on these great problems."

These quotations from two responsible military leaders reflect the war mind of England today. All the cinemas carry some species of war propaganda in every show. And at the

moment there is in preparation by the admiralty a great super-film "Our Fighting Navy" showing the power and glory of the British Navy. This film was begun six months ago. Already 70,000 feet of film have been taken showing, 40,000 ton battleships with 16" guns steaming into action. Ships off Portsmouth, Devonport, Dartmouth and the East coast of Scotland—cruisers, destroyers, submarines, aircraft carriers are all in the caste. Retired Commanders are being employed to impersonate the great Naval sailors from the days of Lord Nelson to admiral Jellicoe.

Only recently a motion was debated in the House of Commons protesting against any further reduction of **personal and material** in the Royal Navy. The argument for the motion being: "The Navy was cut down below the danger line", "The importance of unemployment and debts was as nothing compared with the efficiency and contentment in the Navy", "Great Britain could build ships, armour and guns more quickly than any other nation, but effective **personal** could not be had without long and continuous training", "The number of Naval ratings was not equal to that of Japan, and was less than that of the United States".

A Labour Party amendment, by Cocks, urged the government to make further reductions, and supported this by the naive suggestion, to the First Lord of the Admiralty: "That the ships of Italy, France and Britain in the Mediterranean should combine in fleet exercises; visit the more attractive Mediterranean ports together, the officers to entertain each other in the wardroom, while the men of the lower deck joined together in pleasurable excursions. In Northern waters the German (no mention of the Soviet Fleet be it noted) French and British ships should get together. This would increase friendship and remove misunderstanding!"

In reply for the Government Sir B. Eyres-Monsell declared that by the end of 1936 the Fleet of the British Empire would have decreased 41 per cent., that of the United States would have increased 29 per cent., that of Japan by 37 per cent. Further suggestions of disarmament depended upon their being accepted by every one else; **there would be no further unilateral reductions.**

For manning the Fleet in peace time more men were required than those actually in the ships. The extra men were called the "pool", and the "pool" had now been cut down a great deal too much. This resulted in a loss of efficiency. The Admiralty had taken certain steps to put the matter right, but those steps were not a complete solution, and **the only real solution was an increase in fleet numbers.**

The Government accepted the motion and the Labour Party withdrew its amendment.

It will be seen from this how the mind of the British militarists is working.

Fifteenth Anniversary of the O.G.P.U.

Moscow, 20th December 1932.

The Soviet press is devoted chiefly to the fifteenth anniversary of the O.G.P.U. (United State Political Administration) to-day which took the place of the old Tcheka. Numerous messages of greetings are published from working class organisations, factory committees, party committees, the Soviet authorities and numerous other organisations and groups. The message of congratulation sent by Comrade Stalin reads:

"Greetings to the men of the O.G.P.U. who are honourably and courageously fulfilling their heavy tasks in the interests of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union! Accept my warmest wishes for the continued success of your great work for the defeat of the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship. Long live the O.G.P.U., the bared sword of the working class!"

The message of the **Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union** reads, inter alia, as follows:

"The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union is convinced that the members of the O.P.G.U. will continue their work for the defence of the Soviets based on the tremendous experience of their struggle against the enemies of the Soviet power and that they will ward off all attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Engineers from the Bench.

By S. Saslavsky (Moscow).

Time moves rapidly in the Soviet Union. Was it long ago that I sat at the window of a factory looking out over the Neva? The summer sun bathed the waters of the great river of Leningrad in its golden beams, flooded the streets and the boats. Near me were about 40 adult workers who had just finished their 7-hour day of work, sitting in rows on the school benches and wrinkling their brows over mathematical problems. And the disturbing question arose—would these people, no longer young, be equal to the difficulties of study in school after their intense work in the factory?

That was 2½ years ago, but it seems like yesterday. At that time I wrote an article "The Factory as a School". I described the experiment which was being made by the Stalin metallurgical plant, one of the biggest enterprises in Leningrad, of manufacturing steam and water turbines and steam boilers for electric power stations.

The initiative for this experiment came from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee decided:

"To instruct the Supreme Economic Council together with the All-Union Council of Trade Unions and the Peoples Commissar for Education to organise as an experiment one or two school-factories in which constant work in industry will be combined with the preparation of cadres (lower, medium and highly qualified)."

The experiment might be successful or it might not—that is why it was an **Experiment**. A suitable factory had to be selected for the first experiment. The workers of the Stalin Plant responded warmly and proposed that their factory should be chosen for the experiment. In favour of this plant was its high technical equipment, its experienced and highly educated engineers, its revolutionary Bolshevik traditions, the conscientiousness of the thousands of workers in it. When the workers voted for the Stalin Plant to be chosen for this historic experiment, they took on themselves considerable obligations—to work and study simultaneously. To study so that work would not suffer, and to work in such a way as to speed up their study.

I was present at the first steps taken by the school-factory. On the first pages of their copy books, the workers freshened up the school knowledge which they had long forgotten. The young workers who had passed through the Soviet schools with 7-year courses gathered here at the factory, without leaving their machines, to train themselves as engineers. To work and to study . . . I sat at the window, watching the waves of the broad Neva, and involuntarily I thought: Much water will flow under the bridges before the simple workers who now enter the factory come out of it as engineers."

That was 2½ years ago, and now the first 44 engineers have come out of the factory. **The world has never seen such engineers before.** These are engineers from the bench. For 2½ years they did not leave their work and they did not leave their books and drawings. They are not only workers by origin but workers by profession. The factory was not deprived of its cadres during the time of study. Industry was also study. Study was also industry. "We manufacture turbines and engineers" said the director of the Stalin Plant on the anniversary of the revolution.

The experiment was successful. "Thus in the Soviet Union arises a new type of educational institution—the factory as a school. Undoubtedly it will justify expectations and will help to satisfy the urgent demand for skilled workers, for technically educated cadres for socialist construction." That was how I concluded my article 2½ years ago. And now I can add that the expectations were really justified. The school-factory has already graduated technicians several times, and now, on December 5th, 1932, it has graduated its first engineers.

The factory was very strict in its tests of the graduates. The most prominent and famous professors were invited to examine them. The examination papers and work were most strictly criticised. Several students will have to study a little

longer. But the overwhelming majority brilliantly passed their tests. The reports of the professors are now before me. They tell how the engineers in the school-factory are no worse than the engineers graduated from the usual universities in theoretical attainments, but in practical work, in knowledge of the industry, they are considerably superior. Of course, these are all engineers with what is called a "narrow speciality", engineers of the American type. 19 of them are specialists on the manufacture of steam turbines, 13 on the assembling of steam turbines, 12 on the construction of steam boilers. However, narrow specialisation is not a peculiarity of the school-factory at the Stalin Plant but of the whole system of technical education which has ruled up to the present in the Soviet Union. It is caused by the necessity of forming new cadres of engineers in the shortest possible time. At the present time the programme of technical education in the U.S.S.R. is being considerably widened while the period of study is being lengthened. But everything which is applied in the universities is also applied in the school-factory.

It is difficult to give full details of all the new engineers who graduated from the school-factory. I have no space for this. But I will describe a typical one. The others are all in the same spirit. They can relate about themselves in general the same as the new engineer **Sokolov** related to us. He speaks of himself simply and without bombast:

"I am 34 years old. My father was a peasant and later an unskilled worker. I have worked ever since I was very little, at first as a learner in a workshop and then as a fitter's apprentice. I studied internal combustion engines and became a motorist. I left this work to go into the army. During my service I visited all parts of the Soviet Union. All the time I was transferred from one front to another. At one time I would be in the army and at another time I would be back at work at the motor. In 1923 I joined the Party and worked actively in the Leningrad Soviet. My industrial qualifications increased, but all the time I was hindered by my lack of technical education. I constantly desired to study, but always my study was broken up. I had neither time nor money for it. First the war and then my political and social work took me away from it. But I decided to study at all costs, no matter what the difficulties so as to obtain knowledge. In 1918 I entered the evening technical courses but only studied for 3 months. The courses collapsed. It was the time of famine and the students all scattered. In 1919 I was able to obtain some knowledge in the machine school at Kronstadt. Soon I was in Novorossisk in charge of the motor on a ship. For half a year I succeeded in attending the marine-workers' faculty, but again came years of work. Only in 1930 in Leningrad, I succeeded in finishing the evening technical course while working at the factory. The Stalin school-factory gave me a great deal. I obtained the knowledge which I had been striving for all the time with such difficulty. The school gave me a thorough basis both theoretically and practically, because the whole educational process takes place without leaving industry, and all this on the basis of the latest achievements of foreign and Soviet technique."

It was this unquenchable thirst for knowledge together with the realisation that they were participating in socialist construction which created the conditions for this successful "experiment". 44 new engineers who have joined the army of the engineering and technical workers of the Soviet Union form the best living embodiment of the words of **Comrade Stalin** last year: "Our country has entered the stage of its development when the working class **must create its own technical intelligentsia**, who are able to protect its interests in production as the interests of the ruling class. No ruling class can manage without its own intelligentsia. There is no reason to doubt that the working class also cannot get on without its own technical intelligentsia."

Comrade Stalin placed the formation of such an intelligentsia in the **fourth** place among the historic six conditions

for the victory of socialist construction. These conditions are being fulfilled. And the most brilliant example is the graduation of 44 engineers by the school-factory.

The tremendous significance of the successful experiment consists not only in the fact that dozens and later hundreds of new engineers rising from the workers have joined the ranks of the technical commanders in socialist industry. The ranks of the Soviet engineering and technical cadres are being swelled by thousands and tens of thousands of engineers from among the workers who graduate every year from the numerous universities of the U.S.S.R. It is another thing which is important. The new Communist life can already be seen in the distance from this experiment. It may be that only a few factories can yet follow the example of the Stalin plant. It may be that under present conditions tremendous educational resources are required which the Soviet Union does not yet possess on a mass scale. But we can already see how the face of a factory changes in socialist society, how the distinction between a factory and an institute is gradually being wiped out, the distinction between physical and mental labour. In capitalist society this is impossible. The workers in the capitalist countries have only one lot—to work for others. The working class are shut out from high technical education. It is the privilege of the bourgeoisie.

The path taken by the 44 worker-engineers is the path along which the whole working class of the Soviet Union is travelling. One takes this path earlier, another later. It is the path of study and work simultaneously.

New Work—New Life.

By W.

(Special correspondent of the Inprekorr in the Soviet Union.)

5. The Difficulties in the Food Supply and What the Working Women Say About It.

The working woman, **Kommova** worked as a servant girl from 12 to 24 years of age (this seems to be the regular answer of all the older women in this or other factories whom I questioned about their past: "At 12 or 13 years of age I left the home of my parents and took a job as a servant girl.") Later, in 1909 she got a job in a factory as a helper. She worked 11 hours and earned enough to pay for tea and black bread, but even that was an advancement for her, for at least she had her nights and her Sundays to herself and did not have to be continually at the disposal of the caprices of the mistress. Now she is a winder in the cable factory and works 7 hours a day. She heard our conversation with Vukolow on the question of discipline and loafing, and broke in:

"Tell the foreign working women that we work for ourselves and not for the capitalists. When will they follow suit?"

I then asked her, what happened to a worker when he was sick for a long time or frequently. I am familiar with the whole system of social insurance, but one question was not clear to me, namely, if after long illnesses it is possible for a worker to be employed again in his old factory or if he is discharged and has to look for other work.

She was very much surprised at my question. Discharged? Why? I myself was sick for three months not long ago. When I returned it was proposed by the administration, in agreement with the sickness insurance office, to send me for one month to a sanatorium. I received not only all my expenses and free maintenance in the sanatorium, but also my full wages.

She began in a hesitant manner, and then her words came more and more freely: "What did I know before about the Crimea? And now I have been down there twice. Once I was in a sanatorium there and once I went with a group of workers on an excursion to Sevastopol. (The distance between Moscow and Sevastopol is about the same as the distance between Moscow and Berlin.) You tell the working women in other countries, she burst out, "that we women here are working in a cost accounting brigade and that we see to it that not a kopek of proletarian government money is wasted and that I can go to a movie or theatre every fifth day, and that I..."

I complied with her wishes, although she got fairly far away from the original question about what is done for sick workers in the enterprise or workers who are not healthy. I was only able to find out from her that after every serious

illness a person has the right to demand lighter and less strenuous work in the same enterprise. As for the care provided by the enterprise for sick or weak workers, I was able to find out much more in another enterprise a few days later. But now I got the conversation headed in the direction of difficulties with food supplies.

The working woman **Ivanova** answered:

"You think that we are starving? Oh, I don't mean that everything is perfect with our food supply. It is especially hard with regard to butter and fats. We sometimes do not even have milk for our children. But the most disagreeable thing is not the fact that there is too little of everything, because we can manage to make both ends meet. The worst thing is the irregularity of the supply, which causes such a loss of time. We get plenty of bread: 800 grams a day for each member of the family. On most days we get half white bread and half black bread. Every fifth day—(this is a temporary savings measure to assure the supply of white bread to hospitals and children's institutions), the ration of black bread is doubled and no white bread is given. We do not get meat as regularly as bread. We should get from the cooperative of the enterprise five kilograms of meat at the fixed price for every worker, and two kilograms for every member of his family who is not working. But during the past months we have not had more than two to three kilograms per person. This is not so very bad though, because in addition to this we eat meat nearly every day in the factory dining room. In our cooperative we get a 1,000 grams of sugar a month for every person employed in the enterprise and 800 grams for every member of the family. This is about the way things stand with regard to the chief food articles. Of course there are besides this vegetables, potatoes and fish—sometimes more and sometimes less."

These are the rations established on the basis of membership in the cooperative of the enterprise—even though the prices vary. In addition to this, supplementary supplies can be obtained on the open market although at much higher prices. And in general the workers wages are sufficient for them to purchase a considerable amount on the open market. Goods which are not sold for lack of purchasing power do not exist in the Soviet Union. The chief form of food supply for the factory workers is the factory dining room, which in the cable factory, like most of the other factories, feeds 80 to 90 per cent. of the workers. Here a hot meal is served for all three shifts, which means also during the night. This meal consists of three courses. Meat is served on an average of 20 times a month. On other days a fish course is served. This meal is provided to the workers in addition to their fixed rations. The price varies according to the quality from 70 kopeks to a rouble and a half. The prices vary in the various enterprises. There are factories where a worker can get a good meal for 30 to 50 kopeks, and others where, in addition to the cheaper meals there are more luxurious dinners costing up to 3½ roubles. The prices and quality of the food very often depend upon the efficiency of the director. The Party and trade union organisations of the enterprise and the chef, **but above all on the activity of the workers themselves.**

An important question, which has occupied the centre of general attention especially during the past few weeks, is the quality of food in the factory dining rooms and the

Rapid Progress of Soviet Railways.

Moscow, 14th December 1932.

The rapid development of the soviet economic system, the unparalleled advance of the heavy industries, the increasing demand for coal and iron, etc., have placed enormous demands on the Soviet railway system and whilst the railways have not been able to do complete justice to these demands, nevertheless great progress has been made. The final year of the Five Year Plan provided for the transport of 162.7 milliard tons of goods. This figure has been exceeded. By the end of the year the figure will be about 168 milliard tons. The transport of passengers increased still further. Whilst the final year of the Five Year Plan provided for the transport of 453.8 million passengers, the actual figure reached will be about 976 millions. Exact figures are available for the first ten months of the current year and show a total increase of 14.3 per cent. as compared with the first ten months of 1931.

qualifications of the cooks. The newspapers are already devoting leading articles to this question, and steps are being taken to conduct a socialist competition among factory cooks for improving the quality of the food and for the most productive use of the available food supplies on hand. The workers in the enterprises are participating enthusiastically in the carrying out of this competition.

The chief attention of the workers in the enterprises, in the matter of overcoming the difficulties of food supplies, is being directed to establishing an independent base for food supplies run by the enterprise itself. Factory farms are being organised. These farms must not be confused with the German "Shreber" gardens. These factory gardens are not run by the workers themselves, but by special agricultural workers. The workers in the cable factory embarked on this undertaking only last year. They now have only 30 hectares of land, but by the next year this will be extended to a 100 hectares. This year's yield is therefore accordingly unpretentious: 120 tons of potatoes and 260 tons of cabbages, carrots and other vegetables. There are already the beginnings of independent meat supply, in the form of 200 hogs, 400 breeding rabbits. For next year the enterprise is planning to establish its own fishery.

What has only been begun by this enterprise we found in highly developed forms in other enterprises: for example in the Kharkov Electrical Motor Factory (formerly the A.E.G.). This factory already has 2,000 hectares of its own land and 1,100 cows of its own, as well as the necessary fodder. The farm, which is devoted exclusively to supplying the workers of this enterprise with food over and above the government rations, represents a capital of 3½ million roubles for a working force of 18,000. Of course there are almost no complaints in this factory about the difficulties of the food supply. Here I saw a dining room which is a model of how the workers will be provided for after the difficulties in the food supply have been overcome. But we shall hear more about this later.

I asked the worker Ivanova if she had an idea about how these difficulties arose. In an almost injured tone, she replied: "Do you think that there are many workmen and women among us who are concerned only with their own personal lives? The difficulties are due to the fact that there has been a tremendous increase in the number of people to be supplied with food and articles of widespread consumption, and who are entitled to them. Not only in the cities, but above all in the rural districts. Previously the individual peasants supplied his own needs in his primitive rural manner. The collective peasants however, feel that they too are representatives of our social system, and are no longer satisfied with the straw shoes and meatless meals they put up with formerly and, generally speaking, are not content with their former simple way of living. Do you know what a "combination" is? Did a peasant woman know what this was in the old days? And now the women on the collective farms want to wear the most modern underwear. And thus it is with everything: meat, shoes, dresses, sweets, etc. The masters of the country have demands which differ greatly from those of the former serfs and wage-slaves. In order to satisfy these demands we have to work very strenuously for years to come."

This working woman Ivanova, who was talking in this manner, is not a Party or trade union functionary but a simple worker from one of the lowest wage categories (100 roubles monthly). Here is her biography: She started work at 13 years of age, although she was an exception, in that she was not employed as a servant girl but as a tailor's apprentice. I asked her: Don't some of you feel that the existing supplies should be devoted first of all to supplying the working class adequately, and only after that to supplying the peasantry?"

She answered very indignantly: "Are we to simply drive the collective farm peasants back into the arms of the kulak. Is the kulak again to become master in the villages? We would rather put up with our difficulties a 100 times over. Haven't you made any sacrifices for the class struggle abroad? What are our petty daily cares that we have to put up with in order triumphantly to carry out industrialisation and collectivisation in comparison with the sacrifices which our class comrades abroad must make in strikes, in prison, or on the gallows?"

This last sentence was repeated by Comrade Komonova. All the women who were standing around nodded their heads in agreement. She said these words in a tone that almost made me ashamed of having asked my last question.

THE WHITE TERROR

Continue the Action against the Terror in Yugoslavia!

By Obarov (Belgrade).

The hunger-strike of 150 political prisoners which broke out in the Mitroviza prison on November 14, has been ended after lasting for more than three weeks. Thanks to the determination and heroic self-sacrifice of those who participated in it, the hunger-strike ended in a partial success. The bloody regime of Alexander the Last had to give way in face of the solidarity and the fighting spirit of the political prisoners in Mitroviza.

At the same time the worker Miletitch, accused of communist propaganda, after five months of torture and inquisition, was handed over to the court. After being tortured for fifty nights in the notorious Belgrade "Glavnyatcha", he was handed over, half dead and covered with wounds, to the Court which has to try him.

The conclusion of the strike with partial successes and the saving of the life, for the time being, of the worker Miletitch is to be attributed to the circumstance that the heroic strikers of Mitroviza, as well as the innocent worker, had the support of the revolutionary workers, the students and various organisations of Yugoslavia as well as the active solidarity of the international proletariat.

This solidarity, both in Yugoslavia and abroad, must be continued and increased by mobilising ever broader masses against the terror, against the Glavnyatcha regime, and thereby against the bloody capitalist military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

The World Congress of the International Red Aid, which took place recently in Moscow, recorded that in the period from January 6, 1929, to September 1932, 152 political trials took place in Yugoslavia. At these trials 18 death sentences and four sentences for life were pronounced, and 734 political accused were given sentences totalling 2348 years' imprisonment. These statistics, which are **only approximate**, do not include the revolutionaries, numbering over 100, who have been murdered in prison without trial. Most of these victims were communists.

The Yugoslavian Red Aid is still investigating the case of the Communist Ssalai and a printer from Voivodina who were murdered in Zagreb at the end of July 1932. After the murder the corpses of the two victims were brought to the Austro-Yugoslavian frontier, and since then the representatives of the bloody regime refuse to make any statement or declaration regarding this shameful crime. In the same way no information has been given regarding the fate of the Belgrade woman communist Babovitch and two other comrades who were enticed into attempting to escape from the Mitroviza prison hospital and then murderously set upon. Whether all three comrades were murdered or only injured, neither the revolutionary organisation nor the families have been able to ascertain up to the present. Terror, torture and an inquisitorial system are the sole means whereby the military-fascist dictatorship maintains itself in power.

Today, just as formerly, terror prevails throughout the length and breadth of Yugoslavia. Every town has its executioner, whose job it is to torture and murder communists or national revolutionaries. This is the system under which the working class and the oppressed poor peasants of the enslaved nationalities of Yugoslavia are exploited.

It is necessary therefore to continue the action against the Terror and the inquisition and to mobilise the broad masses in and outside of Yugoslavia.

Such an action will be the best proof of international solidarity and the best answer to the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

Increased Persecution of the Unemployed Movement in England.

London, December 18.

The prosecution of Comrades **Tom Mann** and **Emrys Llewellyn** under an Act 115 years old based on Statutes going back to the 14th century marks a further dropping of democratic pretence on the part of the British ruling class. Our comrades were charged with being responsible for a demonstration to Parliament which might lead to rioting.

The magistrate admitted that there was no criminal charge. He said:

"The proceedings are merely to put in force a law which has been the law of the land from time immemorial. It is merely a preventive measure. Neither defendant is charged with any offence, nor is it necessary to prove that they have been guilty of any offence."

Naturally both comrades refused to be bound over and have their activity restricted.

Comrade **Tom Mann** declared:

"If I am to be tied, if my mouth is to be closed, if I am not to participate in ventilating the grievances of those who are suffering while the incompetency of those responsible cannot find work for them and is knocking down their miserable standard lower—then whatever the consequences may be—if I am to be shot in the next five minutes—I would not consent to any undertaking.

"So, with all respect, I must say very emphatically that, regardless of my age or anything else, I will not give an undertaking not to be identified with the further organisation of mass demonstrations and the ventilation of the troubles of the unemployed and of the workers generally.

"I do not believe your methods are calculated to be successful and even the taking of an insignificant person like myself will be no damage to the movement."

Thus although "guilty of no offence" both comrades are in prison and will remain there for **two months**.

Preventive arrest is a commonplace in India but has not been operated in Britain for centuries. Obviously it is a new weapon that the bourgeoisie propose to add to their armoury—a new weapon forged from old laws that had been tacitly dropped as being barbarous relics of long ago. Combined with the very heavy sentences that are now the order of the day they show the savage repression that British capitalism is going to resort to more and more as the crisis deepens. These things eloquently refute the "optimistic" press balderdash about the crisis being past, confidence being restored etc, and are indicative of the panic in which the bourgeoisie of Britain, in common with that of all other countries, finds itself to-day.

Comrade **Tom Mann** is a veteran fighter. He is 76 years of age. He was the first secretary of the Independent Labour Party, which body he soon left when he discerned its reformist tendencies. He was, just after the war, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and has been the National Chairman of the **Minority Movement** since its formation. He has been a member of the C.P.G.B. also since its formation. In 1906 during the big dock strikes he was sent to prison for a leaflet he issued to the troops calling on them to refuse to obey orders to shoot down strikers and recently he was expelled from Belfast by the Ulster authorities. **Tom Mann** has a long, fine and consistent record of honourable struggle in the class war.

35 Years Hard Labour for Finnish Workers.

Helsingfors, 16th December 1932.

Last week the Lappo courts in Finland imposed hard labour sentences totalling 35 years against revolutionary workers. Six of these workers were charged with having distributed communist literature. Since the 1st January 1932 300 revolutionary workers, both men and women, have been sentenced to a total of over 800 years hard labour.

PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

The Fifth Anniversary of the Canton Commune.

By P. Mif.

There had been examples of revolutionary mass action of historic importance carried out by the Chinese proletariat previous to the overthrow in Canton. Consider the splendid Seamen's strike in Hong Kong in January 1922, and the famous strike on the Peking-Hankow Railway in February 1923. Remember also the strike of 800,000 Shanghai workers in the summer of 1925, which laid the foundations for the great Chinese revolution, and the year and a half General Strike in Hong Kong in 1925—26, which at that time transformed **Canton** into the base of the Chinese National Revolution. It is not superfluous to recall in this connection the participation of the Chinese proletariat in the famous Northern campaign, and the significant fact of the seizure of the British concession in Hankow by the Wuhan workers in January 1927. In Shanghai the workers rose up in armed revolt three times. And as a result of the third and this time victorious uprising (March 1927) the Shanghai workers, headed by the Communist Party, were for two weeks masters of the situation in this great world centre of industry and trade.

In this chain of events of historic importance and revolutionary struggles of the Chinese working masses, the **Canton Commune** occupies a special place. It is undoubtedly one of the chief landmarks of the great Chinese Revolution. All the previous independent mass movements of the Chinese working class had been raising the liberation struggle of the Chinese people to an ever higher level, preparing the way for the hegemony of the proletariat, for this decisive prerequisite for the victorious development of the Chinese revolution.

But only the Canton Commune won and secured for the proletariat the role of hegemony, the role of organiser and leader of the Chinese Revolution. The Canton Commune signifies the new Soviet phase of the revolution. The slogan of Soviets, of democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry was carried out for the first time on a large scale in a semi-colonial country, and for the first time was actually put into practice and historically tested.

The Canton Commune was the rear guard of battle under conditions of abatement of the first wave of revolutionary enthusiasm. But this does not reduce its significance or its role in the revolutionary movement of China and of the entire enslaved East. If even under these circumstances the Chinese proletariat succeeded in demonstrating its high class consciousness, its determination to defend the conquests of the revolution and its readiness for further struggle, there could be no better proof of the tenacity and firmness of the Chinese Revolution, no better proof of the capacity of the Chinese proletariat for being the leader of this revolution.

Lenin, in speaking of the conditions for revolution, in addition to the objective prerequisites, particularly emphasised the role of the subjective factor: "The capacity of the revolutionary class for revolutionary mass action of sufficient force to break down (or shatter) the old government, which never, even in time of crisis, will 'fall' unless it is 'knocked down'. In the Canton uprising this capacity of the Chinese proletariat for revolutionary mass action was particularly evident.

The Canton Commune did not last long—in all only 58 hours. Serious mistakes in leadership and the general preponderance of forces in favour of the imperialists and Kuomintang militarists predestined the defeat of the Chinese workers and poor inhabitants of the city. But the revolutionary government succeeded in issuing a number of decrees, which proclaimed a new era for the whole colonial world. A decree was issued for an eight hour working day and another decree provided for confiscation without compensation of all the estates of the landlords and their transfer to the peasantry, while another decree annulled all feudal, debt and rent contracts.

The significance of the Canton Commune must be estimated not only in connection with previous events, but in the light of the subsequent development of the revolutionary

struggles in the colonial East. The slogans of the Canton Commune were seized upon by millions of workers and became the symbol of national revolutionary war for the complete economic and political independence of China, for the revolutionary unification of the country, and for the complete destruction of the yoke of imperialism and feudal enslavement.

The countless heavy losses suffered by the Chinese proletariat in its struggle against the imperialists and the bourgeois and counter-revolution have not been in vain. During the 5 years which have passed since the time of the Canton uprising, the **Soviet movement in China** has become an unconquerable force. The ruling bourgeois and landlord cliques in China are unable to cope with it, notwithstanding the far-reaching support granted them by international imperialism.

The Chinese Red Army is growing and gaining strength. During the past two years it has beaten off 4 Generals' campaigns against the Soviet districts and has not only held off the attack of superior enemy forces, but has considerably increased its own forces in battle and has extended Soviet territory.

In these four campaigns carried out by the Kuomintang government over 80 divisions have taken part, with a total of 1 million men. What were the results? Out of these 80 government divisions 42 were completely beaten by the Chinese Red Army and 8 divisions during this period killed off their officers and went over to the side of the workers' and peasants' Soviets. As trophies the Red Army of China have captured during these years hundreds of thousands of rifles, thousands of machine guns and tens of thousands of prisoners.

The well-known Chinese professor Hu Shi wrote not long ago that it was impossible to conquer the Communists in China "without uprooting the belief of the peasants in the Communists". This same professor gave the following answer to the question of why the Chinese peasantry is for the Communists:

"One of the basic Communist principles is the principle of forcible equal division of the land. The landlords in the province of Kiangsi, Hupeh and Anhwei know this only too well. When the Communist troops enter a village the landlords immediately disappear. Then all documents relating to the ownership of land are burnt and all boundary marks are removed. As soon as the foundations of the old property system are abolished the Communists proceed to a new distribution of the land among the peasants. It is an absolutely indisputable fact that in the Communist districts the peasants have gained definite economic advantages".

It is a characteristic fact that we find an indirect recognition of the correctness of the agrarian policy of the Chinese Communist Party in the report of the **Lytton Commission**. It is precisely the agrarian programme of the Chinese Communist Party, calling for the confiscation of the land held by the landlords and its distribution among the poor peasants, as well as the cancellation of peasant debts, that are offered by the Lytton Commission as explanation of the tremendous success of the Communists, especially among the poor peasantry of China.

"Communism in China", we read in the Lytton report, „has become not merely a political doctrine, and a Communist Party has not only been established in China, but has become an actual rival of the National Government, for Communism in China has issued its own laws, has formed its own army and government and has its own territorial sphere of action. At present there are two Communist governments—in Kiangsi and Fukien, but the number of local Soviets reaches several hundred. The Communist government consists of a committee elected at a congress of local workers and peasants, while in actual fact it is under the control of the Chinese Communist Party".

If we find in the report of the Lytton Commission a recognition of the fact that vast regions of China are completely Sovietised and that the regions under Communist influence have been greatly extended recently, it is the best proof of the solidity and stability of the conquests of the Chinese Soviets, of the workers and peasants of China.

From day to day broader masses of workers are becoming convinced of all the advantages of the Soviet system in China. In the Soviet regions the power is actually in the hands of the workers and peasants and it is directed towards radically increasing the prosperity of the masses. In the Kuomintang territory the working masses are still deprived

of all rights and the imperialists and corrupt militarists are reigning arbitrarily and without restriction. In the Soviet regions the masses of workers and peasants have cast off the chains of imperialist oppression. In the Kuomintang territory the ruling cliques are preparing the way for imperialist plunder and for the partitioning and complete colonial enslavement of China. In the Soviet districts the property rights of the landlords have been completely liquidated and the age-long enslavement of the feudal lords and usurers has been swept away. The land is in the hands of the peasants, feudal debts have been cancelled, ruinous taxes have been abolished, the labour conditions of the workers have been markedly improved and the material situation of the workers and peasants has become far better. In the Kuomintang territory on the other hand we find economic crisis on every hand, reaching the point of economic catastrophe, and endless struggles between generals, intolerable military levies, and increase in the frightful exploitation of the workers and peasants, ruination, starvation and death for tens of millions of people.

The masses of workers in China are coming more and more to recognise the incompatibility between their life interests and the rule of the imperialists, the power of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois landlord bloc and the preservation of the whole Kuomintang regime. In more and more new districts Soviet centres are springing up. Greater and greater masses of workers are joining the revolutionary liberation struggle. A symptom of this is the report in the Chinese papers about the uprising in Jenchow (south-west part of the province of Shantung). These papers state that in the autumn of this year, under the leadership of the Communists, the peasants in this region refused to pay rent to the landlords, and in the middle of October there were simultaneous uprisings in fifty village districts, where Soviet governments were set up, which carried out an equal distribution of the land.

Another indicative fact is the establishment of a new Soviet region bordering on the provinces of **Shensi** and **Kwangsu** in the north of China. And finally, the tremendous development of the partisan movement in Manchuria, in turn bears witness to the fact that the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China is growing and spreading from day to day.

At the head of this anti-imperialist and anti feudal revolution stands the heroic working-class of China. In its mass strikes the Chinese proletariat is linking up political slogans with its daily economic demands. Thus the typographical workers of **Shanghai** succeeded in establishing the eight hour day. Exceptional stubbornness is being shown by the Chinese proletariat in strike struggles. We may point out as an example the 40 000 miners of the Highland Concession, who struck 5 times in 1931 and finally obtained a reduction of the working day from 10 to 9 hours. With the rising tide of anti-imperialist fighting-spirit, the struggles of the Chinese proletariat are rapidly taking on a political character. In 1931 772,477 persons in China participated in strikes. In 1932 the movement has grown stronger. The following figures give the picture in China in 1932:

Months	No. of Strikers
January, February, March	333,880 workers
April, May, June	237,450 "
July, August, September	255,300 "
Total for the first 9 months.	826,630 workers

A considerable number of these strikes have been of an outstandingly political character, being directed against imperialist plunderers. It is precisely these movements of the Chinese proletariat which have placed it in the centre of the anti-imperialist struggle against the Japanese interventionists and other imperialist oppressors of China. It is under the direct influence of the heroic struggles of the Chinese proletariat that the movement of the urban poor, the student movement and the partisan movement are spreading and are becoming revolutionised.

The Chinese Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class, is more and more successfully mobilising the masses under the slogan of national revolutionary struggle of the armed population against the Japanese and other imperialists for independence, integrity and an undivided China, under the slogan of struggle for the overthrow of the Kuomintang and the establishment of the Soviet power throughout all China.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Death of Eduard Bernstein.

By J. A.

In the whole of the international labour movement at the end of the nineteenth and the commencement of the present Century, Bernstein's name served as a dividing line between Reform and Revolution. When Bernstein's revisionism celebrated its greatest triumph in August 1914, imagination paled before reality. And on this path there was no turning back for the social democracy: from reformist socialism it developed to social fascism. And with it the old Eduard. Shortly before May Day 1929, when Zörgiebel carried out his notorious blood-bath Bernstein declared: "If I have to choose between fascism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, then I decide for fascism." And right up to the last years of his life he allowed no large-scale anti-Communist action to pass without taking part in it.

His book, "Evolutionary Socialism", his pamphlets, his polemical articles in the "Sozialistische Monatshefte" were an ordeal to us Marxist youth. The unclear mode of expression, the ever-recurring "on the one hand, and on the other hand", the constant confusion got on one's nerves.

Bernstein was born in 1850 as son of a railwayman. He attended the high school and then became a bank clerk. In the year 1872 he, together with other democratic youths, joined the Eisenach social democratic group. Bernstein was at that time however at best a social reformer and not a socialist, not to mention a Marxist. Thus later he became a true disciple of Eugen Dühring and his apostle in the united social democratic party. After the introduction of Bismack's anti-socialist law, he went abroad with Höchberg as the latter's secretary and collaborator on the "Zukunft" (The Future), which wanted to liquidate the Party. Of course, Marx and Engels fiercely combatted Höchberg and his followers, including Bernstein.

But the Saul of Tarsus soon became a Paul. In 1881 he took over the editorship of the Zürich "Sozialdemokrat", the central organ of the German social democracy which was prohibited in Germany, and soon adopted the proper radical tone. His sharp article on the anniversary of the execution of Louis the sixteenth, which was a plain hint to the emperor Wilhelm in Berlin, attracted the attention and gained the approval of Marx and Engels in London. They took up Bernstein, gave him advice which he then made good use of as editor of the "Sozialdemokrat". There then commenced the great time of Bernstein, when he fought not only against the police and the government but also against the flabby elements in his own party. In addition to his work on the "Sozialdemokrat", he issued the social democratic Library, a series of excellent pamphlets, including the Communist Manifesto, "The Communist Trial in Cologne", "Civil War in France", Engels' "The Housing Question", etc. Along with Kautsky he translated Marx' "Poverty of Philosophy" and collaborated on the "Neue Zeit". When the socialist law was repealed he was still obliged to remain in exile, where he published the writings of Lassalle, without, however giving a correct analysis of Lassalleism.

Without this heroic period Bernstein would not have been able later to play a big role, for even though he was the mouth-piece of a tendency which set in with the tempestuous development of capitalism, which caused a labour aristocracy to arise in nearly every capitalist country, Bernstein came to the forefront not on account of the profundity of his criticism, but solely because in him a pupil of Marx and Engels came forward against his teachers! But even in his best time Bernstein did not penetrate to the core of Marxism. He remained always confused. Engels criticised Kautsky's "Economic Teachings of Marx" in which Bernstein collaborated, as well as the latter's review of the third volume of Capital, which Engels directly described as confused. After the death of Marx, Bernstein commenced a series of articles in the "Neue Zeit" in which he attempted to prove the necessity for a revision of Marxism. And when Belfort Bax reproached Bernstein with having completely abandoned the final aim of the socialist movement in favour of the conceptions of present bourgeois liberalism, Bernstein replied:

"I openly confess I have exceedingly little understanding and interest for that which is generally described as the final aim of Socialism. This aim, whatever it may be, is nothing to me; the movement is everything and by the movement I understand the general movement of society,

i. e. social progress, as well as political and economic agitation and organisation to achieve this progress."

That was in the year 1888. But Kautsky still hesitated to take up the cudgels against his friend. It was only when Plechanov, Parvus, and Schönlank sounded the hue and cry, when the old Stern in Stuttgart designated Bernstein as a renegade, that Kautsky also joined in the fight. There commenced the so-called Bernstein debates. The Party Congresses engaged in them: Stuttgart 1888, Hanover 1899 (Bebel's great speech), Lübeck 1901; but they ended in compromises instead of a good fight, as Lenin preferred. In the discussion in central and West Europe Plechanov rendered the best service. Mehring staunchly defended materialistic dialectics against Bernstein, but at the same time tremendously underestimated revisionism in his short epilogue to his History of the German Social Democracy. It is true, in the year 1903, after the big election victory, when Mehring opposed the tremendous advance of revisionism, the revisionists attempted to concentrate their whole fury against him and to defeat him (Dresden Party Congress 1903). Thus he was obliged to realise to his own cost the incorrectness of his estimate. It was in the fight against Bernstein that the young Rosa Luxemburg won her spurs, but at the same time revealed her weaknesses. In her speech at Stuttgart against Vollmar she said:

"The only violent means which can lead us to victory is the socialist enlightenment of the working class in the everyday struggle."

It was only the Bolsheviki who adopted the correct attitude to Bernstein, not only because they best pointed out Bernstein's sins, but in that they created a Party in which there was no place for Bernsteinism, not even for conciliators of Bernsteinism. The chief figure in the fight against Bernstein, Kautsky, in this fight revealed his chief weaknesses. This applies not only to the above-mentioned hesitations which he displayed before joining in the fight, but also to his main work in this controversy: "Bernstein and the Social Democratic Programme". Regarding this work Lenin wrote in his "State and Revolution":

"Thus it comes that with Kautsky the essential difference between Marxism and opportunism regarding the tasks of the proletarian revolution appear to be obliterated.

"The decision regarding the problem of the proletarian dictatorship", wrote Kautsky against Bernstein, 'we can calmly leave to the future'.

"That is not a polemic against Bernstein but, at bottom, a concession to him, a surrender of positions to opportunism, for at the moment the opportunists do not demand anything else than that all fundamental questions regarding the tasks of the proletarian revolution shall be calmly leave to the future'.

And in another passage:

"The most prominent theoreticians and publicists of the Second International (1889—1914) dealt very little with the question of the relation of the State to the social revolution and of the social revolution to the State. But the most characteristic feature in the process of the gradual growth of opportunism, which in 1914 led to the collapse of the II. International, is, that even when they were face to face with this question they sought to evade it or failed to observe it.

Generally speaking, one can say, that this evasion of the question of the relation of the proletarian revolution to the State—an evasion which was advantageous to and promoted opportunism—led to the distortion and complete vulgarisation of Marxism."

Plechanov's words, "Either you will settle Bernstein or he will settle you", have proved true in the sense that the old social democracy suffered bankruptcy.

It was an amusing spectacle to see how nearly all the opponents of Bernstein gradually went over to his side, particularly Plechanov and Kautsky.

During the war Bernstein severed connection with the majority socialists; not, however, because he was altogether opposed to their war policy, but because his sympathy with England prevented him from unconditionally approving the fight against England. But the war was scarcely over and the bayonets of the Noske bands were still red with the blood of Spartacists, when Bernstein went back to the social democracy and participated in its development to social fascism.

Thus it comes that after his death the greatest socialist renegade is today lauded as the greatest hero by the international social democracy.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of the Working Class in Greece.

By **Kostas Grypos.**

1. Introduction.

The present descendants of the ancient Greeks are one of the poorest peoples in the world. The diet of the Greek workers and peasants consists of bread, cheese, onions and olives. Ten years of uninterrupted wars (1912—1922) have, it is true, extended the sphere of action of Greek capitalism and brought in enormous war profits, but they have at the same time left behind as a legacy, 1½ million refugees from Asia Minor and Thrace, for the most part poor expropriated petty bourgeois, peasants and workers and small traders, who are scattered over the whole of Greece and delivered over to ruthless exploitation by international finance capital. A further direct heritage from the war is the general post-war crisis of Greek capitalism, which of course is influenced and complicated by the international economic crisis. A characteristic feature of this crisis is the chronic agrarian crisis, which commenced immediately after the war and in the last four years has assumed disastrous forms. In trade and industry the first phase of the crisis (1922 to 1923 24) was followed by the relative stabilisation, which lasted till 1928 29. This new phase of the crisis, which commenced in 1929, involved not only agriculture, trade, industry and shipping, but since last year has extended to credit, finance and State finances. The currency has lost half its value, and the tariff walls are being raised to insurmountable heights. The deficit in the trade balance is growing, imports and exports are declining, and the deficit in the State budget will amount to 600 million crowns.

What is the situation of the working population in these circumstances? According to data derived from official sources, out of a population of 6,204,084 (1928 census) **250,000 are unemployed.** Kotzias, the chairman of the big merchants' organisation in Athen, estimates the number of those who "lack the barest necessities" at 700,000. There is hardly any unemployment benefit in Greece. The unemployment benefit which has existed hitherto for the tobacco workers is about to be done away with. The eight-hour day is recognised only in a very few industries, and even there it is not strictly observed. In a whole number of industries there exists a legal ten-hour day. Women and children work for ridiculously low wages. When even a reformist in the Labour Office of the League of Nations was appalled at the misery of the working Greek children, Mr. Vurlumis, a member of the government and wholesale fruit-dealer by profession, replied: "What are we to do with the children who have nothing to eat at home? We let them

work!" Thousands of young people are working without any pay, "because they are learning".

Professor Svolos, wrote as follows in the "Eleftheron Vima" of June 2, last:

"It is clear that a State whose citizens are compelled to work right from their earliest childhood, and thereby become crippled as a result, a State in which the national industry is based mainly on low and often starvation wages, in which tuberculosis and malaria play havoc with the life and health of the individual, and, finally in which civilisation has not yet extended its power beyond the narrow circle of the rich classes and the central districts of the capital town and a few other towns, should have far greater obligations to fulfil towards the working population."

This capitalist professor sees that the danger is greater than ever.

The lot of the peasants is even worse than that of the town workers. The small peasant is only nominally the owner of his property; in reality everything he has belongs to the agrarian bank, the money lender and the State. Professor Andreadis wrote in "Le Capital" of February 1932:

"The Greek tax-payer is weighed down mainly by the burden of direct taxes, and then by the indirect taxes, which are imposed on the most necessary articles of consumption, including bread, and are worse than in any other country in Europe."

This enormous misery of the Greek working masses has not failed to call forth resistance on their part. The Greek workers replied to the first outbreak of the crisis in 1929 with a wave of strikes in which 60,000 workers took part. In the first seven months of 1932 the strikes reached almost the same extent. Important sections of the working class, such as the tramwaymen, railwaymen, tobacco workers and civil servants, joined in the struggle. Hardly any strike ends without collisions with the police, wholesale arrests, killed and wounded. The peasants flee to the mountains in order to avoid paying taxes, beat up the tax collectors and set fire to the tax offices. The hunger marches of the peasants have shaken and are shaking the whole country, in particular Thessaly and Macedonia.

The general revolutionisation of the toiling masses is shown by the results of the elections held on September 25, when the Communist Party achieved a big success and made considerable progress towards winning the majority of the proletariat and the toiling masses.

The Carrying Through of the Decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

(The Experience of the Communist Parties of Central Europe.)

By **G. S.**

Three months have passed since the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The development of the class struggle in this period has given even more emphasis to the correctness of the analysis of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. regarding the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. "Unexpected" incidents in Geneva which have already led to the rapid flight of capital from the capital of the League of Nations, "the safest" place for the bourgeoisie, the rapid growth of the strike struggle of the German proletariat, after a two years' lull, which has already compelled the employers in the heavy industry to postpone for a time the attack on wage agreements for the sake of better political preparation of this attack, the considerable success of the Communist Party of Germany at the Reichstag elections, and a whole series of other facts show **how necessary** it is for the Communist vanguard, under the conditions created by the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, to overcome at an accelerated rate its lagging

behind the revolutionary upsurge. The peculiarity of the end of capitalist stabilisation consists in the fact that revolutionary outbreaks of the class struggle mature frequently unexpectedly, **curtailing** hereby considerably for the Communist Party the historical period for the preparation of the revolution. Hence, the necessity of maximum acceleration of the rate at which the main strategical task, on the eve of the decisive revolutionary struggles for the proletarian dictatorship, is to be solved, the task of smashing the mass base of social democracy and winning the majority of the working class, by leading all the forms of the class struggle of the proletariat, and cleverly converting its economic struggle into political, developing the economic and political struggle in accord with the concrete revolutionary maturity of the situation, for the given country and the given phase of the class struggle.

Therefore, the question of checking up the carrying through of the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.,

of ascertaining in what manner and to what extent the sections of the Communist International bring to the notice of broad masses of workers the general appraisal of the development of the class struggle, given by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and the main tactical line of the Communist vanguard,—is now of enormous importance. It is a question of **methods and forms** of drawing broad strata of workers into the **struggle**.

It is the question of transmitting the experience of one Party to another, the experience of one class collision to another, of rectifying there and then, in the height of the growing revolutionary struggles, shortcomings and errors which originate above all in an inadequate recognition of the very fact of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, and of its meaning for the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

The experience of the Communist Parties of Central Europe (Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Hungary) is of particular interest, because in this respect it is a question of the experience of a Party such as the C.P. of Germany, the achievements and shortcomings of which are of enormous **international** significance, which serve as a lesson to all the sections of the Communist International. On the other hand, the countries of Central Europe are an illustration of the application of the main decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to the concrete situation, as countries with a speedy maturing of the revolutionary crisis (Germany), and also as countries with a growing acuteness of the class struggle and with an ever-growing transition from economic to political struggles (Czechoslovakia), and again as countries such as Holland, where the economic struggles of the proletariat are for the time being the only form of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses.

The question of carrying out the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is not only a question of publishing the theses or other resolutions and of discussing them at Party meetings or conferences (though this is of enormous importance from the point of view of the ideological Bolshevik education of the Communist vanguard and its mobilisation for the carrying through of these decisions), but in the first instance a question of ascertaining what effect the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. have had on the mass work of the Communist Parties and, above all, on concrete, practical leadership of class struggles. There is no doubt whatever that at least in the countries of Central Europe the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are carried through much better than this was formerly the case, especially, after the preceding, the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Especially, the progress made by the Communist Party of Germany, and particularly by the Berlin Party organisation, since the fascist coup d'Etat, July 20, and up to the general traffic workers' strike of the capital with its 4 millions population and the considerable successes of the Communist Party at the Reichstag elections, is an enormous positive achievement, secured by the C.P.G. in this period, above all, owing to determined application in practice of the directives of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and to the purification of the policy of the Communist Party from elements of opportunist distortion (comrade Neumann's group) in the struggle against fascism, as well as in the struggle against social democracy. Then, July 20, the call of the Berlin organisation of the C.P.G. for a general strike, unaccompanied by a genuine Bolshevik mobilisation of the masses for the struggle, was in fact a blow of the sword into empty space and had to become the starting point of serious self-criticism of the German comrades, at the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., as well as at the October Conference of the C.P.G. Just now the whole Communist International watches with considerable satisfaction how under the leadership of the Communist Party the working class of Germany shows more and more opposition to the last decree of the fascist government.

Already several months ago opportunists and panic mongers pointed to the absence of strike struggle on the part of the German proletariat, and to some temporary setbacks in election campaigns (the presidential elections), and arrived at the conclusion that the main line of the development of the class struggle in the present phase ostensibly consists in the reinforcement of fascism, in the growth of bourgeois reaction and in defeats of the working class. The opportunist platform of Humbert-Droz on the eve of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. spoke of a "chain of defeats" of the Communist International, and of the necessity of leaning—even if it be for a short historical period—on an upper stratum bloc with the manoeuvring social democracy. The Communist

International gave short shrift to these opportunist sorties, making the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, the growth of the forces of the proletarian revolution, including that in Germany, the starting point of its appraisal of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. The opportunists failed to see the extremely strained class relations in Germany which frequently led to direct political struggles rather than to economic strikes. The fascist coup d'Etat of the von Papen Government brought at once enormous proletarian masses into motion and by heading the united front of the anti-fascist action, the Communist vanguard succeeded in attaining a broad development of the economic struggle against the capitalist offensive, which, in its turn, contributes to the accelerated development of the political struggle of the German proletariat. This realisation of the unity of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party, the extreme political sharpening of the struggle of the Berlin traffic workers, the independent leadership of the strike struggle from beginning to end, constitute the substance of the considerable achievements secured by the C.P.G. owing to a consistent putting into practice of the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., achievements which are of enormous positive importance for all Comintern sections. They show **how** in the situation created by the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, the Communist Parties, by leading the struggle for the every-day interests of the masses, **can** and **will** bring the masses of workers into sharp revolutionary political struggles.

But not in all the Parties by far is there such positive utilisation of objectively favourable conditions created by the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, as in the C.P.G. And even in the C.P.G. this positive development is far from being uniform. The spontaneous ardent desire for unity in the working class for resistance to the offensive of capitalism and bourgeois reaction is frequently not properly utilised by the Communist vanguard. For instance, another large Communist Party of Central Europe—the C.P. of Czechoslovakia—which was able to attain considerable successes between the XI. and the XII. Plenums of the E.C.C.I. in its development (doubling its membership, considerable growth of Red trade unions, etc.) by giving an impetus and heading the partial economic struggles of the proletariat which successfully led the general strike in Brux, has not yet been able, under the new conditions created by the growing acuteness of political antagonisms in Czechoslovakia, the national struggle, the peasant movement and the growing terror of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement, to utilise the growth of political antagonisms in the bourgeois camp and mobilise the masses for political defence of the Communist Party itself, as well as of other proletarian revolutionary mass organisations against bourgeois-fascist terror. Systematic efforts have been made for many months in Czechoslovakia to drive all revolutionary organisations underground. The Y.C.L., the International Red Aid and the W.I.R. are suppressed, a direct attack is made on the leaders of the Communist Party, with the intention of depriving them of parliamentary immunity. Neither the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, nor the Y.C.L. have yet been able to mobilise broad masses for the defence of the revolutionary organisations. In the present acute situation when terror reigns supreme it is up to the Communists of Czechoslovakia first of all, to **popularise the Communist Party**, as the only class party of the proletariat and the only protector of the toiling masses. This is the only way of arousing the masses for defence of the revolutionary vanguard. Meanwhile, despite scores, and may be, even hundreds of mass meetings held by the Communists and the Young Communists, the matter of defending revolutionary organisations has not gone beyond the precincts of Party and Y.C.L. meetings, has not developed into mass factory movements demonstrations and protest strikes.

An inevitable result of this is a lull in the further growth of the Party organisation, and even in the further development of economic struggles. Despite a series of successful strike struggles carried through recently, such as the miners' strike in Rossitz which is still going on under the leadership of the Communist Party, a series of metal workers', building operatives' and other strikes, which show that conditions are objectively favourable, the C.P.C.Z. and the Red trade unions have not succeeded in launching the struggle against wage-cuts in the textile industry and for the Kladno miners, in organising mass resistance to the reduction of salaries for civil servants, in strengthening their positions

among the Prague metal workers after the successful united front demonstration of October 20, in maintaining their previous positions in the important Vitkovitz and Skoda works, and finally, in spreading the revolutionary peasant movement in the Carpathian Ukraine. The C.P.C.Z. is experiencing difficulties of transition to higher forms of political mobilisation of the masses under conditions created by the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. It is not an accident that Party work is most backward in the national regions—in Slovakia and in the German Districts of Czechoslovakia, where we see now the largest growth of the revolutionary peasant movement and the national struggle.

The Communist Parties, despite the great unevenness of their development, make, without exception, great efforts just now for a truly practical carrying through of the resolutions of the E.C.C.I. Plenum. This demonstrates the Bolshevik maturity of the Comintern sections. However, the serious shortcomings of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and of a series of smaller Communist Parties, which have come to light precisely in connection with the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and the carrying through of the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., show where one has to seek the sources of these shortcomings, so as to overcome them with the least possible delay.

The most important question is that of concretising the analysis of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism for every separate country, and of concretising, on this basis, the immediate tactical tasks of the respective Communist Parties. There is the danger of mechanical and abstract application of the main analysis of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum regarding the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. The **internal** process of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism is certainly **not the same** in all countries. The greatest significance of the analysis of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum consists in the fact that it has called attention to the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, as to an **international** phenomenon. This is not yet sufficiently recognised especially in the small Parties (the C.P.'s of Holland, Austria and Switzerland). Hence, the quest for signs of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism solely on the basis of internal development, and not in connection with the whole international situation. Hence, frequently mechanical repetition of the formula, as an obligatory political appendage, followed by the old substance in the practical work, or even by denial of the existence of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism for one's own country (the peculiar theory of "exceptional position"). For instance, it is impossible to understand the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism for **Holland**, if the situation there is not directly linked up with the situation in the dutch colony, Indonesia, with a population which exceeds ten times the population of the mother country, with untold colonial wealth, on the plunder of which the stabilisation of Dutch capitalism rested, which exported every year from this colony no less than a milliard (1,000 millions) Gulden, in the shape of extorted excess profit. The sharp crisis in the colonies is the main source of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism in Holland itself. This was not immediately understood by the Dutch comrades who are preparing now the Congress of the Communist Party of Holland, and go on asserting in their discussions that Holland is for the time being only "going towards the end" of capitalist stabilisation. Owing to the crisis, the Dutch Communist Party is just beginning to get at the masses, having achieved its first considerable successes in the leadership of the economic struggles of the proletariat. Inability to bring forward in a concrete manner for the whole country the tasks arising out of the fact of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism in Holland, are bound to interfere with the further development of the successes of the Communist Party.

Furthermore, it is impossible to understand the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism for **Austria**, if one ignores it as an international factor. The partial stabilisation of capitalism in Austria was, may be, the most relative and unstable in the whole capitalist Europe. The theorists in the Austrian social democracy, **Otto Bauer** especially, still catch at every "rumour" of bourgeois economists about the alleged commencement of the overcoming of the economic crisis, for the popularisation of a new source of salvation for Austrian capitalism. This was the case recently during the boom on the New York stock exchange. This was also the case last year during the hunt for foreign credits, to save the bankrupt Rothschild Bank—the "Kredit-Anstalt". The legend regarding the commencement of the overcoming of the economic crisis,

spread now by bourgeois economists, is intended, first of all, to inoculate the masses with the conviction that capitalism is indestructible, that another era of capitalist stabilisation is inevitable, and to attach hereby the masses of workers to the capitalist system. In this connection, the role of Austrian social democracy, as the main social support of the bourgeoisie in its struggle for a capitalist way out of the crisis, is particularly evident. In this connection, the appraisal of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, as an international phenomenon, has special significance. The Austrian comrades have been unable to make from this concrete inferences for their own country, which in this case means above all more energetic propaganda for the exposure of the role of social democracy. This is all the more important as the leaders of Austrian social democracy indulge now in extremely "left" manoeuvres, in their attempt to deceive the masses and exploit the spontaneous ardent desire of the workers for unity. This was shown particularly at the recent Congress of the Austro-Marxists. The Communist Party of Austria which has grown in the last two years, but is still very small compared with the mass party of Austrian social democracy, can put up a successful struggle for real influence among the masses, provided it is able to raise the campaign of exposure to the required level. Meanwhile, our Austrian comrades were unable to do this, they failed to understand the international significance of the Congress of the Austro-Marxists from the point of view of the social democrats' struggle for the preservation of their influence, they did not concentrate their work on mobilising the masses against their new manoeuvres. This shows that the Austrian comrades, despite all the resolutions of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum, have not yet realised the tremendous importance of the struggle in that country for the social democratic workers, and especially of work in the reformist trade unions which has been shamefully neglected in the last period.

Neither can one understand the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism in **Switzerland** without a proper appraisal of the specific International position of this country. Here illusions about the stability of the capitalist system are more possible than anywhere else. It was precisely the illusion about the stability of Swiss capitalism which strengthened the opportunist platform of Humbert-Droz before the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum. Here the danger of opportunist distortion of the united front tactic and its substitution by a bloc of the upper strata with social democracy for the struggle for unity of the working class, is more serious than anywhere else. The Swiss comrades are making now genuine efforts to remedy the opportunist mistakes that were made. On the basis of the decisions of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum, they have been able to organise an energetic campaign against the renegade Bringolf, and the manoeuvres of the "famous" Geneva "left" social democrat, Nicole. During the Geneva movement, they were able to place themselves, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, at the head of the masses, and extend considerably their political influence, as shown at the mass funeral of Fuerst, a member of the C.C. of the Swiss Communist Party, who was killed. But lack of faith in their own forces, hesitation in face of the mass Social Democratic Party found expression in a series of vacillations before the declaration of the general strike in Geneva. By negotiating with Nicole, the Communists made themselves dependent on the decisions of the social democrats, and missed the right moment in issuing a call of their own for the strike, though the strike slogan was so popular that the Geneva trade union bureaucrats and the social democratic committee were compelled despite their sabotage, to consent to the strike under the pressure of the masses.

This mechanical and abstract presentation of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism inevitably leads to an underestimation of the most important directives of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum regarding the character of the present period, as the period of direct transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars, to the presentation of this period as a durable, stable, and frequently even as a whole new "fourth" period, which, formally, sounds very radical, but in fact results in weakening the work of the Communist Parties. Even the theoretical organ of the C.P.G., "Die Internationale", in the special number for September-October 1932, devoted to the decisions of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum, declares that "the present decisive phase of the development of capitalism represents the end of the third period" (P. 375). It is just against such playing with periods that the XII. E.C.C.I.

Plenum issued a warning, as well as against the illusion itself, as if by the big success alleged to have been achieved by the Communist Parties in the struggle against fascism and social democracy, the Communist vanguard has already succeeded in forcing the social fascists to take up the defensive, in doing away with the fascist danger or in liquidating the wave of chauvinism. There can be nothing more harmful to the Communist Parties than such self-deception. Just because the historical periods of the transition epoch are short and become shorter and shorter, the tactical tasks of the Communist Parties demand even more stubborn, systematic and self-sacrificing work for the destruction of the mass base of the main social prop and pillar of the bourgeoisie and the wave of unbridled chauvinism. Meanwhile, it is just in the struggle against nationalism and the direct danger of imperialist war, as a consequence of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, that the Communist Parties have done very little indeed after the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum. With the exception of Germany and Czechoslovakia, the resolution of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum re struggle against war has hardly been popularised (and even there the popularisation of these resolutions might have certainly been carried through much better). With the exception of Germany, the decision of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum re concretisation of the struggle against war, and conversion of the struggle into a mass campaign, has been hardly carried out anywhere.

In **Germany** itself, where a whole series of C.P.G. demonstrations against war and nationalism have taken place lately (Comrade Thaelmann's speech in Paris, the manifesto of the C.C. C.P.G., 23. X., against the Versailles system, and the manifesto of the C.C. C.P.G. and C.P. of France of October 26), there is not yet any concrete struggle against war, as stated by Comrade **Thaelmann** at the Berlin Party Conference. This conference has for the first time placed before the Berlin-Brandenburg district, as a district adjoining imperialist Poland, concrete tasks such as struggle against the new patriotic films in Berlin, exposure of the aggressive-imperialist character of the autumn Reichswehr manoeuvres, struggle against chauvinist propaganda under the colours of "defence of the Berlin population against air and gas attacks", etc.

In **Czechoslovakia**, after a successful recruiting campaign, the Young Communist League has only taken up lately the organising of antiwar conferences (Slovakia), and to set up anti-war committees at these conferences. But it is just in Czechoslovakia that the Communist Party has been lagging behind in the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism connected with the growth of national antagonisms in this country, on the basis of a further sharpening of the crisis and efforts on the part of the Czech bourgeoisie to come out of it at the expense of the oppressed nationalities. The underestimation of the national question in Czechoslovakia resulted in inability of combining the peasant and the national movement in Slovakia. This underestimation was particularly evident in the German regions of Czechoslovakia where some comrades actually went on confirming the opportunist formula repudiated already at the last Party Congress of the C.P. Cz. regarding "Czechoslovak" imperialism (and not Czech!) under the colours of the "left" formula, as if the German bourgeoisie in Czechoslovakia is merely an ordinary agency of Czech imperialism. As a result of this, these comrades did not notice the growth of fascism in the German regions, the manifestations of which "took them by surprise" at the last municipal elections of the German regions of Czechoslovakia. Just now the C.P. Cz. makes serious efforts to make up for lost time. That this is so, is shown by the Party conference in Reichenberg, a whole series of concrete measures of the C.P. Cz. with regard to the national question, Comrade **Hadek's** speech in Parliament with a programme of social and national liberation. It is essential for the Party to go on making up for lost time with increased energy, rectifying there and then errors and deviations already committed in the very progress of rectifying shortcomings. For instance, it will not do to issue slogans such as "Provision of employment to German workers in the German regions", as this is done in the programme of social and national liberation. This is practically an imitation of the fascist slogan, that "help can come to Germans only from Germans", which in fact does not weaken but fosters chauvinism in the German regions. On the other hand, this loss of time in the struggle against chauvinism has already found expression in the symptomatic

growth of fascism in the Czech regions themselves, where at the recent factory committee elections in Moravian Ostrau all the Parties lost votes (which was greatly due to mass dismissals), including the Communists, except the Czech fascists: the German social-democrats lost 60,5 per cent., the Czech S.D.'s 19 per cent., the Red Trade Unions 11,7 per cent., whereas the Czech fascists gained 13,4 per cent. This fact should be an inducement to the C.P. Cz. seriously to consider the reasons of its losses, and find means of making them good.

Nothing could be more harmful to the Communist Party than self-deception: imagining that social democracy has already been driven everywhere into a defensive position. Example from a series of countries, given above, show to what extent social democracy is still able to manoeuvre, utilising above all opportunist confidence in the "left" manoeuvres of the social democrats which exist in some organs of the Communist Parties, as well as the absence of consistent, systematic, and decisive struggle against these manoeuvres on the part of our Parties. For instance, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has been able to compel the social democrats to take up the defensive during the Brůx strike, the metal workers demonstration in Prague and recently in Rossitz. But even **Comrade Gottwald** at the Prague Party Conference and **Comrade Swerma**, in a special article, call attention to a series of serious gaps and opportunist errors in the practical application of the united front tactic, which were the cause of such setbacks at the factory committees elections in Vitkovitz and the Skoda works. Meanwhile, it is just in Czechoslovakia that our comrades repeat again and again—also at the last plenum of the C.C. C.P. Cz.—that with regard to the united front, social democracy has already taken up the defensive. But in reality, Czech Social democracy, as shown by these examples, still manoeuvres frequently against the Communists, issuing very demagogic slogans, such as "strike for socialism". In fact, **no serious change has taken place** in the revolutionary work within the reformist trade unions, and the positions of the trade union bureaucracy are still very strong. And this, despite the fact that the Czech social democracy forms part of the government and participates in all the persecutions of the Communist Party, the revolutionary trade unions, and the other revolutionary mass organisations of the proletariat.

All this because there is not yet a real struggle against social democracy that corresponds with the **present conditions** of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, and with the present manoeuvring of social democracy. This applies not only to the C.P. Cz., but certainly to all the Communist Parties. Even in Germany, after the Reichstag elections (November 6), some organs of the party press, as for instance, "Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung" (Organ of the Saxon Provincial Committee of the C.P.G.) declared that the reduction of the social democratic vote by 700,000 means "reduction of the importance of the German social democrats for the bourgeoisie, as its main social support". This goes entirely against the line adopted by the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum.

None of the Communist Parties have yet been able to tackle seriously the task of conquering broad masses of social democratic workers, despite the steadily growing social democratic crisis. It is not accidental that there is not in a single country even a **serious attempt** at a turn in the work of the Communist Parties within the reformist trade unions. With regard to this there was a consensus of opinion among all the speakers at the Berlin Party Conference, which correctly called attention to the extreme inadequacy of revolutionary work **within the metal workers union**, as one of the most important reasons of the failure rapidly to **spread** the Berlin Traffic Workers Strike.

A turn is noticeable with regard to the **unemployed** movement. The fourth hungry winter, which brings untold sufferings to millions of unemployed, has already been ushered in by the revival of the revolutionary unemployed movement. In Germany, the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union organisations have correctly concretised the work among the masses in an atmosphere of steadily growing revolutionary ferment among the unemployed, and have issued simple, concrete slogans "**bread, coal and potatoes**", which will no doubt **appeal to the enormous masses of unemployed**. It will depend on the Communist Party itself to raise this elementary mass movement for bread to the level of political struggle, in as far as in the present conditions in Germany such a political sharpening is inevitable. In Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the unemployed

demonstrated in Komotau, occupied the town-halls in Kaschau and near Prague, organised revolutionary unemployed conferences in Reichenberg and Friedland. But all this is **merely the beginning**. All this shows what enormous revolutionary possibilities there are for the Communist parties, provided they know how to organise and head the struggle of the unemployed for their everyday interests.

The successful carrying out of the decisions of the XII. Plenum requires of all parties to work tenaciously for their organisational consolidation, for such a regrouping of the Party ranks which would raise the ability of the C.P.'s to carry out political tasks. The greatest attention should be paid to those points of the resolutions of the XII. Plenum which require Party work to be concentrated on the factories, the development of the initiative of all sections of the Party organisations, the raising of the political level of the work in the lower Party organisations, the abolition of super centralism, the development of self-criticism and inner-Party democracy, the establishment of firm Party discipline, the improvement of the policy of cadres, the improvement of the quality and the mass character of the Party press, agitation, the establishment of the closest contacts of every Communist with the working masses, the everyday checking up of the fulfilment of Party decisions in all Party organs, the strengthening of the Party leadership over the Y.C.L.

The strike of the Berlin traffic workers and many other strikes in Germany undoubtedly show the changes in the work of the C.P.G. in the factories. But this same traffic workers strike shows that this is only the beginning of the changes, shows that the progress achieved in the strengthening of factory nuclei and the leadership of them, in the conversion of the nuclei into the lowest organisations of the Party which are really equal to their Party tasks in the conditions of the given movement and factory must be considered as very inadequate. The biggest weaknesses in the work in the chief factories were shown by the elections of factory committees in Czechoslovakia. The other Mid-European Communist Parties are still more lagging behind. The elimination of this lagging behind as one of the conditions for winning over the majority of the proletariat in the shortest time must not be delayed. The C.P.G. at its Conference and later the Plenum of the C.C.C.P. Czechoslovakia seriously discussed a number of questions of Party construction. The C.C. of the Dutch C.P. at the forthcoming Party Congress will raise the organisational question as the chief point of the agenda. But all the C.C.'s and Parties as a whole must definitely begin to carry out in practice the change in Party construction, because in this sphere, there is the greatest lagging behind the possibilities created by the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties, the gap between decisions and the fulfilment of decisions.

Such are the first most important lessons of the carrying through of the decisions of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum in the course of three months. The **new** in the objective situation consists in the rapidly changing correlation of class forces in favour of the working class, in favour of the revolutionary forces. It depends on the Communist Parties themselves how long, or rather how short, will be the historical interval between the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and its development into a directly revolutionary situation. The struggle for the development of the political and organisational initiative in the districts and locals, struggle against any kind of schematism, bureaucratism, opportunist passivity, and especially struggle against all opportunist distortions of the line of the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum, above all, against right opportunism which is extremely dangerous at the present stage,—will guarantee to the Communist vanguard the conversion of this historical interval into the shortest historical interval. The Communist Party of Germany which gained experience in the struggle against Comrade Neumann's opportunist group, has already shown what speedy purification of Bolshevik policy from elements of opportunist distortion means under the present conditions. By following this line and mobilising the masses by means of heading all the forms of partial economic and political struggles, by permeating every partial struggle of the proletariat and its entire mass work with the slogans of the revolutionary way out and the ultimate aims of the proletariat (which, by the way, is still rather neglected by all the Communist Parties), the Communist vanguard will be able speedily to bring broad masses of toilers into the decisive revolutionary struggles.

Organisation Questions of the Communist Party of Holland.

By A. Struik.

The Communist Party of Holland will hold its Congress in Amsterdam from December 24 to 27.

The C.P. of Holland has achieved considerable successes during the last year in the organisational strengthening of its ranks and also in the strengthening of its mass influence. However these achievements of the C.P.H. are far from sufficient to solve the tasks set to the Party by the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. All the internal and international circumstances of Holland show that the C.P.H. must organise with feverish haste the resistance to the counter-attack of the Dutch bourgeoisie on the working class and the toiling masses, against the attack on the standard of life of these masses, against the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie, first of all against the enslavement of the Indonesian people and against participation in the new armed intervention in the U.S.S.R. The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. emphasised in its political resolution that in the present conditions of the end of capitalist stabilisation, all C.P.'s must be prepared for sudden outbreaks and sharp changes in the situation. The bloody events of Geneva are one of the most obvious proofs of the correctness of this statement of the XII. Plenum. The forthcoming Congress of the C.P. of Holland must evidently draw the practical conclusions from this statement of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

The sharp class struggle in Holland has led to big strike movements already in 1932. The radicalisation of the working class found expression in the strike movements of the Twente textile workers and Rotterdam and Amsterdam seamen, in the various smaller strikes in Amsterdam—under R.T.U.O. leadership,—in the demonstrations of the C.P.H. and R.T.U.O. on "Red Tuesday" (September 20) at The Hague, and in the open rebellion against the reformist leaders in some strikes and in various trade unions. The radicalisation of the workers organised in the reformist unions, forced on the social democratic leaders "left" manoeuvres: they organised on November 8, at The Hague, a "national demonstration" which was attended by 60,000 workers, because they truly believed that they were demonstrating against the reactionary governmental policy.

This raises with the greatest prominence the question of how in practice to carry out the decision on the organisational strengthening of the Party.

The last Party Congress, 1930, has effected a sharp turn in the policy of the Party. Removal of the opportunists from the Party executive was one of the conditions for the firm establishment of a policy of independent leadership of the struggles of the Dutch workingclass. This turn found also vivid expression in the growth of the Party. While in 1930 the membership was almost stationary, or had even regressed through the secession of opposition groups to 1,100 members with 40 local groups, there were in January 1931, 60 local groups with 1,600 members, in March 1932, 72 local groups with 3,700 members, and on October 22, 107 local groups with over 5,000 members. Eight of these local groups (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Enschede, Utrecht, Arnhem, Groningen, Haarlem) are again subdivided into 19 sections (town-quarter groups). Amsterdam, the largest local group, had 1,370 members on October 15. The number of subscribers to the daily organ "**De Tribune**" has also almost quadrupled since 1930. It has now 8 pages instead of the former 4. Two weekly organs, one in Rotterdam and the other in Groningen, are published since 1931 and the beginning of 1932.

One can see by the numerical growth of the Party that three-quarters of its members have only short Party experience, and this makes the furtherance and training of new forces in the Party one of the most important organisational tasks.

These and other organisational tasks have no doubt been rather neglected up till now, and must therefore receive special attention at the coming Party Congress.

The beginnings in the reorganisation of the Party had a decisive influence at the outbreak of the big textile workers strike in Twente. It was just in the Almedo Textile factory, where the Party has a cell, that we were able to rouse the workers for struggle against the wage-cut. The reformist trade union leaders were unable to throttle immediately the strike in this factory, and this strike has greatly contributed

to the outbreak of strikes in most of the Twente Textile factories a few weeks later. But it must be emphasized that in general the Party in Twente was not at all prepared to act as political leader in this strike. The district leadership of the Party was only prepared for agitation and propaganda, but not for organising the masses. It was already during the strike that a reorganisation of the Party and a change of Party functionaries were carried through. Only towards the end of this strike did the strikers elect a strike committee of their own, because during the strike a struggle had to be carried on in the Party against Right opportunists who offered opposition to the independent strike committees. Thus, the time lost in the reorganisation of the Party was a direct impediment to the fulfilment of Party tasks, and weakened the fighting positions of the textile workers with regard to the capitalists and the reformist leaders.

In the seamen's strike, September 1932, some of the strike committees were elected immediately at the beginning of the strike at mass meetings in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and these committees gave a lead to the strikers during the whole strike. The Party cells in the harbours of Rotterdam and Amsterdam have certainly played a definite part in the preparation of this struggle, and through this preparation it has also been possible to further the reorganisation of the Party in Amsterdam. Only one collective cell existed there to which all the comrades employed in the harbour and in shipping belonged. It was possible to reorganise the collective cell into industrial cells in some of the largest shipyards.

But the metal workers collective cell carried on energetic work at the registration offices of the organised metal workers, on the basis of their everyday demands. This led to the development of a broad opposition movement among these organised masses, which the reformist leaders of the metal workers union try in vain to impede through the expulsion of "Communist suspects".

The reorganisation of the Party on a factory cell basis, and the beginnings of opposition work in the trade unions have strengthened the position of the Party in the Catholic South, in the Limburg mining district where the Party was weak. In several departments there are now groups which work for the preparation of struggles in the factory and carry on opposition work in the trade unions.

One of the greatest weaknesses of the Party is the fact that in the most important large enterprises, such as the Philips Works in Eindhoven the artificial silk factories in Ede and Arnheim, the Iron Works in Velsen, and several important shipyards in Rotterdam and Amsterdam—despite a certain amount of work—no real cells exist.

In these enterprises a few comrades are certainly at work. For instance, they supply material for factory newspapers which get sometimes also into the hands of sympathizing workers, but methods for the organising of real cells have not yet been successfully applied. One of the chief reasons is the inadequate work of the Party leaderships and absence of control over the work. Another important reason is also the failure to understand that cells must apply illegal methods of work. "Philips" has, for instance, a special factory police with a cunning spying system against revolutionary propaganda. This police are also recognised by the authorities, and the least suspicion of revolutionary ideas is sufficient for dismissal.

To distribute our cell factory newspapers at the factory gates is not allowed. The local authorities follow exactly the instructions of the Philip's management. These methods compel us to combine illegal methods with legal in the factory, in conjunction with a real mass policy in the mass organisations of factory workers, for the organising of the struggle for everyday demands. Account must be taken of objective difficulties in the working out of correct methods, in order to spread the influence of the Party also in these important enterprises.

In short, the path of reconstruction, the path of general strengthening and the working out of Bolshevik methods of work, can be formulated as follows:

1. The formation of strong and collectively working district and local Party committees, concentrating the forces of the local Party organisations on the work in the big factories and in the trade unions and also in other mass organisations.

2. In the Party committees elected according to the rules on the basis of inner-Party democracy, the Party forces who

are most popular in the masses, the leaders of the workers, should be concentrated. This principle must also be used in the elections of the new C.C. at the Congress.

3. The factory nuclei must be formed as illegal organisations, and in order to ensure systematic contacts with the masses and successful mass work, the factory nuclei must base themselves on the broadest possible system of legal and semi-legal mass organisations and elected organs of workers' representatives, committees of struggle, first of all the trade unions (including the development of an opposition in the reformist trade unions), the factory committees, the delegate meetings of workers, strike committees, etc. The Party can only do this if there are strong Communist fractions in all these organisations. Therefore the question of the formation of fractions in the T.U.'s and other mass organisations must be raised at the Party Congress as one of the chief questions in the working out of Bolshevik methods and contents of the work and the organisational strengthening of the Party.

4. The Congress should also deal with the question of the organisational structure and the methods of work of the Party committees. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. gave directives on the liquidation of trade union departments. It is necessary to discuss carefully the question of the advisability of the further existence of other departments. Taking as a guide, as the basic task, the necessity of reducing the apparatus to a minimum, of bringing the organs of Party leadership nearer to the factories and the mass organisations, replacing leadership by circulars by means of personal instruction and the personal contacts of the Party committee with the nuclei, the fractions and the best workers' leaders and activists (including the non-Party revolutionary workers), formally preparing and extending the non-Party activists around the Party organisation, around the revolutionary mass organisations.

5. In the selection of workers for the Party committees and all the Party activists, it is necessary to ensure more carefully, more fully and better the demand of inner-Party democracy, self-criticism from below, guaranteeing a decisive and consistent struggle against all deviations from the general line of the Party and the Communist International.

Strong sectarian tendencies still exist in the C.P.H. On the other hand, some of the functionaries in the executives still adhere to social democratic forms of Party work. The purging of Party cadres from unsuitable elements is closely connected with the training of new forces which have entered the Party in the struggles of employed and unemployed workers. But the changes were frequently made without sufficient ideological work based on the Party line and on struggle against all deviations from this line.

Therefore, the cadre question will come up for practical discussion at the preparation for the Party Congress. In the 7 districts members of the Party executive and several coopted comrades will be responsible for strict adherence to Party policy in the discussion. These comrades are to call attention to those who show that they have already done practical work with regard to the carrying through of Party decisions in the R.T.U.O. and the mass organisations, in order to draw these comrades into responsible work. The Party Congress is to strengthen the Central Committee through the election of comrades who have already shown in practice that they can carry out correctly the policy of the Party in connection with work in the factories and trade unions, in the mass actions of workers, small peasants and other toilers.

Classes are held in the two most important districts for speakers in the nuclei, as preparatory work for the Party Congress. The best comrades are invited to these classes.

The fluctuation in the Party is still considerable. There were 650 members in Amsterdam in 1930, 700 new members were made in 1931, and the local group had about 1,050 members on the first of January. Thus, 300 members had disappeared. There were 1,370 members on October 22, up to October 22, 1932, 440 new members joined, which means that 120 members had disappeared. This is mostly due to the failure to draw new members immediately into some sort of work, or to overburdening them with work, without giving them any help and showing them how to carry out the new tasks imposed on them.

The organising of the circulation of the press is an important matter. The daily organ "De Tribune" has a body of worker correspondents. In 1931 and 1932 "Tribune" conferences were held at which the main point of discussion

was: how to organise the recruitment and the work of workers correspondents. Some of the worker correspondents see to it now that the newspaper has always a report about some important incident in the factory, and also that it be circulated among the factory workers. Wherever difficulties arise in this respect, the newspaper is taken to the workers homes, or posted in some part of the factory.

At the last "Tribune" conference in April 1932 it was decided to appoint so-called "political Tribune leaders" for the dissemination of the newspaper. They are appointed not only in the Party cells, but also in the factories, labour exchanges, mass organisations, wherever conditions are favourable for this. For instance, the fractions of mass organisations endeavour to appoint "Tribune leaders" thereby trying to convince the workers that only the "Tribune" stands up for the interests of the members of these organisations in every concrete case.

These "Tribune leaders" organise and control the activities for the "Tribune", must see to it that the scene of these activities should be where struggles take place or are expected to break out. They must also therefore decide on what struggles the press must concentrate special attention. They work in concert with the worker correspondents, and are responsible for the proper utilisation of the special reports in the newspaper. "Our press is a sharp weapon", is the slogan.

Factory newspapers are in the nature of a mass press even to a greater extent than the daily paper, because through them we can get at workers far beyond the ranks of sympathisers. Care should be taken that these factory newspapers always represent correctly the line of the Party. These organs which are frequently under the editorship of un-schooled comrades and without adequate control on the part of politically responsible comrades, have still many defects in this respect: There are factory newspapers which publish only general political articles without considering the respective factory conditions, and others again which confine themselves to the publication of trifling factory incidents without pursuing any political line or arriving at conclusions. Control on the part of the Party leaderships is frequently non-existent, and what is even worse, this control is of a kind which makes the comrades in the nuclei reluctant to produce any more factory newspapers. In Rotterdam, for instance, the district leadership corrected all factory newspapers before their publication without any discussion with the authors of the articles.

The publication of the factory newspaper raises frequently a question which is important for the whole development of the Party. There is, for instance, a R.T.U.O. group and a Party nucleus in a factory, and there are also comrades there who believe that the R.T.U.O. group alone has the right to publish a newspaper, and that the nucleus factory newspaper is a "rival" publication which must be stopped. The standpoint of such comrades is utterly wrong, it reflects a "trade unionistic" instead of a Communistic standpoint, and a total failure to understand the tasks and the role of the Party.

There is also the standpoint that the R.T.U.O. alone has anything to do with the economic struggle, and a total failure to understand that the Party must be able to carry through everywhere the unity of political leadership. In all the domains of the activities of the Party energetic opposition must be offered to any such attempts to confine economic struggles to the field of activity of the R.T.U.O., for which the Party has no responsibility, and where the Party must not play a leading political part.

It is therefore up to the Communist fractions to carry through the Party line in the mass organisations under concrete conditions, and the Party leadership is to enable the fractions to do justice to their task by correct leadership and control. Party leadership must be guaranteed also in economic struggles. It is precisely hereby that the R.T.U.O. will be able to become a broad opposition movement of workers who are spoiling for the fight, to lead independently the economic struggle, and to create a mass organisation which connects the Party with the masses.

Correct carrying through of fraction work means: to ensure sole leadership of the Party in all mass organisations to which Party members belong. The inadequate functioning of many fractions is in many cases due to inadequate work on the part of Party leadership, unsatisfactory division of

labour in these leaderships, and to an opportunistic underestimation of work among the masses.

In some organisations at the head of which are mostly Party members, the lack of correct fraction work frequently leads to undemocratic leadership, which is detrimental to such organisations, and restricts their sphere of influence. There are, for instance, sections of the I.R.A. and of the "Friends of the Soviet Union" where the committees consist entirely of Party members, but where fraction work is non-existent, which makes it impossible for these organisations to organise, on the basis of their special tasks, broader masses than are to be found in the Party. Thus, in this case, the inadequately organised fraction work is connected with a sectarian spirit.

Important successes have been attained in the unemployed movement on the strength of the Prague decisions, which will help to get rid of sectarianism. The existing unemployed committees (W.S.C.) have become in some places leaders and organisers of the struggles of the unemployed and whose authority is recognised by broad masses of unemployed wherever they carry on correct work for the defence of even the smallest everyday interests of the mass of the unemployed. The Party has spread hereby its political influence, and has secured several good functionaries from this unemployed movement. In the relief workers' camps several strikes were carried through always against the will of the reformist leaders, and some of them were successful despite enormous difficulties.

R.T.U.O. nuclei work in these W.S.C. and give a lead. Sectarian attempts to contract the unemployed movement and replace it by R.T.U.O. groups have been frustrated.

The Party has carried through several successful demonstrations against the government and the war danger: broad masses went into the struggle under the leadership of the Party, which gave an opportunity to test the united front tactic in practice. An important demonstration of this kind was the National Congress in Utrecht, middle of 1932, it was followed by preparations for the World Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam, for which various district, women's and youth conferences were held. Also the demonstration at the Hague, September 20, on the day of the opening of parliament, against the reactionary government policy and the Welter Bill (bill re, wage reduction, unemployment benefit, education economy, etc.), was based on the united front policy. Owing to this activity the Party's influence is spreading. When on November 8, the social-democratic workers party and the reformist trade union leaders announced also a demonstration against the government at the Hague, the Party, in concert with the R.T.U.O., called in various towns for demonstrations under its own fighting slogans. The demonstrations of the Party and R.T.U.O. in various towns were successful, but the police and voluntary "law and order" detachments succeeded in partly suppressing the revolutionary slogans of The Hague demonstration. The opposition in the trade unions is also inadequately organised. There is the idea that "a demonstration under reformist leadership cannot be revolutionised". Because of this the followers of the opposition did not assert themselves sufficiently in the demonstrations, they did not mobilise the masses to the extent that they should have done.

Although the C.P. of Holland has not yet wide experience in the leadership of the masses, nevertheless it has collected considerable experience. The tasks which deserve the most concentrated attention of the Party Congress are: to draw lessons from past movements, to carry on every day practical work for eliminating the shortcomings of mass work, especially in the trade unions and in the big factories, to carry on a tireless struggle against the opportunist lagging behind the tasks of the leadership of the struggle and to break through the sectarian avoiding of mass work, including the work among the backward masses, to strengthen the Party organisationally.

The C.P.H. has only made the first steps towards a mass policy. It is confronted with a strong reformist movement, but the objective conditions of this period of the end of capitalist stabilisation are favourable to its development into a real mass Party on the basis of the correct policy of the C.I., provided there be energetic work among the masses and a broadening of the basis of the Party in the factories.