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# CORRESPONDENCE

## CONTENTS

|  |     |   |     |
|--|-----|---|-----|
| <b>Politics</b>  |     | <b>India</b>  |     |
| Aodh MacManus: Capital Closes Its Ranks in Ireland ..  | 833 | V. Basak: The Situation in India (continued) ..   | 896 |
| J. Gomez: The Revolutionary Events in Cuba and the Tasks of the C.P. ....                          | 884 | <b>Trade Union Movement</b>   |     |
| S. Mustapha: The Assyrian "Insurrection" and the Machinations of British and French Imperialism .. | 838 | J. R. Campbell: A Congress of Surrender to Fascism ..                                   | 897 |
| <b>Germany</b>   |     | <b>Proletarian Youth Movement.</b>  |     |
| Letters from Berlin:   |     | The Young Metal Workers and the International Fighting Congress of Youth ..             | 899 |
| I. Approaching the Hardest Winter for Hundred Years ..   | 890 | <b>Against Imperialist War</b>  |     |
| II. The "Incorporation" of the German Jews in the State ..   | 890 | Tom Bell: British Imperialism Increasing Its Naval Armaments ..                         | 899 |
| L. K.: The Unmasking of the Hitler Government (conclusion) ..                                      | 891 | <b>The White Terror</b>   |     |
| The Struggle of the Wurttemberg Workers ..   | 893 | B. Keller: The Persecution of the Communists in Austria and the I.R.A. ....             | 900 |
| Red Berlin Demonstrates Against the Fascist Warmongers ..  | 893 | <b>In the Camp of Social Democracy</b>  |     |
| Bloody Provocative Crimes in Preparation for Autumn and Winter ..                                  | 894 | Proletarians of All Countries! Unite under the Banner of the Communist International .. | 901 |
| <b>International Solidarity</b>  |     | <b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union</b>                                       |     |
| Hans Strobl: The English International Labour Defence ..   | 894 | L. F. Boross: The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity ..              | 903 |
| <b>China</b>   |     | The Week in the Soviet Union ..   | 904 |
| Magyar: The Sixth Campaign Against the Chinese Soviets ..  | 895 |   |     |

# Mass Protest Against the Reichstag Arson Frame-up

## Down with the Leipzig Frame-up! Release Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov, Tanev and all other Anti-Fascists! Save them from Hard Labour and Death!

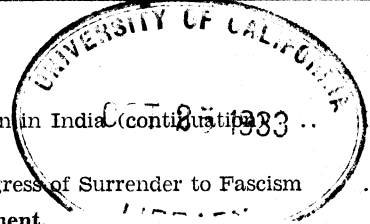
A new and decisive stage in the struggle for the release of our innocent comrades imprisoned by German fascism opened up with the fixing of the Reichstag arson trial for the 21st September.

Let us sum up the results of the work accomplished up to the present. In the first period of the struggle for our imprisoned comrades the chief task was to expose the brown-shirted incendiaries to world public opinion. How far have we succeeded in carrying out this task? Without exaggeration it can be said that outside Germany the overwhelming majority of the working population of all countries do not believe that the Communists set fire to the Reichstag, and even in Germany there are not many who really believe it. Thanks to our propaganda and agitation the working masses and broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the liberal bourgeoisie are convinced that the real fire-raisers are to be found in the Cabinet of the German Reich.

The campaign to expose the brown-shirted murderers was followed by a broad campaign to mobilise the working masses for action. It must be admitted frankly that in this respect there are

still tremendous possibilities which have not been utilised. There have been protest meetings against the German Consulates in a number of countries, delegations from factories and working class organisations have gone to the consulates and lodged their protests, but this has not been done on a mass scale such as we experienced at the time of the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

All sections of the Communist International and of the International Red Aid are now faced with the great task of mobilising tremendous masses of workers in all countries on the basis of a broad united front in order to save the innocent men on trial at Leipzig, to secure the release of Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the German working class and the German Communist Party, and the release of the scores of thousands of anti-fascists in German prisons and concentration camps. In a joint struggle with the heroic German anti-fascists it will be possible to save these victims of fascism from death at the hands of the executioner. All the preliminary conditions necessary for such a mass mobilisation are present. Never before was the hatred against a fascist dictator-



ship so strong as the hatred against Hitler's dictatorship in all the countries of the world. The bourgeoisie of the other countries exploits Hitler's war-mongering speeches in order to incite the masses in their countries against Germany. A section of the working masses are undoubtedly under the influence of this chauvinist campaign against the Hitler regime. It depends on our capacity to lead the working masses of all countries in a great campaign to compel the Hitler government to abandon its planned judicial murder in Leipzig, whether or not these masses under the influence of chauvinism can be won for the red class front of world proletarian solidarity. Undoubtedly when the masses adopt practical measures against the Hitler dictatorship the so-called democratic governments will answer by sending their police, etc., into action against the masses and thus demonstrate their capitalist solidarity with the murderers' regime in Germany and at the same time will expose their real character to those masses who still believe in their democracy and anti-fascism. All possible means of agitation and propaganda must be used in order to stir up the masses. This mass mobilisation of the workers is important, not only for the fate of Comrades Torgler, Popov, Dimitrov and Tanev, but also for the fate of Comrade Thaelmann and of all those other imprisoned anti-fascists who will be brought to trial sooner or later. And in particular, this mass campaign will be of tremendous assistance to the German Communists in their illegal fight against the fascist dictatorship.

A wave of public, factory, trade union and other working class meetings must be held before the beginning of the trial, and the contents of the resolutions adopted at these meetings must be sent in brief telegrams to the Reichsgericht in Leipzig, 4. Strafsenat.

This campaign should reach its culminating point in great demonstrations and mass indoor meetings and in a public trial to be conducted simultaneously on the 20th September in all towns and industrial centres. Where it is not possible to organise this public trial by the 20th September it should be organised during the first week of the trial in Leipzig.

The reports of the proceedings of the London counter-trial which begins on the 14th September and the main arguments of the Brown Book against the Hitler Terror must be spread amongst the broad masses by a flood of leaflets and in a wave of factory and street meetings.

The possibility thus given of our active comrades coming into touch with hundreds of thousands of workers must be utilised as far as possible for collections for the "Fighting Fund of the German Revolution."

The mobilisation of our organised supporters in all the revolutionary mass organisations (Red Aid, revolutionary trade unions, workers' sport organisations, etc.) will make it possible for us to develop a broad campaign of agitation and propaganda in favour of concrete action against the Hitler Terror.

Delegations must be sent to the German consulates in all countries. Protest and mass strikes must be prepared. Meetings, mass demonstrations and public counter-trials must be held everywhere. Chalking and poster columns must go out in all towns and industrial centres. No public place, no factory gate, no labour exchange must be without our slogans in connection with the Reichstag arson frame-up and the London counter-trial. There must be no public, trade union, factory and other meeting which does not send a brief telegram of protest to the fascist court in Leipzig. Form "Thaelmann Committees" everywhere to organise the collection of funds and to take practical measures in support of the illegal work of the German Communists and in defence of all the imprisoned anti-fascists.

All these measures must be organised quickly, carefully and thoroughly, and in this way we shall be able to oppose the unparalleled crime of the brown-shirted murderers with an equally unparalleled campaign of proletarian solidarity on the part of the working masses, under the leadership of the International Red Aid, together with the masses of the German anti-fascists, to save our innocent comrades from hard labour and death.

Down with the Leipzig frame-up!

Release Thaelmann, Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev!

Save them from Hard Labour and Death!

Bombard the Reichsgericht in Leipzig with your protests!

Organise protest strikes in the factories to save the German Anti-Fascists!

Go onto the streets in masses to save our German Comrades!

All factories send Protest Delegations to the German Consulates!

Collect Funds to support the illegal struggle of our German Comrades!

Down with the Swastika Flag wherever it is displayed!

Unload no Vessel flying the Swastika Flag!

Joint Struggle with the German Anti-Fascists for the overthrow of the Hitler Dictatorship!

Fight with the International Red Aid against fascist Class-Justice!

Fascism must be destroyed if the Proletariat is to live!

Drag the brown-shirted incendiaries before the world proletarian court!

The World Proletariat is the Defender of the Leipzig Accused!

Form Thaelmann Committees everywhere on the basis of fighting proletarian unity in defence of the German Anti-Fascists!

Fight against Fascism, Hunger and War!

## Letter from Dimitrov to Romain Rolland

The following letter has passed through the official prison censorship; therefore its statements are admitted by the German judicial authorities:—

M. Romain Rolland,

Berlin-Moabit, 31st Aug.

Lucerne.

Dear Mr. Rolland,

I feel myself bound to express to you my sincere thanks for your resolute defence of my innocence. I have already requested my official defending counsel, Dr. Paul Teichert (Leipzig, Otto-Schill-Strasse 2) to give you my thanks, and at the same time to inform you as to the concrete statements made in substantiation of the accusations brought against me in the indictment.

The defending counsel chosen by me: the Bulgarian barrister, Dr. Detscheff, and the French barristers Ciafferi, Campinchi, and Torrès, have been refused by the Supreme Court. The reason given in Detscheff's case is that the "barrister does not know the German language"; in the case of the French lawyers, that "apart from its not being known whether these barristers know German, or whether the German counsel is agreed with a joint defence, there is no visible reason why these barristers should act in addition to the appointed counsel.

"The trial is fixed at last for 21st September. As I had nothing whatever to do with the burning of the Reichstag, I await the trial calmly and confidently, for its result—in accordance with the facts—is bound to lead to my release. The treatment which I have received in prison, with the exception of strictly isolated solitary confinement, and of chained hands, with which I have been tormented day and night for five months (since 4th April), and which has only been put an end to to-day by a decision of the Supreme Court, has been humane.

"I should be very glad to receive a few lines from you, and to hear something about your health and ability to work.

"Many greetings to our friend Barbusse.

"With best greetings,

"G. Dimitroff."

## Two Letters from the Reichstag Trial Defence Committee

### A Letter to the German Ambassador

The British Reichstag Trial Defence Committee has addressed a very important letter to the German Ambassador in London, the Minister for Justice in Prussia, and to Ernst Torgler and Frau Torgler. The letter declares that:—

"World-wide opinion calls for assurances that justice shall be done in this case. Should such assurances, by way of an impartial and unrestricted representation of the accused, not be accorded, there will be but one conclusion for right-thinking men—namely, that motives and factors other than those which will be discussed at the trial mentioned, bear upon the burning of the Reichstag.

"The committee cannot conceal from the court that this, indeed, is the prevailing opinion in England."

The statement opens by declaring that it has come to the knowledge of the Committee that, by its order of August 16, 1933, the Supreme Court has declined to permit Messrs. D. N. Pritt, K.C., and Neil Lawson to appear as counsel on behalf of the Reichstag Deputy, Ernst Torgler, who is accused of complicity in the burning of the Reichstag.

The Committee point out that the events relating to the

Reichstag arson and the trial at Leipzig has evoked the greatest interest among the British working class and is the subject of daily discussion in the whole press. They then refer to the declaration of the Hitler government that they welcome publicity in connection with these events and the publication of the correspondence which has passed between the German Public Prosecutor and eminent members of the International Committee of Inquiry into the Reichstag fire, and then state:—

"It follows from this that the Committee considers itself justified in alluding to the unconvincing character of the reasons given for the refusal of permission to the two counsel named to appear and in strongly appealing to the court to consider the case as one in which there is ample reason to authorise the appearance of foreign lawyers and so to reverse its previous order."

The Committee then states that they have carefully considered everything relating to the trial, "and that the frequent adjournments of the trial, the invitation made by the Public Prosecutor to foreign private individuals for evidentiary materials, testifies just as little to the probability that the prosecution possesses material and convincing evidence of the guilt of these prisoners, as does the length and the exhausting character of the preliminary examination to which they were subjected, and which in the case of one of them led to an attempt at suicide."

After stressing the importance of the issues involved and that every endeavour must be made to elucidate the complete truth, the Committee declare: "For this reason it is above all imperative that every available facility should be freely and fully accorded to the defence. Such cannot be said to be the case if the representation of the prisoners by independent lawyers, unaffected by the 'Gleichstaltung' (new political co-ordination) ordained by the present government, is not assured.

"There is all the more occasion for the participation of English lawyers chosen by the accused, since this would indicate to the British public that, contrary to widely-published assertions, there is no desire to avoid the scrutiny of the forthcoming trial by foreign jurists.

"The two English lawyers in question are both acquainted with the German language and law. Mr. D. N. Pritt, K.C., has frequently appeared before the former Anglo-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal established under the Peace Treaty and has on several occasions been instructed to represent the German government in cases in which their interests were concerned.

"In June of this year Mr. Neil Lawson discussed the matter with Reichsgerichtsrat Vogt (the examining magistrate), who confirmed the possibility for the accused to be jointly defended by German and non-German lawyers."

#### Reichstag Trial Defence Committee Appeals to Trade Union Congress

The Reichstag Trial Defence Committee addressed a letter to the T.U. Congress at Brighton, requesting it to aid in rousing public opinion against the imprisonment of Torgler and the three Bulgarian comrades.

"This trial," the letter states, "is of decisive international importance to the whole organised Labour movement in the fight against fascism. We must spare no effort to save the lives of these men."

The letter reminds the Congress that "drastic reductions in sentences and seven acquittals were secured in the case of the Meerut prisoners, the lives of the Scottsboro' boys have been saved on three occasions, a new trial was granted to Tom Mooney," and adds that "what has been done in the three cases can be surpassed in the case of the Reichstag fire prisoners."

The Defence Committee appeals to the Congress to carry through the following proposals:—

- (1) To pass a protest resolution and appoint a deputation to interview the German Ambassador.
- (2) To issue a call to its affiliated organisations and their membership to support the campaign.
- (3) To give every support to the Reichstag Trial Defence and German Delegation Committee, and appoint representatives to sit on the Committee.
- (4) To appoint a speaker for the protest meeting at the Kingsway Hall on or about September 15.

"We feel sure that this crime contemplated by Hitler must meet with the protest of the organised Labour movement, which looks for a lead from Congress, which cannot fail but add its voice to the growing volume of indignation."

## Politics

### Capital Closes its Ranks in Ireland

By Aodh MacManus (Dublin)

After the ban—a re-arrangement of forces. Following the revival of the Cosgrave Coercion Act by the De Valera government, which declared O'Duffy's fascist National Guard (Blueshirts) illegal, the imperialist interests in the Irish Free State are closing their ranks.

Immediately following the ban, the organs of finance-capital commenced to call frenziedly for a united front of the classes they represent. The "Irish Times" editorial of August 23 is typical. It stated:—

"The proclamation of the National Guard may prove to have been a happy turning point in the Free State's fortunes if it brings Cumann na nGaedheal, the Centre Party and General O'Duffy's civic supporters together in a whole-hearted effort to win the next general election and to end the economic war."

These calls were followed by several secret conferences, and it is now announced that Cumann na nGaedheal (Cosgrave Party), the Centre Party and O'Duffy's National Guard are all to be merged in a new **United Ireland Party**. General O'Duffy is to be president, with McDermott (Centre Party) and Cosgrave as vice-presidents. Cosgrave will be chairman in the Dail. The Cosgrave Party, in announcing the development, points out the growth of the economic crisis in Ireland, stating that "the nation's present calamitous condition of political ambiguity and rapid economic decline is bound, if allowed to continue, to lead to a crisis of extreme gravity."

What is the economic background to this fusing of parties of imperialist capital?

Last week the Free State trade figures for July were announced. The total trade for the month was £3,986,191, as compared with £5,936,439 in July last year. Both imports and exports fell comparing the month in each year—imports falling by £1,038,136 to £1,377,365, and exports dropping from £839,136 to £1,377,365. The chief falls were in cattle and live stock, which are suffering the full effects of Britain's punitive tariffs. The figures for the two years were:—

|                         | July, 1932 | July, 1933 |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| Cattle .. .. .          | £427,219   | £195,948   |
| Other live animals.. .. | 303,651    | 99,147     |

The decline is seen better in comparing the figures for the twelve months ending July. The total trade for the year ended July, 1933, was £55,255,418, against a total of £83,030,930 for the year ended July, 1932, and a total of £91,935,164 for the year ended July, 1931.

The unemployment figures are also going up. On August 14 last there were 54,590 registered as unemployed, a week later there were 55,197, and on August 28 there were 55,590. And of these, only about 16,000 are receiving any benefit. In addition to those registered at the labour exchanges there are 124,000 persons in receipt of relief. A number of these are old or infirm persons, but the majority are unemployed workers denied any other form of livelihood. At the Dublin Board of Assistance meeting on August 30, it was reported that in the area there were 9,156 persons receiving a total of £5,537 in relief, an increase of 1,306 persons since last year and of £2,227 since 1931. "If that is the increase in the middle of the summer what will be the number in the winter," said a member of the Board—a question the unemployed are also asking.

This is the position that has forced the groupings of the Right into each others' arms.

The de Valera government, believing itself secure in its mass support, professes little concern and refers scornfully to the "Cripple Alliance." As far as Fianna Fail is concerned, all talk of the fascist danger has vanished. Its organ, the "Irish Press," is now mute where before it was clamant. O'Duffy makes no more pronouncements, the Blueshirts dare not appear in public, and their organ, the "Blueflag," came out last week-end only as a duplicated sheet, and so far not a single person has been arrested under the revived Coercion Act. On the surface it looks like a great tactical victory for de Valera. Actually two things have happened, which only the Communist Party of Ireland has noted:—

- (1) The open imperialist fascism of O'Duffy has been com-

pelled to execute a flanking movement that lines it on the right side of the law alongside the parties that sent it out to do battle. The blueshirt is doffed and the parties of the Right together don the "greenery-yallery" shirt of the "United Ireland Party," which unquestionably will pursue a vigorous imperialist-fascist policy along more "constitutional lines" for the moment.

(2) **De Valera** has both lulled the masses (who were demonstrating against the fascists in the most formidable and disconcerting way) and has taken a big step in the fascisation of the State apparatus. A police cordon was placed between the masses and the Blueshirts, while the *Cosgrave Coercion Act* was unsheathed, and now hangs, like a *Damocles' sword*, not alone over the revolutionary working class, but over petty-bourgeois heads who hailed a feast at which they think the Blueshirts are to be the only guests. By the stroke of a pen **de Valera** can now outlaw the Communist Party or the Irish Republican Army, without troubling to notify the "legislators" of the Dail. And it is quite clear from his speech at *Thurles* recently, and other pronouncements, that he is prepared to strike at the appropriate moment: the quantity of C.I.D. spying and pogrom-inciting will change to the quality of total illegality—and a repression that will in nowise resemble the almost genteel visits of the police to *O'Duffy's* headquarters. **De Valera's** "fighting" of fascism consists of driving along a fascist road himself.

The Republicans are blind to this. At a time when the most powerful united front of the masses is necessary, they are appealing for unity with—the government. Witness **Madame Maude Gonne MacBride** (who can always be trusted to expose the yearnings of the Right Wing of Republicanism) at a meeting in Dublin on September 3rd:—

"Support **de Valera** against the enemy. I believe him when he says that he has the same goal as he always had—an Irish Republic—but the government may be up against difficulties many of us know nothing about. It is the duty of all of us to maintain unity on the Republican side."

True, **Madame MacBride** "regretted" that **de Valera** had jailed a number of I.R.A. men, but unity with him was "our duty above all." Nor was she speaking without the book. "**An Phoblacht**" on September 2nd published a statement from the Council of the Irish Republican Army. After a number of paragraphs of criticism of the government's failure to establish the Republic, the Army Council calls for unity with the government on the basis of the repudiation of the traitorous Treaty of 1921 and the declaration of the Irish Republic. A nonsensical request, but by turning the eyes of militant republicans to this fake and impossible unity with the Government, their attention is diverted from the real unity that the situation demands—unity with the toiling masses struggling spontaneously against the imperialist menace.

The attitude of the Irish Labour Party towards fascism is instructive. **Mr. W. Norton, T.D.**, its leader, said a few mild words at the Irish T.U.C. in August about the Blueshirts being "unnecessary"; **Mr. W. Davin, T.D.**, another leading light, pleaded in the Dail for *O'Duffy* to be given his pension as ex-chief of the Free State police with "good grace"; while **Senator Johnson** was the most interesting of all. In the Free State Senate on August 22 he spoke on the ban on *O'Duffy's* organisation. Disapproving of the Blueshirts' "militarism" which, he said, "is undoubtedly going to lead to revolt not merely by the I.R.A., but by every democratic movement that feels its principles are being destroyed," he came out practically in open support of fascist economics:—

"General *O'Duffy* advocates vocational representation. I think there is a good deal to be said in favour of vocational representation. . . . There is so much good in the economic proposals of the National Guard that the government should have encouraged a discussion of the ideas that were broached by the organisation."

At no time have the Labour reformists made any pronouncement against fascism; during the days when the workers were battling on the streets the Labour Party did not exist. But the Labour reformists will be forced to face up to the question at the party's annual conference in October, when several branches will put forward motions reflecting the feeling of the workers in the Labour Party. One Dublin branch has tabled motions referring to the deportation of *Jim Gralton*, and calling for a revision of the Party's programme and policy. The Bray branch is putting forward the following motion:—

"That this conference of the Irish Labour Party consider the National Guard movement as an anti-working-class force, with aims and intentions similar to Hitler's Nazis and Mussolini's fascists, under whose rules in Germany and Italy the Trade Unions, all Labour organisations and other working-class organs of struggle against capitalist tyranny have been brutally broken up and outlawed, their leaders imprisoned, tortured and murdered, their funds stolen, property confiscated and press suppressed; that this conference warns the Irish workers and Labour Party supporters of the danger of the introduction of similar forms of fascism into Ireland; that this conference calls for a resolute struggle against all attempts at establishing a fascist dictatorship in any guise in Ireland; and instructs the Administrative Council to take every possible step in conjunction with all forces opposing attempts at reactionary dictatorship to combat this great danger to the Labour Movement."

Thus this Labour Party branch, like the 1916 Club (composed of Easter Week veterans), endorses the policy of the Communist Party of Ireland as the only way to meet the present situation and calls for a united front. Whether the bureaucrats will be able to smother the demand remains to be seen; certain it is that they will attempt some manoeuvre that will avoid any fighting front and at the same time save their face with the rank and file. But, whatever this conference may decide, the C.P.I. will push ahead with its drive to build the anti-fascist fighting front from the Labour and Republican masses.

## The Revolutionary Events in Cuba and the Tasks of the C.P.

By **J. Gomez**

The revolutionary events which took place in Cuba in the middle of August, participated in by the broadest masses of the toilers of Cuba and overthrowing the actual dictator, did not come by surprise. These events were the outcome of the whole course of development of the economic crisis which has undermined the national economy of the country, reducing the toiling masses in town and country to want and misery, and aggravating class antagonisms to the utmost pitch.

Cuba, with its four million inhabitants, is a colony of U.S.A. imperialism, and one of the most important ones. It is important not only as an agrarian and raw material appendage of the United States and as a market for American products, but as a military strategic base, supplementing the system of the Panama Canal. Hence the special "attention" which the United States accord to Cuba, especially during the last few days, when American warships have been sent to "protect American subjects."

All the leading branches of industry of Cuba are practically in the hands of U.S.A. capital. According to data published in the "New York Times" on February 5, 1933, the U.S.A. have a total of 1,750 million dollars invested in Cuba, other foreign countries a total of 1,900 millions. When it is remembered that the U.S.A. investments in South and Central America total 6,000 million dollars, in round figures, the tremendous importance of Cuba, and the rôle which it plays in the colonial system of the United States become apparent.

Cuba has been converted into a typical mono-culture country. Its main product and export article is *sugar*, more than 70 per cent. of which is exported to the United States. A number of U.S.A. companies have invested enormous sums in this branch of Cuba's national economy (the "Daily Worker," July 26, 1933, puts these investments at about 800 million dollars), and are at the present time the owners of tremendous sugar-cane plantations (about one-fifth of the total area of Cuba belongs to the U.S.A. companies), and of the absolute majority of the sugar boiling plants. Practically the same is the case with the tobacco plantations and factories, and with all other branches of agriculture and industry.

U.S.A. capital in Cuba is the producer, buyer, and exporter of the raw materials, and at the same time the controller of the inner trade in the industrial products of the U.S.A. and other sources. The rule of American capital prevails everywhere with the exception of the railway service, which is for the most part in the hands of British capital. British investments in Cuba are relatively small, especially if compared with U.S.A. investments.

Nevertheless, the United States has no intention of living peacefully together with British imperialism in Cuba, and is doing its utmost to dislodge Britain from its positions. With this end in view, it is promoting the building of high roads and the organisation of overland motor-coach lines. During the past year a very important high road was opened (at a cost of over 100 million dollars), crossing the whole island, and adapted for the rapid transport of troops in the event of war.

The world economic crisis, especially as it developed in the United States, has dealt a severe blow to the national economy of Cuba, the more so that this economy is mono-cultural in character and colonially dependent on the United States. The decline in the consumption of sugar in the United States, Great Britain, and other countries to which sugar is imported from Cuba, added to the increase of sugar production in a number of other colonial and semi-colonial countries (Brazil, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Java, etc.), has brought about a steady and considerable falling off of sugar export from Cuba. At the same time the sugar prices obtaining on the world's markets, already lower in 1925 and 1926, have greatly depreciated during the period of the crisis: Whilst in 1923 the price of a pound of sugar was 5.3 cents, by 1929 it had dropped to 2 cents and by 1932 to 0.92 cents.

In consequence of the falling off of export, great stocks of sugar have accumulated. By April, 1930, there were three million tons of sugar accumulated in Cuba. In order to reduce these reserves, and to exert some influence on the raising of prices, the Machado government resolved, in agreement with the decisions of the International Conference of sugar-producing countries (held at the beginning of 1931), to reduce the production of sugar to a great extent and to exploit only a certain quantity of sugar cane. The government issued a special injunction, signed by the president, fixing the extent to which the sugar cane was to be worked up by the separate sugar boiling plants. In consequence of this injunction, the output of sugar declined from 5,136,000 tons in 1929 to two million tons in 1933.

The sharp decline in foreign trade is conspicuously apparent in the state budget, which showed a deficit of about eight million dollars (or 16 per cent. of the budget) in 1932-33. The "measures" taken by the Machado government for balancing the budget were directed chiefly against the toiling masses (higher duties on imports of articles of mass consumption, cuts in the salaries of civil servants, etc.).

The native bourgeoisie and the native large landowners are at one with the capitalists of the United States in seeking a way out of the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses. The restriction of sugar production has caused a number of sugar refining plants to be closed down. In 1925 there were 183 sugar refining works in operation, in 1932 only 133, and these not at full capacity. The plantations of sugar cane have also been reduced in area (in 1932-33 only 45 per cent. of the total sugar plantation area has been sown and cultivated). These circumstances have led to a considerable increase of unemployment, and at the present time there are about 500,000 unemployed in Cuba ("New York Times," February 6, 1933). These are agricultural and industrial workers and employees, and as there is no social insurance in Cuba, they receive no relief.

The workers still in employment are not much better off than the unemployed. Wages are declining in every branch of agriculture and industry, the cuts sometimes being as much as 50 to 70 per cent. The average wage in the textile factories is scarcely 20 cents daily, and the tobacco workers are paid 30 to 40 cents; actual wages are further reduced by the fact that many branches of industry are working part time.

The situation of the sugar plantation workers is especially hard. The reduction of the area under cultivation and the restricted output of sugar have reduced the harvest season to 40 to 50 days in the year. This means fewer working days for tens of thousands of workers.

At the same time wages have dropped considerably. In 1930 a plantation worker was paid 40 cents for cutting 100 arrobas of sugar cane (1 arroba—11.5 kgs.), in 1932 only 15 to 20 cents. In a 14 hours working day 200 arrobas at most can be cut, and this requires strenuous labour. This is the reason why the "New York Times," February 6, 1933, writes that the average wage of the sugar-cane workers on the plantations is not more than 15 to 30 cents a day. Conditions are rendered still worse in actual practice by the fact that the wages are not paid out in cash, but in

scrip which can only be exchanged for goods in the shops and stores of the large landowners or the companies running the plantations. Many semi-feudal or semi-slavery customs still exist for the exploitation of the workers, not only on the plantations of the native owners, but on the plantations of the foreign companies, where these customs are closely interwoven with capitalist exploitation.

The sharp drop in wages on the one hand, and the oppressive exploitation on the other, have robbed the plantation workers of any desire or incentive to harvest the sugar cane, and they prefer to remain without work. This has become such a mass attitude on the part of the workers that in 1932 there was not enough labour to bring in the crops and the government found itself obliged to resort to the aid of the police and to send workers into the plantations with police guards.

The predominance of semi-feudal conditions, the colonial dependence on imperialism, and the mono-cultural development of the country, have plunged the farms of the middle and poor peasants of Cuba into growing poverty. This impoverishment has been further aggravated by the adoption of the "Chadbourne Plan" (in May, 1931) on the restriction of the sugar output. This restriction has almost exclusively affected the small holders and tenant farmers, for the sugar-refining undertakings have simply refused to work up the sugar cane offered by these farmers, preferring to utilise the cane from their own plantations and from the large landowners. The low purchase prices fixed by the U.S.A. companies force the farmers to abandon the planting of sugar cane. Many of these farmers leave the land which they own or have leased, and drift to the towns and plantations in search of work, thereby increasing the army of the unemployed. Other farmers grow vegetables, etc., with the "aid" of the large landowners, thus sinking deeper into dependence, debt, and semi-slavery.

The position of the employees of the private commercial and industrial undertakings and of the civil servants has been rendered very hard by the crisis. In many cases employees' salaries have been reduced by 30 per cent. and 40 per cent. and more. In 1931 alone the salaries of the civil servants were reduced three times, besides falling three and four months in arrear.

The petty bourgeoisie of the towns too finds its position seriously affected by the economic crisis and the measures taken by the government to balance the budget, especially the increased taxation.

The savage offensive of the ruling classes and the imperialists against the standards of living of the working classes has brought about a rapid radicalisation of the masses. Cuba's revolutionary upsurge gives it a foremost place among the countries of South and Central America. The workers' and peasants' movement is assuming an increasingly militant character. The decisively important masses of the proletariat and the toiling population are joining the revolutionary struggle. In 1930 and 1931 the upsurge of the revolutionary movement had already commenced. Demands of an economic nature have been combined with and followed by demands of a political character, against the Terror exercised by the government, for the release of prisoners, against the "Chadbourne Plan," for the resignation of Machado, demands of an anti-imperialist nature, etc.

The general strike of March 20, 1930 (international fighting day against unemployment) was taken part in by 200,000 workers; the solidarity strike for the striking tramwaymen of Havana and against police terror, in August, 1931, was participated in by 50,000 workers; the three months' strike of the tobacco workers of Havana, at the beginning of 1932, affected 15,000 workers; the strike wave on the plantations and in the sugar-refining factories in 1932 and 1933 has been taken part in by thousands of workers and has been accompanied by the occupation of premises and the organisation of an armed self-defence corps; there have been a number of strikes in various industrial undertakings, on the railways, and in the traffic service, chiefly in those in the hands of foreign capitalists ("Habana Electric," railways, tramway workshops, etc.). The revolutionary mass demonstrations of thousands of unemployed in the course of the last two years, and indeed all these revolutionary struggles of the proletariat of Cuba, are evidence of the high level reached by the revolutionary upsurge which seized the masses of the toilers of Cuba. The leadership of these strikes and demonstrations has been chiefly in the hands of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The movement among the employees and office workers, and among the small citizens of the towns, is developing parallel with the movement of the proletariat. Strikes have been organised by employees against salary cuts, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. During the last few years employees have taken an active part in the general strikes in Havana.

The petty bourgeoisie of the towns participates in the struggle by a mass refusal to pay taxes, high rates for electric current, etc. The sharpest expression of this struggle has been, however, the defence of the autonomy of the university by the students against Machado. Dozens of students' leaders have been killed or imprisoned during the last few years by Machado's agents. Terrorist groups have been formed by members of the embittered middle class, with the object of assassinating the prominent supporters of the Machado régime.

The Communist Party has placed itself at the head of the masses in their struggle for their demands, against the offensive of the large landowners and the capitalists, against oppression by U.S.A. imperialism, against the bloody dictatorship of Machado. Its prestige has increased steadily as the sole revolutionary party, as the militant vanguard of the proletariat of Cuba. During the period of the developing crisis, the period of developing revolutionary upsurge, the Communist Party has gained increasing contact with the masses whilst leading and organising them for the struggle, and has penetrated into many of the leading undertakings of the basic industries. Over the heads of the reformist leaders, the C.P. has aroused the masses to struggle for their partial demands. And over the heads and against the will of the officials, the workers organised in the reformist trade unions have followed the slogans of the Party and have joined in the general strikes, the solidarity strikes, and other revolutionary actions organised by the C.P.

During the past eighteen months, the Communist Party has commenced to penetrate into the densest masses of the proletariat of Cuba: into the masses of the agricultural workers. It was the C.P. of Cuba which organised the militant strike on the plantations and in the sugar-refining plant "Nazabal," a strike which was supported by the peasants of the district. This was only one of a number of agricultural workers' strikes led by the C.P. Recently the C.P. undertook the organisation of the first revolutionary trade union of the plantation and sugar workers, and this already embraces several dozens of plantations and sugar-refining works. At the same time the organisation of revolutionary leagues among the poor and middle peasants and tenant farmers was taken up for the first time. Now several of these leagues exist.

The Communist Party of Cuba has also taken up the task of work among the nationally oppressed Negroes, and advances the slogan of self-determination and independence for the Negroes, linking this up with a number of partial demands. This task is of great importance, for the national oppression of the Negroes (who form almost one-third of the total population of Cuba and the majority in a number of districts in the Oriente Province, etc.) is closely bound up with the semi-slavish character of the exploitation practised in Cuba, especially in the sugar cane plantations.

The growth of the political influence of the Communist Party is accompanied by an increase of membership. During the last two years the Communist Party has increased its membership four-fold or even five-fold. The Young Communist League of Cuba has increased in an even greater proportion.

All these successes, important as they indubitably are, are however not commensurate with the possibilities created by the objectively favourable situation. The Party has not yet penetrated sufficiently into a number of leading undertakings and has as yet struck very weak roots in some of the basic industries (among the tobacco workers for instance); the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party do not carry on work energetically enough inside the reformist trade unions; work in the rural districts is still the weakest link in the chain of the whole work of the Party; work among the middle classes in the towns, too, is weak.

The movement of the middle-class strata of the cities and of the peasantry is only slightly connected with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and is led chiefly by the bourgeois-landowning groups in opposition to Machado and forming the so-called "national opposition." The leaders of this opposition are the great landowners of Cuba, such as Menocal, Mendieta, and

others. The "struggle" which they carry on against Machado—a struggle for power, for the lion's share of the wealth squeezed from the exploited masses—commenced immediately after the election of Machado as President of Cuba in 1925. The U.S.A. imperialists, closely bound up with the bourgeois-landowning group, since the interests of this group are interwoven with those of the U.S.A. companies, have no desire that the conflict in the ruling class in Cuba should become acute. The repeated attempts of the ambassadors of the United States (Guggenheim, for instance) towards a "reconciliation" with the opposition have, however, not been successful. The increasing aggravation of the economic crisis has continually sharpened the conflict in the ruling class in Cuba.

The opposition, in its struggle against Machado, has endeavoured to exploit the growing discontent of the toiling masses in town and country, their hate against the terrorist régime of Machado. These endeavours have met with a certain amount of success, especially among the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns (including the students), and in part among the backward strata of the workers. The original organisation of the bourgeois-landowning opposition, "La Union Nacionalista," having lost all prestige among the masses on account of its invariably conciliatory attitude towards Machado, a new organisation was founded, the "A.B.C.," which has employed the sharpest terrorist methods in the struggle against Machado and his agents. A number of other organisations have also been founded, petty bourgeois in composition, but with leaders in direct connection with the bourgeois-landowning opposition and led by it.

The terrorist actions carried out in the towns and in the peasants' settlements in the provinces under the leadership of leaders authorised by the bourgeois-landowning opposition—actions expressing the growing dissatisfaction of the urban middle class and of the peasantry—have been provoked by the bourgeois-landowning opposition in order to give the impression in Washington that Machado's position was untenable and that he must be replaced. The movement thus aroused among the peasants has, however, frequently exceeded the limits set by the bourgeois-landowning opposition. The insurgent peasants attacked, for instance, the estate owned by Menocal, one of the leaders of the opposition, and set the buildings on fire.

The movement was equally out of hand on the eve of the latest revolutionary events. The opposition negotiated with Machado on an armistice, the ambassador of the U.S.A., Welles, also being present. These negotiations were completely "successful." The "peace" was signed. But neither Machado nor the U.S.A. imperialists who invariably supported him were able to stem the revolutionary movement.

Lack of data unfortunately prevents our analysing the development of the events immediately preceding Machado's flight in August. But the whole course of developments, and the scanty information published by the press substantiate the claim that the mass movement of the toilers, swelling to its culmination at the end of July and the beginning of August in the form of a number of partial strikes and later in the general strike in Havana, has been participated in and led to a very considerable degree by the Communist Party of Cuba. And though the leaders of the "A.B.C." and of the bourgeois-landowning opposition have undoubtedly played a certain rôle in leading the movement, yet the *defeat of Machado (on August 12) was the result of the real revolutionary struggle of the broad masses of the toilers, whose chief leader was the heroic Communist Party of Cuba.*

Machado's overthrow in Cuba was as little due to a "pronunciamento" or "coup d'état," so common in the countries of South and Central America, as was the overthrow of Ibanez in Chili in 1931. Machado was overthrown by the revolutionary pressure of the masses of the toilers. This movement had been prepared by the whole of the previous work of the Communist Party in Cuba, and was led chiefly by this Party.

The mass strikes preceding Machado's downfall, strikes in which economic demands were accompanied by political demands (release of prisoners, resignation of Machado, etc.); the killing of police agents (especially of Magrina, one of the murderers of the Communist Mella); the burning down of the office of the daily paper "Heraldo de Cuba," Machado's organ; the stormy demonstrations in the streets of Havana and other towns—all this evidences the high level reached by the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses. Their demand for the legalisation of the Communist Party proves at the same time the extent of the influence

gained by the Party over the masses participating in the movement.

The imperialists of the United States have now set up another puppet in place of the late dictator Machado (who fled by aeroplane from Cuba to a British island). This is *Cespedes*, the candidate agreed upon between the U.S.A. and the oppositional bourgeois-landowning parties. *Cespedes*, former ambassador at Washington, holder of a number of high offices in Machado's cabinet, will pursue in all essentials the same policy as his "eminent" predecessor—the policy of faithfully serving the interests of U.S.A. imperialism, of taking care of the interests of the ruling classes in Cuba and of lowering the standard of living of the toiling masses. *Cespedes* will follow Machado's example in joining the imperialists of the United States and the ruling classes of Cuba in casting the whole of the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses, in alleviating the situation of the bourgeoisie and landowners of Cuba at the expense of the workers and in guaranteeing profits to the U.S.A. capitalists. It is probable that the bourgeois-landowning opposition, with whose consent *Cespedes* was "elected" dictator, will accord him its support in these tasks.

The fact that Machado has been replaced by another puppet whose strings are pulled by the imperialists of the United States and the ruling classes of Cuba will not better the situation of the toilers in the slightest. It is a matter of indifference to the masses who forces them to starvation—Machado or *Cespedes*. The toiling masses of Cuba will reply to the increased attacks on their standards of living, and to the curtailment of their political rights, by even more determined revolutionary struggles. The revolutionary atmosphere of Cuba is becoming more heavily charged.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge, and the militant actions of the toiling masses of Cuba, bear within them the germs of the elements of a revolutionary crisis. This situation must be fully and efficiently utilised by the Communist Party in the interests of the workers of every kind in Cuba.

The task of the Party, under the new conditions thus created, consists of a many-sided political and organisational preparation of the toiling masses for the decisive revolutionary struggles, for the *struggle for power, for the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government*.

The Communist Party of Cuba, whilst making every effort to develop the economic struggle of the working class, must not neglect to take into account that this struggle—under the given conditions of the maturing of the elements of the revolutionary crisis—must assume the character of a preparation of the working masses for the decisive revolutionary struggles. And therefore, parallel with the economic demands of the workers, the demands of a political character assume ever increasing importance. The struggle for these demands, combined with the main slogans of the Communist Party, thus makes the struggle of the proletariat of Cuba a political one, and raises it to a higher level.

In the present situation in Cuba, during the process of preparation for the decisive revolutionary struggles, special importance falls to the broad development of the struggle of the peasantry, the chief ally of the proletariat in its struggle against feudalism and imperialism. It is the task of the Communist Party to arouse these toiling strata for the fight for their immediate demands (cancellation of debts, non-payment of rent and taxes, etc.), to organise them at the same time for the struggle for political demands, and to popularise widely the main slogans of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

In those districts where the peasant movement has already attained a high level, and where the volunteer movement is really developed, it is the task of the Communists to advance as a *slogan of action* the slogan of the revolutionary seizure of land belonging to the large landowners and foreign capitalists, to undertake the immediate leadership of this peasant action, and to organise the defence of the land thus seized. It need not be said that here the Communist Party makes no difference between the landowners of Machado's *camarilla* and of *Cespedes'* *camarilla*.

It is the further task of the Communist Party to penetrate into the army and navy, to arouse the soldiers and sailors to the struggle, and to bring their movement into harmony with that of the proletariat and the peasantry. The Communist Party of Cuba, in organising the struggle of the soldiers and seamen for their own economic and political demands, will at the same time popularise among them the main slogans of the Communist Party, the slogan of the fraternisation of the workers and peasants in the struggle,

etc. At the same time, the Communists living in the districts where the war with the volunteer bands is going on, will agitate among the troops stationed here, inducing them to refuse to fight against the revolutionary peasants, and to go over to the side of the volunteers. The Communist Party, reckoning upon the fermentation in the army, will issue in the course of the struggle the slogan for the formation of soldiers' and sailors' councils—militant organs for putting forward the economic and political demands of the soldiers and seamen—and will not hesitate thereby to violate military discipline.

The broad masses of the proletariat of Cuba demand of the *Cespedes'* government the legalisation of the Communist Party. It is possible that this government will find itself obliged to concede this under the pressure of the masses. The Communist Party must, however, not wait for this "peaceful" granting of legality, but must *by its own determination* win its legal existence, and the legality of other revolutionary organisations (Young Communist League, revolutionary trade unions, etc.), *whilst at the same time maintaining and consolidating its illegal apparatus*.

Parallel with this, it is the task of the Party to organise the struggle for such political demands as the freedom of the press, of speech, of assembly, etc., demands signifying the widest extension of "democratic" liberties.

At the suitable moment, the Communist Party will combine the struggle of the workers of Cuba with the slogan of the formation of the workers' and peasants' government, bringing forward and popularising the programme: Nationalisation of the great industrial, banking, traffic, and other undertakings in the possession of the imperialists, expropriation without compensation of estates belonging to the large landowners of Cuba or to foreign capitalists, and free distribution of this land among the peasants; annulment of state debts; arming of the workers and peasants, formation of a revolutionary workers' and peasants' army for defence against the armed intervention of the imperialists, especially of the United States, etc., the toiling masses to be convinced thereby, on the basis of the programme of the workers' and peasants' government, that only this government is able to free them from the imperialist yoke and from exploitation by the bourgeoisie and the large landowners.

The Communist Party of Cuba, in advancing the slogan of the establishment of the workers' and peasants' government, and in organising the masses for the struggle for this government by forming factory committees and peasant committees supporting its influence, must at the same time include in its mass propaganda the slogan of the organisation of the Soviets of the workers, peasants, soldiers, and sailors. The Communist Party of Cuba also undertakes the task of forming these in actual practice (that is, of converting this slogan into a slogan of action) in situations in which the mass movement assumes a definitely sharp character, and of converting this movement (all over the country or in one single district) into open civil war. The Soviets created in this manner become transformed, in the organisation and leadership of the organic struggle of the masses, into organs preparing and carrying out the armed insurrection of the workers.

In combination with these slogans, and with the struggle of the toiling masses, the Communists of Cuba must advance the demand for the arming of the working class and the working peasants, especially in view of the danger of imperialist war and the preparations for intervention, and to this end they must mobilise the broad toiling masses for the struggle for the attainment of this demand through their own determination, especially in the districts where the revolutionary struggles have attained a high level.

In order that these struggles and demands of the Communist Party may be carried out, the forms of the struggle itself must alter. That is, advance must be made from the organisation of partial strikes in individual undertakings to the organisation of all-out strikes embracing whole branches of industry, towns, districts, regions, thus advancing the working class towards the political mass strike. The Communist Party, by combining the strike struggles with demonstrations, with the occupation of the factories, etc., simultaneously prepares the way for and organises the political demonstrations of the toiling masses.

The C.P. of Cuba will take up its task of extending its organisational network in the works and factories, in the sugar-refining factories, in the rural districts, and in the army and navy; further, the task of increasing its membership, especially among

the workers in the large factories and the revolutionary working peasantry and among the poorest peasants, and the task of consolidating the revolutionary trade unions in the factories and on the plantations and the R.T.U.O. groups in the reformist trade unions and the revolutionary peasants' leagues.

The Communist Party, whilst exposing the bourgeois-landowning character of the new Cespedes government, its rôle as agent of U.S.A. imperialism and its policy of attack on the economic and political rights of the toilers (exemplified on the very first day of the president's taking office by the command to fire upon demonstrations, in order to "maintain order"), must not omit at the same time to unmask the "Left" demagoguery of the A.B.C. and other parties, and to expose the relations existing between their leaders and the U.S.A. imperialists. Here the C.P. must win over the middle class of the towns, at present deceived by the "revolutionary" programmes of these organisations and intoxicated by the success gained in defeating Machado.

In organising and leading the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses, the Communist Party of Cuba must resolutely maintain the revolutionary class line of its political, ideological and organisational independence against every bourgeois-landowning and petty bourgeois party and group hiding its actual aims behind revolutionary demagogic phrases, against every influence of outside classes endeavouring to penetrate into the ranks of the proletariat and even into the ranks of the Communist Party itself.

The Communist Party of Cuba, whilst combating the Right opportunist Junco group, and purging the ranks of the Party from its open and secret adherents, must at the same time combat that opportunist tendency still existing among some Party members, the idea that "the revolution in Cuba is impossible without the revolution in the United States—without the revolution in the other countries of Central America—without the support of the proletariat of other countries," in a word, the theory which in actual practice serves solely to disarm the proletariat of Cuba and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Cuba. The revolutionary militancy of the proletariat and the toiling masses of Cuba, as evidenced during the last few years; the existence of a Communist Party in Cuba, self-sacrificing and ready to fight; and on the other hand the growing acuteness of the antagonisms in the ruling classes, resultant on the profound economic crisis following the partial stabilisation of capitalism—all this forms the best guarantee for the possibilities of the triumph of the revolution in Cuba.

There is no need to emphasise that the Communist Parties of the other countries, especially the Communist Parties of the United States, Mexico, and Central America, must mobilise the proletariat and the broad masses of the toilers in active support of the revolutionary movement in Cuba.

The Communist Party of Cuba is on the eve of far-reaching revolutionary struggles. The fulfilment of the revolutionary historical tasks set this Party in the present situation depends on its ability to lead and intensify the economic and political struggle of the proletariat and the toiling masses of Cuba.

## The Assyrian "Insurrection" and the Machinations of British and French Imperialism

By S. Mustapha (Baghdad)

"If the government of Irak is not in a position to fulfil its undertakings towards the Assyrian minority, then Great Britain will consider it its duty to defend this minority and it will offer it the hand of friendship." (Sir Francis Hymperson, British High Commissioner in Irak.)

The real causes of the recent events in Irak are very little known. The imperialist press of all shades accuses the people of Irak of indulging in "massacres" of the Christian minority, and with this accusation it hopes to justify the imperialist policy of Great Britain and France in the Near East.

What are the fundamentals of the Assyrian question? Since the Assyrians have been living in the Hakiara district (Kurdistan) they have suffered oppression at the hand of the Turks and the Kurds, who were incited against them by the Turks. During the world war the Assyrians rose in rebellion against the Turks in 1916. A great number of Assyrians marched through Persia to Irak in order to enlist in the British army and fight against the Turks in the hope that after the war Great Britain would show

itself duly grateful and solve the Assyrian national question by proclaiming the Hakiara district an autonomous Assyrian State.

These hopes came to nothing. After the armistice the British government demanded that the Hakiara district should be separated from Turkey and joined to Irak in order to permit the Assyrian "allies" to live in peace under the protection of Great Britain, but this idea was abandoned in 1924 after the insurrection in Irak and the British agreed in the negotiations which were conducted with Turkey for the fixing of the frontier between Turkey and Irak that the Hakiara district should remain Turkish territory. In this way the British hoped to compel the Assyrians to migrate to Irak where, owing to the fact that they had no land of their own, they would serve in the British forces, aggravate in this way the national hatreds and be used at any time against Turkey as a result of their national desire to possess the Hakiara district.

The religious chief of the Assyrians and at the same time their political representative is *Mar Simon*. In 1921 he appealed to the civilised world to assist him in founding a "national home" for the Assyrians "outside Irak" and amidst a "non-Mohammedan population." At the invitation of the British government he travelled to Geneva where he did his best to stir up international interest in "the fate of the Assyrians in Irak." *Mar Simon* was promised all sorts of fine things by the League of Nations and himself received his instructions from British imperialism. He remained in close touch with and maintained the friendliest relations to the agents of imperialism in Irak, and above all to the British High Commissioner Hymperson, and these relations were kept up even after recent events.

All this shows that, in fact, *Mar Simon* is nothing more than an agent of British imperialism and bears his full share of the responsibility for the recent fighting between the Assyrians and the Irak troops. When the rôle of *Mar Simon* was exposed to the Assyrian masses they wanted to deal with him themselves, and he was saved from certain death at their hands only by flinging himself on to the mercy of the British representative in Irak. The British government has sent him to Cyprus to await a favourable moment for a come-back when he can be of use to British imperialism again.

It is a fact that with the intensification of the economic crisis and the strengthening of the revolutionary movement in the British colonies, British imperialism is increasing its colonial oppression and adopting methods of provocation and brute force instead of the methods of cheating and deception it uses wherever possible in normal periods. The case of the Assyrians and the arming of their fighting men by the British are links in the chain of provocations in Irak and in the British colonies. They are a part of the new colonial policy of British imperialism.

The British press insists that the British government should revive its colonial policy. The idea of this revision is that the British government has allegedly suddenly fifteen years after the peace conference remembered its duties towards the small nations and the protection of which they stand in need. In reality, however, British imperialism has a very good memory. The fate of the small nationalities is the result of the deliberate policy of provoking "national massacres" pursued by British imperialism, a policy which has been intensified recently in order to shore up the threatened imperialist buttresses in the colonial countries, to crush the revolutionary movement, and to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the countries and peoples under the yoke of British imperialism.

The interests of *French imperialism* are not far removed from those of British imperialism. French imperialism has refused to permit those Assyrians to settle down on the land in Syria and has sent them back to Irak—with arms in their hands. There is no doubt that an agreement exists between the British and French imperialists in this question, for such organised events cannot take place without a cunning hand behind them skilled and versed in colonial questions and in the "solution" of national questions.

The French authorities have armed the Assyrians and let them loose on the people of Irak, and at the same time they have supported the Kurds in slaughtering the Assyrians in order in this way to create on the Syrian frontier opposing national forces fighting against each other and prevent them uniting to fight against imperialism. On the other hand, the French imperialists are anxious to exploit these "timely events" in order to strengthen their hold on Syria and perpetuate its rôle of "milch-cow" for



French capital. The "anxiety" expressed by the "Journal des Debats" at the end of the French mandate in Syria, and its "fear" that "bloody events" might take place in Syria as a consequence, is nothing but a sign that French imperialism is preparing such "bloody events" in Syria in order to crush the revolutionary movement. It is to be hoped that the working masses of Syria, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will learn how to fight against French imperialism and counter its machinations.

There is no doubt that the bourgeoisie of Irak and its so-called "independent" government, which works in close co-operation with British imperialism, was in fact previously informed concerning all these imperialist machinations, that is to say that it was aware that preparations were being made to provoke armed collisions between the Arabian and Assyrian masses. The government of Irak was not only well informed, but on its part it did everything possible to incite the masses of Irak against the Assyrians. It deliberately spread false reports to blacken the Assyrians, for instance the story that the Assyrians were burning the bodies of dead Arabian soldiers, a story calculated to inflame the religious prejudices of the people of Irak. The government of Irak recruited volunteers and organised great demonstrations in Baghdad. It compelled the barbers and the café proprietors in Baghdad to serve and supply the soldiers and the volunteers for three days free of charge, and in this way it succeeded temporarily in soothing the dissatisfaction of the masses of the people of Irak who were beginning to realise that the "independence" of their country was a swindle, and in turning the anger of the people against the Assyrians in order to prevent it turning against the government and against British imperialism.

It is no coincidence that the British government has just conferred honours and distinctions on the Irak Ministers *Nuri Pasha el Said* and *Yaffar Pasha el Askari*. It is also no coincidence that the government of Irak has just agreed to the formation of an openly fascist party in Irak along the lines of the National Socialist Party of Germany.

The bourgeoisie and the feudalists of Irak know very well that Irak is a British colony and that it is going to remain so. There is no difference between the independence of Irak and that of Transjordan. They are well aware that the masses of the people of Irak are suffering under the yoke of British imperialism now as before. The bourgeoisie now wants to form a Hitler Party which will in fact assist British imperialism and the feudalists in their struggle against the revolutionary movement in Irak and will fritter away the energies of the masses of the oppressed Arabians in struggles against the masses of the Assyrians, Armenians and Kurds.

The time has come for the Communist groups in Irak to abandon their passivity and to take up seriously the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks in the present period. They must organise a great campaign to make it clear to the masses of the people of Irak that: (1) Irak is a British colony and that British imperialism will never voluntarily abandon Irak any more than it has abandoned Egypt or India. (2) That the government of Irak is in fact the tool of British imperialism represented by the British High Commissioner, and that the existence of a Crown and a Cabinet is in fact a means whereby British imperialism maintains its position in Irak with the assistance of the native bourgeoisie and the feudalists on the basis of an agreement. (3) That the government of Irak is a reactionary government which represents the interests of the ruling class and never the interests of the oppressed Arabian masses. (4) That the replacement of the mandate by an agreement and the admittance of Irak to the League of Nations represent an imperialist manoeuvre to maintain the security of the communications to India and for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, and to facilitate the colonisation of the semi-colonial countries (Persia, Turkey, etc.). (5) That all newspapers and political groups in Irak who take part in or support the government, or who propagate the idea that Irak is independent and not a colony, are consciously or unconsciously agents of British imperialism and enemies of the toilers of Irak. (6) That all propaganda calling for a struggle against the national minorities instead of a real struggle against imperialism is criminal propaganda and in direct opposition to the interests of the people of Irak. (7) That imperialism is trying its best to set the movement of the national minorities for their emancipation against the national-revolutionary movement in Irak itself on the principle of divide and conquer. It is the

plain duty of the Communist groups in Irak to make it clear to the masses of these national minorities that the toilers of all nations are exploited by imperialism and that there can be no emancipation for any of them without a joint struggle against imperialism. (8) That the society for national defence is a counter-revolutionary organisation which aims at strengthening the reactionary forces in the country, attacking the masses of the toilers of Irak and inciting to wasteful inter-national struggles. It is the duty of the Communists of Irak to declare irreconcilable war on this organisation. (9) There are national-revolutionary elements in Irak which are really prepared to fight for the emancipation of their country from the yoke of imperialism and to join the ranks of the revolutionary Arabian masses. It is the duty of the Communists of Irak to draw these elements into the anti-imperialist struggle. (10) The Communist Party must gather under its leadership all the forces of the workers, peasants and soldiers. It must tell the workers that they are the advance guard of the struggle for national emancipation, and it must tell the peasants that the agrarian problem can only be solved by joining forces with the workers and expropriating the lands of the feudalists.

By placing itself at the head of the struggle of the masses for national emancipation the Communist Party will show that it is the real leader of the struggle against imperialism for national emancipation and against social exploitation, and it will lead the masses to the establishment of a democratic workers' and peasants' government which will guarantee all the national minorities complete freedom and equality.

## Concentration Camps in—Paris

By Albert Wrage

It is necessary to draw the attention of the proletarian public to the treatment to which the anti-fascist emigrants in Paris have been subjected for some weeks. The main stream of refugees from Hitler Germany flowed into Paris. At first the official circles promised that before all the political refugees would receive work and bread, and only a few days ago "Le Temps" eulogised Daladier for his hospitality towards those who are seeking an asylum.

In reality, however, things are quite different. The right of asylum is openly violated and the German anti-fascists are being deliberately starved. The Relief Committee, which is under the protection of Rothschild and Citroen and under the supervision of the French government, and has considerable financial means at its disposal, now systematically excludes from relief all non-Jews and all emigrants who are not German subjects. The relief for the toiling Jewish emigrants has been reduced to 1.50 frs. per day and a very poor meal. In order completely to demoralise the recipients, they have to wait for hours, even for days in the yard for their food tickets and money.

But a further step has now been taken: the unmarried emigrants have been interned in the military barracks of Saint Maur, Porte de la Villette and Porte d'Orleans! In the barracks of the colonial troops of Saint Maur the young emigrants are compelled to repair straw mattresses and do other typical prison work for six hours a day.

Conditions are so bad that the "Dortmunder Generalanzeiger" (one of the worst Nazi papers) could state with satisfaction: the German emigrants have fled from the concentration camps of the Reich in order now to fill the Paris concentration camps. In fact, the difference is not very great. The situation of the inhabitants of the barracks, already numbering several hundred, is particularly bad owing to the fact that they cannot find any work outside of the barracks and that the overseers, who are backed by the officers of the French General Staff, are adopting the severest measures against the young emigrants. A whole number of anti-fascists have been expelled from the Porte de la Villette barracks on account of their militant tendency; they are now tramping the streets of Paris half-starved.

Seen in the proper light the much-lauded right of asylum turns out to be coercive treatment of the toiling young emigrants, by which means it is intended to convert them into strike-breakers and members of the Foreign Legion of French imperialism. But there are already to be seen the first symptoms indicating that the staffs of the barracks are loath to perform the rôle of prison warders and that the French working class is not willing to tolerate such a state of affairs but is ready to take up the fight for the real right of asylum and the provision of work for the anti-fascist emigrants.

## Germany

# Letters from Berlin

### I.

## Approaching the Hardest Winter for a Hundred Years

Göbbels, the Minister for Propaganda, has aptly summed up the national socialist victories on the front of labour and economy. At the gathering in Königsberg of motor-car owners he declared that we are approaching the hardest winter for a hundred years. One can say such a thing to motor-car owners, but it was a mistake that it was also reported in the press and thereby came to the knowledge of many workers.

We are again in the relatively happy position of being able to quote from reports in the fascist press in order to confirm with details this general judgment given by Göbbels. This is not due to any self-criticism exercised by the fascist economic journalists, but to their incompetence, for they still continue to print optimistic headlines whilst the text which follows is exactly the contrary.

Thus, for example, all the presents for motor-car owners and motor-car manufacturers and even the big orders for parts of tanks were not able to maintain the temporary and artificially achieved revival of the automobile industry. The biggest undertaking in the German automobile industry, Opel in Frankfurt, which was obliged to go over gradually from the six to the five, and then to the four-day week, has now, with its whole staff numbering 18,000, gone over to the three-day week.

The Reich government has been so obliging as to give data regarding the restriction of production in all branches of industry. The Reich Ministry for Economy has ordered the compulsory stoppage of machines on the sixth and seventh work day in the week for the whole of the paper and cardboard industry. Likewise on the orders of the Reich Minister for Economy, the jute syndicate, which embraces 97 per cent. of the total producing capacity of this industry, has decided to reduce production by 30 per cent. in the big undertakings and 10 per cent. in the small undertakings.

The output of Ruhr coal has for weeks shown a steady decline. In the week from the 20th to 26th of August the output per working day was 241,000 tons, which is the lowest output figure for the last 15 weeks. Most of the branches of industry which issue reports on the situation through their head organisations, describe the situation as "very uneven," and then proceed to report in detail nothing else but decline in production. This method is followed, for instance, by the woodworking industry, which under this heading ("very uneven") reports for August "weakening of business—plywood industry suffers considerably—business in the packing industry still unsatisfactory—further lessening of export possibilities. The retail textile trade is no longer, as formerly, one of the few oases in the general crisis, for the "Textilwoche" reports "that in July the turnover in the retail textile trade amounted to 98.7 per cent. of the turnover in the same month last year. When we then learnt that in the first six months of 1933 both the railway and the post have to record a smaller turnover we get a completion of the picture.

In the business quarter-year from April to June, 1933, the number of letters carried by the Reichs Post declined from 1,400 to 1,300 million, and the number of telephones in use declined from 3,070,000 to 2,940,000.

The total income of the Reichs railways amounted in the first half of 1933 to 1,340 millions compared with 1,400 millions in the first half of last year and 1,930 millions in the first half of 1931. The income from passenger traffic declined by 22 per cent. and the deficit for the first half of 1933 amounts to 56 million marks compared with "only" 52 million marks for the first half of 1932.

How the purchasing power of the working masses is declining under the fascist dictatorship is to be seen from the following figures: In the year 1932-33 the sale of beer declined by about 8 per cent. compared with the previous year. The figures regarding

the sale of margarine are still more significant. The Berlin Trade Research Department calculates that the decline in the sales of margarine compared with the previous year amounted in the small shops to 35 per cent., and in the big shops to about 30 per cent. The consumption of milk in Berlin also shows a decline. The "Vossische Zeitung" of August 26 writes: "In face of the decline in the purchasing power of the public and having regard to the economic situation, for certain dairies the minimum consumption can be put at 80 litres instead of 200 as formerly."

When in addition to all this one learns that the big towns of Dresden, Cologne, Dortmund, Frankfurt-on-Maine, and among many others the also not unimportant town of Herne, as well as two towns in the government district of Potsdam and a town in Silesia and a town in Sleswig are compounding with their creditors, one understands why the "Bergwerkszeitung," this organ of the Ruhr employers states:

"Anybody therefore who, placing his trust in the general upward movement of economy, ventured to invest his money in shares, has badly burnt his fingers. A setback like the present one involves the danger that even such circles which are most likely to invest their savings in shares lose courage and do not venture to invest their money again."

And thus, as Göbbels states, we are approaching the hardest winter which has been experienced for one hundred years.

### II.

## The "Incorporation" of the German Jews in the State

The German Zionists and the national socialists have finally concluded peace with one another. Those "differences" which in the past weeks led to the suppression of the "Jüdische Rundschau" have been settled and the Zionist Congress at Prague has confined itself to a more than tame resolution on Germany. When, in face of this resolution, the Nazi press speaks of "arrogant attacks" and "impudence," this is only demagogy in order, after the official anti-Jewish incitement of the last few months, to cloak over the new "unity."

The "Jüdische Rundschau" was allowed to appear already at the end of last week. In addition, the government now permits another Zionist organ, the "Judenstaat," published in Vienna, to be sold in the streets. The "Judenstaat" is a paper of the "revisionists" whose youthful supporters appeared at the Prague conference in brown shirts as so-called "Jewish storm troops." The national socialists naturally do not feel themselves threatened by these people who are attempting to terrorise Palestine in a fascist manner after the German model.

The "Jüdische Rundschau" of August 25, 1933, eagerly propagates the fascist idea of the necessity of a "leader." It reports from Prague:

"The opponents of Parliamentarism could scarcely wish for a better demonstration than the Zionist Congress has been wont to offer for the last ten years. There would always be felt in the movement the longing for a strong will from above to direct the movement. . . ."

In order to please Hitler, the wicked Communists are fiercely criticised in the same number, while at the same time tribute is paid to the "objectivity" of the "Völkischer Beobachter." The situation of the Jews in Germany, to which the Congress has not paid "any great attention" hitherto, serves as usual to "prove the correctness of the Zionist idea." But the paper is so obliging as at least "to feel no satisfaction" that the anti-semites wish to exterminate "the inferior Jewish race of curs."

This "extermination" is not a serious threat, at any rate so

far as wealthy Jewish circles are concerned. A genuine German may not be able to tolerate a Jew, but he willingly does business with him. As is known, German industry is making great efforts to export goods to Palestine, and in Berlin a Trust company has been formed which shall enable Jewish German citizens to transfer their money to Palestine. With the money they have in Germany the Jews shall purchase German machines for export to Palestine and the corresponding sum is credited to their account in Palestine. (Maximum sum for the time being three million marks.) The government is prepared to grant a further three million marks for the transfer of property of German Jewish emigrants to Palestine. The negotiations are said to be proceeding without a hitch. Some newspapers reported, it is true somewhat prematurely, that both parties had come to a satisfactory arrangement. Thus the "Promised Land" helps Herr Hitler in his endeavours to "revive economy," whilst in return the rich Jews are allowed to bring their banking accounts, for which they have to thank the German "interest slavery," into safety.

Of special interest in this connection is the declaration the Prime Minister of Saxony von Killinger made to some press representatives on the occasion of the opening of the Leipzig Fair. Any foreigner, no matter to what race he belongs, could come to the Leipzig Fair and be certain that he would be treated as a respected guest. He, Killinger, had ordered the police to have extra men on duty during the days of the Fair in order that there should be no possibility of visitors belonging to other races being molested.

Finally, a few days ago the "Deutsche Landhandelsbund E.V." stated that it had started an exchange business which would be advantageous to Germany:

"It is an exchange business with Palestine and Syria which provides for the importation of Jaffa oranges to the value of eight to ten million marks. In return, Palestine will import German industrial products to double this amount, that is, to the value of about 20 million marks. The main products of German industry which it is intended to export to Palestine are: tubing, pipes, agricultural machines, motors, refrigerators, fertilisers, seeds, textiles, domestic articles, as well as machines for the domestic industries to be set up in Palestine, such as buttons, fine leather goods, basket furniture, etc."

Thus one sees that business is flourishing and the much-quoted article by Rosenberg in the "Völkischer Beobachter" of August 24, in which he states that the mass emigration of German Jews to Palestine is to be deprecated because the government would have no hostages when the great world boycott commences, is not in accordance with the facts or the true intentions of the national socialist party. Such and similar "theoretical" attacks are only intended to serve to conceal from the masses, who have been stirred up by anti-semitic incitement, the bargaining which the "leaders" are in the meantime concluding behind the scenes with the Jewish capitalists. All signs indicate that anti-semitism is to be quietly toned down. Foreign-political considerations render it impossible for the "Third Reich" to permit anti-Jewish hysteria for any length of time; and it would encounter the serious resistance of the English or the American bourgeoisie were an attempt made to touch the "sacred property" of the wealthy Jewish classes in Germany. After numerous Jewish artisans and small traders have been deprived of their living for the benefit of "Aryan" rivals, care must now be taken that the artificially stirred up fury of the people shall not, contrary to the programme, be directed against the Jewish capitalists.

The German Jews may therefore face the future hopefully—provided they have the money. And the "Jüdische Rundschau" is quite right when in its recent issue it speaks of the "present state of affairs" as an "immediate effect of the revolution which has only just been concluded" and is not to be regarded as final.

"We believe," it writes, "that the German Jews must find their place and their incorporation in this State, and we hope that the form for this, which is in harmony with the principles of the new State, will be found."

As these "principles" are capitalist principles the optimism of those Jews who are themselves capitalists is thoroughly justified.

## The Unmasking of the Hitler Government

By L. K. (Berlin)

(Conclusion.)

### Weimar and the "Third Reich"

The hatred towards and the disappointment of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the Weimar Republic as the embodiment of the yoke of Versailles and the maintenance of the capitalist system, drove them into the arms of Hitler. Fascist demagoguery made the fullest use of this fact in its anti-corruption campaign against the "Parties of the System" (the social democratic party and the Centre). Let us fight this demagoguery with its own weapons! Let us discredit the fascist policy by exposing it as a continuation of the Weimar policy under conditions of an extreme accentuation of the crisis, pointing out that the foundations have remained unaltered and that only the forms and methods have changed.

Formerly the hated Brüning taxes, which were denounced by the Hitler party—to-day concealed tax extortion in the form of "voluntary" labour gifts.

Formerly "Christmas peace" decreed by Severing and Brüning in order to effect a 10 per cent. wage cut—to-day, prohibition of strikes, cutting down of piece-work rates and holiday bonus behind the phrase of peace in industry.

Formerly Kautsky's socialisation commission and Severing's machine-guns in order to prevent socialisation—to-day, fascist economic council headed by Krupp and Thyssen, Göring's gallows decree against the Communist enemies of the State in order to throttle the second revolution.

Hundreds of similar examples give us the opportunity of enlightening, in an easily understood, popular manner, the masses of supporters of the national socialist party as to the class character of the fascist policy and convincing them that social democracy and fascism are both buttresses of one and the same dictatorship, that the Weimar Republic and the "Third Reich" are only different "superstructures" of one and the same capitalism.

### The Importance of the Soviet Union

Their anti-Bolshevism, their foreign political aggressiveness against the system of socialism, the fact that in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat the question who will beat whom has been finally decided in favour of socialism, has not made the national socialist demagogues so short-sighted as not to take into account the attractive power proletarian dictatorship has for their own supporters. Herr Hitler has borrowed his "Four-Year Plan" from Marxist terminology. Göbbels is attempting to adapt the agitation and propaganda of Bolshevism for the "Third Reich." They have taken over the forms in order to discard the proletarian class content.

We must explain to the workers that planned economy and capitalist ownership of the means of production are mutually exclusive conceptions, and that permanent unemployment is an accompanying symptom of decaying capitalism, because reduction of working time and increasing wages, further development of the productive forces are incompatible with decaying capitalism. By breaking down the anti-Bolshevist wall of lies and making the tremendous progress of the Soviet Union more than ever a part of our every-day agitation and propaganda (by word of mouth, in pamphlets, in all illegal newspapers, etc.) we open in our own country the revolutionary perspective which Hitler and his consorts, as well as the leaders of the Second International, seek to obscure by their campaign of calumny against the Soviet Union.

### "Catchwords" as Weapons against Fascism

Finally, the "popular catchword" occupies an important place in the fascist system of deception. Here, too, we must turn their own weapons against them, expose their catchwords, and when possible impart to them our class conception. Among most of the Nazi supporters the phrase "second revolution" has become a winged word. But the idea becomes material force as soon as it seizes the masses, and therefore the "revolutionaries of January 30" decreed the death penalty for those who even talk of the second revolution. It is quite obvious, therefore, that we must become the bearer of this word which has become so popular, and explain to the masses that the overthrow of fascism and the victory of Communism is identical with the carrying out of the second revolution.

At every possible opportunity fascist demagoguery speaks of "Gleichschaltung." Let us illustrate the content of this word: Thyssen and Krupp in the Economic Council, the red strike leaders in the concentration camps. As against this let us show how we

shall "gleichshalten": the capitalists in the concentration camps, the workers, peasants and soldiers in the legislative and executive organs of the proletarian dictatorship, i.e., in the Soviets. Fascist demagoguery represents the State, which is the organisation of the power of the economically ruling class, of the capitalists and junkers, as the "total State which stands above the classes." Let us expose this swindle as the "total and absolute" rule of the capitalists and junkers, who divert the money which is squeezed out of the tax-payers into their coffers, and who are protected by the armed forces of this total State against the revolutionaries, against expropriation.

#### Our Ideological Fight against the Fascist Terror

Against the fascist terror we are organising the defensive mass struggle on the basis of our united front policy with the trade unionists, with social democratic and Christian workers. We are organising the hatred of the proletariat against spies, denouncers and murderers. We are aware that only the organised force of the proletariat will overthrow the terror. We must not, however, neglect to use this hatred as an instrument for winning the Nazi supporters among the working population away from their leaders. With all the improvements in our anti-fascist agitation even to-day the fight for the release of our Party leader, Thaelmann, the fight against the trial of Torgler, the exposure of the bestial massacre of defenceless prisoners, still reveal many shortcomings. While we must not succumb to defeatist influence in exposing and reporting fascist acts of terror, nevertheless we must not refrain from constantly exposing these actions. But here, too, we shall be able to separate rapidly and successfully the petty-bourgeois and proletarian followers of fascism from Hitler, Göring and all their corrupt and slum-proletarian cadres, if we indicate the motives of this terror and unmask the terror as the chief method of fascism which is indispensable for defending capitalism.

There is hardly another example in history, apart from the Bolsheviki, of such tremendous heroism as is being displayed by the German anti-fascist proletariat. But any neglect on our part which would cause the masses to get accustomed to this terror would be an ill-service to the revolution, the more so, as the fascist terror will increase to the extent that its mass basis crumbles and the revolutionary forces grow. The provocation of the Reichstag fire, arranged by Göring, will be repeated in another form. By enlightening the public beforehand we destroy the effect of the fresh fascist provocations.

#### Two Dangers for our Tactics

In our whole tactical attitude aiming at destroying the mass basis of fascism and winning the proletarian and petty-bourgeois followers of fascism, we must guard against two dangers. The first danger is that Communist workers or R.T.U.O. comrades may weaken their constant fight on principle against the Hitler party, against the N.S.B.O., against the storm troops, in favour of a "united front policy," a common partial action (for example, at a strike in a factory, at a trade union meeting, etc.); that they may tolerate the opinion, which exists sometimes among simple followers of the Nazis, that "it only requires pressure from below in order to force the Hitler government into the anti-capitalist front." We had examples of this opportunism already before the setting up of the Hitler dictatorship, when the Nazi leaders resorted to the manoeuvre of sanctioning strikes (for instance, the Berlin Traffic Workers' Strike), and some comrades, factory and trade union functionaries drew from this the conclusion that "during the time of the common action, and in the interest of the common action against the common enemy" it was necessary to weaken the fight on principle, at least in the undertaking or section of the fight in question.

Even though there is no longer any talk about the "second revolution," even though the fascist terror is increasing in intensity and fierceness, nevertheless fascism will not refrain in the future from resorting to social demagoguery. We already have examples where, under the extreme pressure of the workers, lower factory units of the N.S.B.O. have become the bearers of strike movements, which, of course, were very limited in their demands, extent and depth, but were nevertheless calculated to obscure the character of blacklegging fascism. Does this mean that we must refrain from conducting a strike together with rank and file workers of the N.S.B.O., refrain from demonstrating with peasants in front of tax-collectors' offices? Of course not. But it still remains necessary and important for us, in the process of every such partial movement, to convince the fascist workers and petty bourgeois that their membership of the Nazi party and support of the fascist dictator-

ship or of a fascist organisation is contrary to their vital interests; that one cannot claim to fight for higher wages and against tax extortion, and at the same time, support a party and a government which brutally defends wage slavery.

Any lack of principle in this respect, any omission in our irreconcilable unmasking of the Hitler dictatorship down to its lowest points of support, would facilitate fascist demagoguery and, as was the case after the Berlin traffic workers' strike, in which the Berlin N.S.B.O. took part, unwittingly conceal the fascist strike-breaker regime. It is also necessary to expose and thwart the fascist manoeuvres to organise the competition of the workers against each other (sacrifice of wages in favour of unemployed fellow-countrymen, differentiation in piece-work rates), or to give the workers, peasants and artisans a trifle in the way of charity in order to defraud them of a far bigger amount.

The second danger threatens from the reverse side of opportunism, namely, sectarianism. The German proletariat is to-day experiencing what bestiality and lust for murder a ruling class which is condemned by history to disappear is capable of in order to prolong its life, and how dearly the proletariat has to pay for any sentimentality in its fight against the bourgeoisie, what role the social democratic leaders played as aiders and abettors when they for years defamed the organised mass terror of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia during the civil war as "Asiatic despotism," as the "regime of murderers and incendiaries." The preparation of the masses for the ruthless, inexorable settling of accounts with the hangmen and murderers of the Third Reich must to-day become the central point of our Bolshevik agitation among the masses. The naming of our Cells, our R.T.U.O. groups, our recruiting actions, etc., after Comrade Thaelmann and our murdered class fighters must be a method of kindling burning, unquenchable hatred against the fascist murder regime. But that must not cause us to see in the mass basis of fascism the "one reactionary mass" and not to distinguish between leaders and misled, between the brutalised scum in the Storm Troops and the hundreds of thousands who wear brown uniforms. No pity must be shown to the brown murderers, spies and informers. For the great masses of toilers who still follow fascism, our slogan must be: Become red soldiers of freedom for the second, the proletarian revolution! Pillory the murderers in your own ranks! Refuse to denounce, arrest and torture the workers! Inform the Communists of the provocations and murderous plans of your leaders! Come to us, bringing your weapons with you!

#### The Exposure of Fascism and the First Step to its Overthrow

We scorn the defeatist reasoning of the petty bourgeois who collapse with panic at every zig-zag course of the revolution, who to-day are bubbling over with joy, and to-morrow, when the swindler Göbbels promises over the radio to himself and his followers a reign of a thousand years, are painfully convinced that fascism will last for ever.

We remember the statement of Comrade Manuilsky at the Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1932, when speaking of fascism at the end of capitalist stabilisation:—

"Fascism is as a political party just as unstable as the whole present situation. As the product of the disintegration of capitalism, even at the moment of its highest level of development it shows symptoms of decay. And if it required many years for the shattering of social democracy, under the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilisation a much shorter period will of course be necessary for the collapse of fascism.

"Nevertheless, capitalism will not collapse automatically; it will not collapse if it is not given a push. No class, said Lenin, no regime falls, unless it is pushed.

"At the time of the Eleventh Plenum we fought against the support of fascism (against the theory of the general offensive, against the theory that we had barred the way of fascism, that fascism is a defensive means of capitalism, that it is only a product of disintegration—theories which were put forward by Comrade Neumann in Germany). But now, comrades, at the moment of the end of capitalist stabilisation, there arises a new danger, namely, that of underestimating fascism as an element of disintegration of capitalism, the danger of regarding the fascist dictatorship as a factor consolidating the class rule of the bourgeoisie. It has already been rightly pointed out here, that one must not regard fascism at the end of capitalist stabilisation as the same as fascism at its commencement. . . ."

In the above quotation there is indicated the importance and the method of our ideological offensive against fascism. But merely to expose fascism does not overthrow it. "The exposure of the capitalists," writes Lenin, "is the first step to their overthrow; the first step to the fight against the marauders is to tear away the veil from the orgies of the marauders." The further development or the decay of the fascist dictatorship depends, however, in the first place upon the revolutionary mass struggle of the working class against fascism in all its forms. The organising and leadership of partial and mass struggles, up to the mass and general strike on the basis of our united front policy, of our Open Letter to the workers in the social democratic party, of our revolutionary trade union tactic, remain the first, the chief prerequisite and condition for shattering the fascist mass basis, of winning the urban middle classes, the peasants, the employees as allies of the proletariat for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of the workers' and peasants' Republic.

## The Struggle of the Wurttemberg Workers

Stuttgart, 9th September.

There are 1,600 prisoners in the Wurttemberg concentration camp of Heuberg. Twice this number of anti-fascists have been given "leave of absence" from the camp during the past month in order to make room for newly-arrested persons. But, in spite of all persecution, the revolutionary fighting front of the Wurttemberg workers is growing, and the Communist agitation is increasing. For the third time the illegal "Süddeutsche Arbeiter Zeitung" has been printed, in large size, and a large edition. Only a very few of the courageous sellers were arrested, and a very few copies fell into the hands of the police. Although eight months' imprisonment has been imposed in some cases for the possession of a copy of the "Süddeutsche Arbeiter Zeitung," the issue appearing in the middle of August was circulated rapidly among the masses by a greater number of sellers than ever.

The new number of the "Süddeutsche Arbeiter Zeitung" contains many letters from worker correspondents, showing how the will to fight is growing in the works and factories. We take the following from the reports:—

Resentment is growing steadily among the Stuttgart tramwaymen. Here the Nazis had made a great many promises, but none of them has been fulfilled up to now. The tramwaymen say that conditions have been worsened. The higher prices have reduced the value of wages by 10 marks. The inspection system was going to be abolished, but still remains. The management, commissioned by the Nazis, has issued questionnaires for the purpose of ascertaining where the workers were formerly organised. The questionnaire contains such questions as: "Have you been a member of the R.T.U.O., the anti-fascist league, the C.P.G.," etc., and also the question: "Are you of Aryan race?" This has aroused much amusement. The announcements made on the notice board are very "popular." Many of the orders are simply crossed out. Others are underlined in a very unequivocal manner. The discussions are very lively. The "Süddeutsche Arbeiter Zeitung" enjoys a wide circulation among the tramwaymen.

The "voluntary" contribution extorted for the provision of work has aroused great indignation in many undertakings. In one large printing works the management waited in vain for three weeks for voluntary entries in the lists provided. The deduction of 25 pfennigs a week then dictated caused great indignation.

The workers of the large-scale undertaking Bosch-Feuerbach were informed that 50 pfennigs would be deducted from their wages as a "voluntary" contribution. Anyone not in agreement with this was to enter his name in lists kept by the foremen. In spite of this despicable method of drawing up black lists, many workers signed their names, thus demonstrating against the wage deduction. In one single department fifty men signed one after another. In the textile mills one hour's wages was simply deducted. This has brought about a great change of feeling among the women workers, and the Communist influence is growing.

A works meeting was held at the Stuttgart gas works, but, of course, without discussion. The workers protested, and one rose to speak. The Nazi commissar, Metzger, shouted in great excitement: "What is the man's name?" The solidarity of the other workers prevented the identity of the worker from being discovered.

At a building workers' meeting the discussion was closed down with the observation: "Anyone who has any complaints or any-

thing else to bring forward can apply to the commissar in the next room." The Nazis hoped to ascertain the oppositional workers by this method, and to discharge them. But the great majority of the meeting walked into the next room! The commissar left in a panic.

The Nazi officials had promised the typographical workers that this year holiday money would be paid at the full rate of 100 per cent., instead of 75 per cent. as hitherto. The employers refused to concede this. In the trade union paper the Nazi officials announced: "We shall force the employers to pay full wages during the holidays." The great majority of the printing workers believed the assurances of the Nazis. But the labour trustees, when appealed to, decided that the 75 per cent. holiday payment was to be retained. The Nazi officials then explained to the deposed S.P.G. officials that they were not in agreement with the decision, but that there was nothing to be done for the present; they would wait till the agreement expired and then push the 100 per cent. holiday wage through. This experience has had a very dampening effect on the printing workers, and has already broadened the anti-fascist fighting front.

At Böblingen, near Stuttgart, the workers employed in the furniture industry found last week that 25 per cent. of their wages had been deducted, without previous notice. On their making energetic protest, they were told that they ought to be thankful to have work at all. The boom in the Daimler factory at Böblingen is already over. The fact that new workers were engaged by this firm (motor cars and aeroplanes) has been widely boosted as a success due to Hitler's policy. Business is now so slack that workers should be dismissed again. But this would derange the general programme, and the firm has been induced to keep the workers on, although there is no work for them. Who pays? The workers say that the government pays out the money brought in by taxation, and they are right.

Many small examples from the daily struggle demonstrate the invincibility of the C.P.G. The Nazis are obliged to admit that the Communists are continually finding new methods of agitation and propaganda. Great sensation was aroused, for instance, when a huge swastika flag was hauled down at Cannstatt, near Stuttgart, the white centre with the swastika sign removed, and the remaining red flag hoisted again. The black-white-red flag on another flagstaff was thrown into the river Neckar.

Communist agitation is making itself felt even in the smallest localities in Wurttemberg. Not a day passes without domiciliary visits and arrests, but this does not prevent the continual fresh appearance of Communist leaflets and newspapers.

## Red Berlin Demonstrates Against the Fascist Warmongers

In the days preceding and following the 1st of August (International Anti-War Day) no less than 18 demonstrations with an attendance ranging from 50 to 300 took place in Berlin. Although whole parts of the town were cordoned off and searched by the Storm Troops, and although indiscriminate and arbitrary arrests of suspected workers took place immediately before and after August 1, the fascist authorities did not succeed in suppressing the anti-war action of Red Berlin.

In the Frankfurter Allee, in the Schönhauser Allee, in Tempelhof, Neukölln, and even in Alexander Platz, where the police headquarters are situated—everywhere there was heard the tramp of the anti-fascist battalions, everywhere there was heard the singing of the "International"; anti-war slogans were shouted and cheers raised for the Communist Party.

One of the best demonstrations took place on Sunday evening, August 6, in the neighbourhood of the Schlesischen Railway Station. About 100 workers marched through the streets for ten minutes singing the International. The demonstrations were everywhere so carefully prepared that neither the police nor the Storm Troops succeeded in making any arrests.

The Berlin workers displayed great courage and inventiveness in distributing leaflets on August 1. A special leaflet was got out and distributed among the workers of the Berlin Traffic Co. (B.V.G.) and was received with enthusiasm. Leaflets and factory newspapers were distributed in the Siemens Works and ten other big enterprises. Leaflets were thrown from the top floors of the big stores of the firms of Karstadt and Tietz, and landed on the counters below. When such a distribution of leaflets occurred

a second time in one week at Karstadt's, the company's police immediately had all exits closed, nevertheless they did not succeed in catching any of the leaflet distributors.

A courageous piece of work was performed by two comrades who, at a busy street crossing in the midst of the traffic and protected by a number of armed comrades, distributed leaflets and afterwards got away without being caught. Splendid successes were achieved in the distribution of leaflets on the various fair grounds. Huge quantities of the "Rote Fahne" were sold at the Fair Ground in the Prenzlauerberg. The Storm Troopers who were present did not venture to interfere in view of the strength of the anti-fascist self-defence force. They telephoned the nearest Storm Troops barracks, but reinforcements arrived too late. In the North and in Wedding, working-class streets were completely cordoned off and thoroughly searched because leaflets had been scattered from the roofs down into the streets below.

In the other districts great anti-fascist activity was displayed on August 1 and the days following. In Hamburg it came to numerous demonstrations. The workers in the firm A. L. Mohr entered on a protest strike against the execution of the four Altona workers.

In Magdeburg leaflets were distributed in the factories and in the streets.

## Bloody Provocative Crimes in Preparation for Autumn and Winter

Declaration of the Central Committee of the C.P.G.

Berlin, 10th September.

The Central Committee of the C.P.G. submits to the public the results of the investigations of the Communists' news service, which has ascertained that the National Socialist centres employed in combating Communism have been preparing for months a combined system of provocative measures, to be carried out in the coming autumn and winter, in order to divert the attention of the masses from the growing want and misery resulting from the sharpened crisis, and from the incompetence of the government.

The main plans are on the following lines:—

(a) With the aid of the notorious Orloff document forgers, relations with the Soviet Union are to be broken off by some such device as that of the English "Zinoviev letter," and all German Communists are to be charged with "sedition and high treason on account of military espionage for Moscow."

(b) The wave of Terror is to be roused to a high pitch by bomb attacks on crowded railway trains, by damaging waterworks and other public institutions, and even amusement parks.

(c) After the harvest, the device practised last year in the province of Brandenburg—furnishing the pretext for the establishment of the concentration camp in Oranienburg—is to be repeated, and middle-sized farms and a few large ones set on fire. In the same manner bandit attacks on small tradesmen are to be organised in the largest cities.

(d) Attempts on the lives of regional leaders of the Storm Troops and Special Troops, State Governors, etc., are to be staged in a number of regional centres.

(e) The culmination is to be a framed-up attempt on Hitler's life, to give the signal for a wholesale massacre and a pretext for allowing a "bloody week for the Storm Troops."

"The Communist Party," writes the C.C. of the C.P.G., "is not an organisation promoting putsches and individual terror. It is the party of the proletariat and of the whole of the working people. It will not permit its actions to be prescribed by fascist provocateurs. It will carry out the will of the working class and of the whole of starving and bleeding Germany, leading the masses in their determined daily struggle to their approaching victory over the exploiting class.

**"Ours is the Future! The Victory is Ours!"**

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany  
(Section of the Third International).

## International Solidarity

### The English International Labour Defence

By Hans Strobl

The insane campaign of persecution which the bourgeoisie is conducting against the proletariat striving for power, and reaching its culmination in the bloody system of terror in Hitler Germany, confronts the I.L.D. organisations of all countries with tremendous tasks. It is the most elementary task of the I.L.D. organisations to organise the fight against the persecution of revolutionaries, against the bloody justice and the adoption of mediæval methods of torture in the prisons and concentration camps, for the release of the proletarian political prisoners, for unrestricted right of asylum, etc., and to foster the ideas of international solidarity and class unity. It is indispensably necessary, in close connection with this, to organise material and moral assistance for the prisoners, the refugees and their families.

Rightly recognising these tasks, the I.L.D. of England launched a broad mass campaign against blood-stained fascism in Germany, a campaign which has met with the strongest response among the masses. At numerous public meetings organised by the I.L.D., demonstrations, street meetings, etc., the English workers expressed their inflexible fighting will by raising protests, sending telegrams and delegations to the German consulates. The indignation of the English workers at the murder of the four Altona heroes was expressed in numerous telegrams from trade union organisations, factories, groups of strikers, unemployed, I.L.D. local branches, anti-war committees, etc., in which connection the central committee of the I.L.D. developed the greatest initiative.

The recent fresh death sentences in Düsseldorf and Königberg are being widely discussed in the factories and stimulate the campaign.

The approaching Reichstag fire trial and the counter-trial of the International Commission of Inquiry, which will soon take place in London, have aroused the greatest attention. There is hardly a single person to be found in England who believes in the guilt of Torgler, Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev.

The I.L.D. of England is concluding a broad campaign for the defence of the accused in the Reichstag arson trial. Upon its initiative a **Reichstag Trial Defence and German Delegations Committee** has been set up to which up to now 80 leading English intellectuals belong: eminent scientists, journalists, authors, representatives of the Church, etc. The committee has already sent a delegation to Germany, which, however, could not proceed farther than Holland. The German government is afraid that the truth regarding the conditions in the concentration camps, the prisons and Storm Troopers' murder dens will be confirmed by eye-witnesses, and therefore it refuses visas to the delegation.

It is the task of the committee to establish the truth regarding the Reichstag fire, to organise the defence for the accused, which will give all the guarantees to the defendants, and to mobilise all the forces against the contemplated crime and the monstrous travesty of justice, as well as to send delegations to Germany in order to ascertain the actual state of affairs in Germany and to utilise their findings in the fight against the brown pest. It would be desirable if similar committees in other countries at once got into touch with the English Committee in order to bring about a still more effective international co-operation. (Address: Peter Zinkin, 83, Fitzjohn Avenue, London, N.W.3.)

The campaign of the I.L.D. is, of course, linked up with a collection for the victims of fascism in Germany. An appeal of the Central Committee of the International Red Aid of Germany was distributed in thousands of copies and met with an enthusiastic response. By means of leaflets, factory newspapers, articles in the press, etc., enlightenment is spread and the necessity stressed of granting material aid to the prisoners and their families. Like the other sections of the I.R.A., the I.L.D. of England was also able to transfer to the I.R.A. of Germany a contribution in aid of the victims of German fascism. The Central Committee of the I.R.A. of Germany has sent an enthusiastic letter, in the name of the heroic fighters, expressing thanks for this contribution.

Before all, it is now necessary to overcome the prevailing shortcomings in the organisation, in which respect good progress has been made recently as a result of the campaign. If the I.L.D. of England keeps determinedly to the path hitherto pursued, if it gives more prominence to the questions of the policy of oppression of English capitalism, to the questions of colonial oppression by

English imperialism and connects these questions with the international tasks, then it will in the shortest possible time become a decisive factor—in keeping with the importance of the country and the key position of the English proletariat—in the fight against the capitalist oppressors and their lackeys in all camps.

## Vienna Enterprises Organise Actions to Save Torgler

Vienna, 6th September.

On 4th September a conference was held by an initiative committee composed of members of three workshop committees of Viennese undertakings, for the purpose of organising a solidarity action for Torgler, Dimitrov and their comrades. This conference was attended by the Shop Steward of the Meidlinger South Railway Station, the Shop Steward of the Liesing Station, near Vienna, a Shop Steward from the building contractors, Hartl, the Shop Stewards of two large taxi enterprises in Vienna, the leader of the factory council of the Bally shoe factory, a member of the shop council of the gas works, Vienna XXI, two committee members of the Vienna XIV lodge of the Building Workers' Union, a member of the Taxi Drivers' Committee, and a representative of the unemployment committee of the taxi drivers. It was resolved to constitute the conference as a "Committee of Austrian workers for the action to save Torgler," to address an appeal to the workers of Austria, and to send this to the daily press for publication. At the time of the trial of Torgler and his comrades, a great conference of representatives of the workers is to be called in Vienna, to be addressed by a representative of the Parallel Trial. The conference also sent a representative to the already existing committee organised for Torgler by Austrian intellectuals and brain workers.

Much discussion was aroused at the conference by a notice appearing in the "Arbeiter Zeitung" on Saturday, openly warning workers against accepting invitations to this conference, since it represents a "superfluous" action in view of the decisions of the Second International in Paris. A deputation was elected to interview the editorial board of the "Arbeiter Zeitung," and to protest against the sabotage of the action to save Torgler.

## China

### The Sixth Campaign Against Chinese Soviets

General von Seeckt as Chiang Kai-shek's Mercenary

By Magyar

Five big military crusades organised by the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang have been beaten back by the Red Armies of the Chinese Soviets. The Soviet revolution is growing in China and winning victory after victory. Up to the present the counter-revolutionary crusades of the Kuomintang have received the support of the imperialist Powers. In Changcha the American, British and Italian warships fought against the Red Army. In Hankow the warships of all the imperialist Powers went into action against the Red Army of the Chinese workers and peasants, and only the intervention of these warships saved the town for the imperialist Powers and the Chinese counter-revolution. The United States supplies Chiang Kai-shek with arms, munitions and war materials of all sorts for the struggle against the Chinese Red Army. The general's clique in Kwangtung is being supplied by the British imperialists with arms and ammunition for the struggle against the Soviet revolution. Two war factories in the United States are permanently at work for the Nanking government. That Japanese imperialism fights bitterly against the Soviet revolution is clear. Germany is building war factories for the Nanking government and the United States government is providing the necessary capital. Over seventy German officers are serving in the army of Chiang Kai-shek, and the former chief of the Operations Department of the German imperialist General Staff, Colonel Bauer, organised Chiang Kai-shek's first military crusade against the Chinese Soviets. After the death of Bauer his place was taken by Wetzel and Kriebel, who organised the fourth and fifth anti-Soviet crusades.

With the assistance of the imperialist Powers and the League of Nations the Nanking government is now preparing for a sixth military crusade against the Chinese Soviets. The United States government has already provided the Nanking government with a credit of fifty million dollars to finance the crusade. The Finance Minister of the Nanking government, Sun Tse-wen, is conducting negotiations in half a dozen European capitals with a view to obtaining still further war credits. The League of Nations has also provided the Nanking government with its experts in the shape of "technical assistance" for the Chinese counter-revolution. During

the last few weeks alone Chiang Kai-shek has received from the United States no less than 150 aeroplanes, many tanks and all the equipment necessary for waging gas and chemical warfare. The Kwangtung group is being provided with the necessary equipment by British imperialism for its part in the sixth campaign against the Chinese Soviets. Five military crusades against the Chinese Soviets have been smashed, and in the fifth campaign eighteen divisions of Nanking troops were utterly defeated. Chiang Kai-shek is now mobilising 442,000 men against the Central Soviet District. The opening of the sixth campaign was set for July, but it had to be postponed because, despite the pressure exerted by the imperialist Powers, the Nanking government and the Kwangtung group could come to no agreement. The middle of September has now been fixed for the opening of the offensive.

It now appears that the Nanking government intends this time to use new strategy and tactics in its fight against the Red Armies. The new methods adopted are those adopted by Great Britain in South Africa during the Boer war. In South Africa the British army succeeded in overthrowing the Boer Republics by using an immense superiority of numbers and conquering the country systematically bit by bit, consolidating its gains, and then advancing afresh to conquer new territory, gradually encircling the fighting Boers, disarming the civilian population and crowding them into terrible concentration camps. These methods are now to be adopted in a still more ruthless form against the Central Soviet District. An army almost ten to one numerically superior and supplied with all the weapons of modern warfare is to attack the Red Army. One area of Soviet territory after another is to be conquered and "pacified," the civilian population is to be decimated, and the whole Soviet area surrounded so that the manoeuvring basis of the Red Army is hampered more and more and it is finally forced to stand up to an overwhelming superiority in numbers and be destroyed. This new strategy, whereby the armies of the counter-revolution will march in a closed front, is also intended to prevent whole detachments of the counter-revolutionary armies from going over to the "enemy." In order to prevent the demoralisation of the counter-revolutionary troops by the civilian population, troops are to be sent into Kiangsi who do not understand the local dialects, and, further, fraternisation between the soldiers and the local population is to be prevented in every possible way.

There is no doubt that the numerical superiority of the counter-revolutionary army and its tremendous superiority in arms, ammunition and modern war technique will place a tremendous strain on the Red Army, but there is no doubt that the Red Army will be victorious now, as it has been in the past, and that it will bring the new tactics of the Nanking militarists to nought. The first encounters in the sixth campaign have ended victoriously for the Red forces.

It has now been revealed that the sixth military campaign against the Central Soviet District has been organised and is being directed by the German General von Seeckt, once the supreme commander of the German Reichswehr, the general of the German "democratic" republic, who for years enjoyed the support of the German social democrats. He has now sold himself as mercenary of the Chinese counter-revolution. At the instructions of the coalition government in Germany and under the social democratic President Ebert, General von Seeckt declared martial law in Germany in 1923 and crushed the rising proletariat. He is now using his military capacities against the Chinese Revolution. The victory of fascism in Germany has in many respects restored the middle ages, and apparently the international sale and purchase of mercenaries is once again in fashion. From the military leader of the Weimar Republic, General von Seeckt has become a camp follower of Chiang Kai-shek, a mercenary of the counter-revolution.

Up to the present, however, General von Seeckt has not won many laurels in China. The first engagements of the campaign have ended to the advantage of the Red Army, and his great plan for encircling the Soviet districts has met with a serious reverse in the province of Fukien, where the Red Army has administered a severe defeat to the Kuomintang army, has broken through its front and is now threatening Foochow, so that both Great Britain and Japan have been compelled to send warships post-haste in order to "defend" the town against the Red Army. Naturally, this has been done on the usual pretext of "protecting the lives and property of British and Japanese Nationals." Let us hope that the Chinese Red Armies will continue to administer defeats to the armies of Chiang Kai-shek and that they will successfully counter the plans of the mercenary von Seeckt.

# India

## The Situation in India

By V. Basak

### II.—What is the Struggle of the Communists for the Hegemony of the Proletariat?

(Continued.)

The platform of action of the C.P. of India gave a correct Bolshevik analysis of the character and the driving forces of the Indian revolution and the leading role of the proletariat.

However, the working class led by the Communist Party can only win and carry out its leadership by participating in the struggle, showing to the masses in practice that the Communists are the only force capable of leading the revolutionary people to victory.

The attention of the toiling masses at present is focussed on the solution of revolutionary democratic tasks. The workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie are burning with justified hatred towards the imperialists. They come into constant conflict with the reactionary forces of the old semi-feudal caste society. In conflict with the officials, police, government, landlords, and usurers while defending their own everyday interests, the consciousness of the workers and toilers and their determination to organise themselves and to struggle is being roused. In the struggle for democratic demands the mass revolutionary movement is growing, the class consciousness of the workers is increasing and the proletariat is becoming more and more an independent class force. Here in the struggle for their interests, the toiling masses see in practice the treacherous policy of the national reformists. They see themselves that in order to obtain independence, land, bread and power it is necessary to throw overboard the Gandhist policy of non-violence and passive resistance, the policy which meant to defend the interests of the exploiters.

Therefore the tasks of the Communists are to enter and take the lead in all these democratic movements, to lead every movement of dissatisfaction with the existing order, no matter what questions brought them into being, and to go everywhere with Communist agitation, putting forward proposals and slogans on every occasion, constantly explaining and showing in practice that the path of National Reformism is the path of defeat and slavery. Only then, when the workers and peasants and the semi-proletariat of the towns and villages will see that in the struggle for their everyday economic demands, in the demonstrations against terror and arrests, in every mass action, whether started by students, small toilers, peasants or workers, in the struggle against the caste system, etc., the Communists are in the forefront and fight consistently to the end, only then will the toiling masses, and not only the peasants and workers, be convinced that the Communists are the real leaders of the people who can be trusted and with whom they can march to the end in the struggle for independence, land and power.

On this path, the masses will learn that the Communist Party is the only consistent leader of the oppressed masses. This means sacrifices by the proletarian vanguard. Thousands of Chinese Communists gave up their lives in the dungeons of the imperialists, generals and the Kuomintang traitors, and on this path they won the hegemony, the leadership in the struggle of the workers and peasants, and gained their confidence.

The development of the Chinese Communist Party went along three channels which mutually intertwined and supplemented each other. The Chinese Communist Party came on to the mass arena in big economic strikes in Hongkong, the Peking-Mukden railway, etc. On the basis of the strike movement, the anti-imperialist movement grew up and developed, with the famous Shanghai strike of 1925, and the Northern march which in turn led to the rise of millions of peasants which developed into the agrarian revolution. The Chinese Communists carried on a heroic struggle, simultaneously building up their independent party, exposing at first the inconsistency of the Kuomintang, exposing its incorrect views, and later, when the Kuomintang had joined the camp of counter-revolution, developed a merciless struggle against it as the traitor of national freedom and the interests of the people. The result is now known. A powerful Communist Party has grown up, the Red Army and the Soviet districts have been formed. The Communist Party is recognised as the leader of the masses of the Chinese people.

The essence of the Chinese, and especially the Russian experiment, is precisely the fact that the formation of a mass Communist Party and the conversion of the working class into an independent class force, the leader of the toiling masses, took place and can only successfully take place when the C.P. participates in and correctly leads all the democratic movements and especially the national movement for independence. However, in the Indian Communist movement unclarity still exists, there are two deviations. One of the deviations is that some Communists see only the necessity of forming an underground Communist Party, contrasting this task to the task of winning over the masses and participating in democratic movements.

The comrades who take such a line fall into sectarianism and the abandonment of work in the mass organisations led by the national reformists. They do not see the difference between the leaders and the rank and file, isolate themselves from the movement for independence, they do not understand the necessity to cooperate with such democratic strata which are able to march together with the working class, even for a portion of the path, in the struggle against the imperialists. At the same time they display a failure to understand the necessity to utilise legal and semi-legal forms of mass movement.

The second deviation is the very reverse. It is the failure to understand the task of immediate formation of an underground Communist Party. The comrades who fall into this mistake often work energetically in the trade unions, recognise the importance to participate in democratic movements, especially the independence movement, to attract the democratic strata of the petty-bourgeoisie, utilise the legal forms of the movement. However, their practical refusal to form an underground Communist Party leads to the refusal to separate the proletariat into an independent class force, nourishes the lack of faith in the working class, leads, as a matter of fact, to a repudiation of revolution. And this makes the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat more difficult and leads in fact to a position when some Communists, not seeing the active workers, become frightened because of the difficulties and the enormous tasks and begin to slow down the struggle against national-reformism, especially its "left" varieties, thus making it easier for the bourgeoisie to force the masses to keep their positions. Some Communists, instead of recognising their mistakes, begin to accuse the toiling masses of inconsistency, backwardness, of not wanting to fight, stating that the masses are responsible for the weakness of the Communists. These views are not correct and are an echo of Roy's propaganda which claims that "independence is an abstract conception" (leaflet, 1932) to the masses, and that the time has not yet come for a revolutionary struggle. The views of the supporters of Roy represent treachery of the people and must be rejected. Every Communist must remember that at present it is the Communists and not the working masses who are to blame for the weakness of the Communist movement and we must seek for the roots of our lagging behind and slow growth in our ranks.

Both of these deviations are extremely harmful and must be eliminated. Bolshevik policy demands exactly the combination of both tasks of the formation of an underground Communist Party and participation and leadership of the mass, revolutionary democratic movement; the failure to understand this explains the roots of the disagreements and personal disputes which take place in a number of Communist organisations.

We should remember that the formation of an independent C.P. and the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat can only be carried out when the Communists carry on a struggle against national reformism and its influence in the ranks of the working class, which is the influence of the treacherous bourgeoisie and when the Communists simultaneously expose the petty-bourgeois revolutionary terrorists, the workers' and peasants' parties, etc., as tendencies and influences of the ruined petty-bourgeoisie who put forward various "socialist" slogans, etc., and in practice take the position of capitalists and drag at the tail of the bourgeoisie. The growth of the Communist Party, the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat and the preparation of the people's revolution demand a consistent struggle against these two trends, against bourgeois reformism and petty bourgeois "radicalism." Only along this path, while exposing the confusion of petty bourgeois revolutionism is it possible to draw the petty bourgeoisie along with the proletariat. The struggle on two fronts, for the Marxist policy of the Communist Party is the chief guarantee for the victory of the revolution.

The existence of these two deviations, when the weakness of the



Communist Party is so great, and the workers' and peasants' movement so big, have led to the fact that some Communists have begun mechanically to separate the economic and political struggles and concentrate all their attention on the economic struggle and have forgotten to agrarian and independence movements. A theory has appeared even in the press that in view of the weakness of the Communist Party, the task of Communists is to concentrate all their attention to the working class and abandon the work among the peasants and in reality abandon for a time the independence movement. These comrades work **only** in trade unions. Such a point of view is not correct, especially at the present period of treachery of the National Congress and the growing discontent of the toiling masses with the existing situation. The task of strengthening the positions of the Communists in the working class is the **most important and immediate task**. To participate in the trade unions and develop the economic strike struggle of the working class is at the present time a very important, **if not the most important**, link of all the mass work of the Communists, and very little has been done so far. However, the task of strengthening the contacts of Communists in the working class and converting the proletariat into the leading force cannot be solved if we do not participate in the political struggle, the anti-imperialist and agrarian movements, the struggle against the constitution, taxes and rent and if we do not put forward political slogans. Communists must come forward on these questions and not leave the monopoly to the disorganisers of the struggle, to the "left" Congressites. A correct Bolshevik understanding of the everyday trade union work of the Communist Party has nothing in common with the rejection of the political struggle, the struggle for independence, the formation of a mass underground Communist Party. Because this rejection is a **relic of economism**, as preached by Joshi, Giri, Ruikar and leads to the conversion of the proletariat into a spineless appendage of the bourgeoisie and helps to preserve the domination of imperialism. In order to ensure the unity of the proletariat and strengthen its ranks and in order to win the leadership, Communists must defeat both the economists Joshi, Giri and Co., the agents of British imperialism and the national reformists, and especially the "left" reformists who are trying to bring the proletariat to a position of a tool in the hands of the anti-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

#### The Present Situation and the Struggle of the Toiling Masses

During the last few months the factory owners have made a new attack on the wages of the workers. In the textile industry in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other towns, wage-cuts have been made of 10-30 per cent., the workers have been put from two to three and four looms. On the railways, workers are still being dismissed, wages are being cut and the trade unions are still not recognised. The working class is developing its resistance. Strikes are increasing. The slogan of the general strike has become a slogan of action in Bombay. The national-reformists have been forced to recognise it.

The growing wave of the economic struggle requires that the Communists should **rapidly** correct their weaknesses and mistakes.

The weakness of past strikes in 1932-33 shows that we Communists have not yet learned properly to build mass trade union organisations, we do not know how to work in the factories, we do not organise and attract active workers, we do not carry on everyday organised preparatory work, we do not take the initiative in the struggle for the unity of the working class, we do not apply the tactic of the united front, we do not carry on work among the workers in the reformist trade unions.

It is not enough to publish a few leaflets and hold a number of meetings. We cannot limit ourselves to calls for a general strike. We cannot limit ourselves to calls for a general textile strike. The workers are serious about strikes and do not strike simply because we make a call. We must carry on careful everyday preparatory minute work and call for a strike when the conditions are mature. We must remember that a slogan may pass through three stages of its development: first as a slogan of propaganda, then as a slogan of agitation, and finally as a slogan of action. This means that when the Party adopts the slogan of a strike as corresponding to the concrete conditions of the movement and begins to carry on wide agitational and organisational preparations, it then calls for the actual strike only when it thinks the moment is most suitable for the strike. This is the correct and serious line of the Communist Party. At the same time it must be explained to the workers that the accusation of

the "Left" national-reformists against the Communists of "ultra radicalism" is nothing but an attempt to conceal the national-reformists' abandonment of general slogans, refusal to defend the interests of the workers, because they are conducting the policy of agents of the bourgeoisie who are trying to **restrict**, to limit the struggle of the toilers. Following the advice of the open letter of the three parties to the Indian Communists, the Communists must begin to form factory committees, trade union branches, start functioning elected trade union management committees and mass recruiting of workers, simultaneously forming Communist fractions everywhere. On the basis of everyday work, adopting the tactic of the united front and avoiding as much as possible **unprepared** scattered action, it is necessary to carry on preparations for a general strike of textile workers, at the same time organising the workers of Ahmedabad, Sholapur and other centres, developing strikes in other branches of industry, and in this way preparing for the general strike. From general strikes in various industrial centres, in various industries to a general strike, that is our line.

In this connection we should realise that it was a mistake for some representatives of the revolutionary trade union movement to participate in negotiations with the Anglo-Indian government on the question of carrying out the decisions of the Wheatley Commission. To spread illusions instead of organising the mass struggle of the toilers means to fall into the trap of the reformists.

A serious mistake of many Communists still remains the existing confusion in regards to the role of the Party and the trade unions. This confusion leads to the inability to lead the struggle for the unity of the proletariat, to organise the masses, and hinders the exposure of the national-reformists.

(To be continued.)

## Trade Union Movement

### A Congress of Surrender to Fascism

By J. R. Campbell (London)

Two questions dominated the **British Trades Union Congress at Brighton**—the question of fascism and the question of war.

There can be no reasonable doubt as to what the attitude of the bureaucracy was towards the advance of fascism. They see the crisis of capitalism deepening and are firmly convinced that unless this development of the crisis can be arrested a fascist victory in Britain is quite probable. As they say quite plainly in their report on dictatorship:—

"The one factor common to these countries (where fascism is in power) and ourselves—is economic depression and unemployment. These no doubt tend to create a position favourable to fascism. If economic conditions were to deteriorate to a further great extent it is impossible to say what might happen."

"Its (fascism's) only chance of success here is that people whose faith in parliamentary government has been weakened by the apparent inability to remove our economic ills, particularly if unemployment becomes much worse, may, in despair, be ready to accept desperate remedies."

We will find this idea expressed still more concretely in the speeches of Citrine. Its meaning is perfectly clear. It is that the more the capitalist crisis develops, the weaker the working-class movement becomes and the stronger the fascists become.

Therefore at Brighton the reformist union leaders placed their hopes of successful defence against fascism not in the building of the united front of the working class, but in the coming of a trade revival.

That is why they hailed Roosevelt and hoped that his inflation and trustification plan would succeed in giving a stimulus to "world recovery."

Of course in the **Roosevelt resolution** they made demagogic demands upon the British government:—

"Congress further trusts that the present British government will pursue a similar policy by taking immediate steps to initiate useful schemes of public works, financed by the use of national credit; to enact a maximum working week of 40 hours without reductions of wages; to prohibit child labour under 16 years of age and to raise the school-leaving age to 16.

"Further, that the government will set an example to

employers by raising wages in the public services, beginning with the restoration of economy cuts in wages, salaries and social services; to make more liberal provision for pensioning aged workers; and generally to take all possible measures for increasing the purchasing power of the masses and for planning the economic life of the nation in the interests of the whole people."

Did the Trades Union Congress General Council propose to organise a struggle for these things? On the contrary, their general secretary, Mr. Walter Citrine, declared twice, in the most emphatic terms, that it was impossible to conduct a struggle for those demands.

Aneurin Bevan, the "Left" miners' M.P., told Congress that fascism could not be fought by mass meetings, but by the adoption of a policy of struggle by the trade union movement.

"Let them get down to an 'industrial policy,'" said Bevan, "demand increases in wages and press the attack home."

Whereat, as the "Daily Herald" report shows, Mr. Citrine, replying to the debate, dealt with Mr. Bevan's plea for the organising of the workers to attack for higher wages:—

"He said they could not ask millions of people to fight unless they could hold out some prospective results of that fight. Was Mr. Bevan convinced that, in the industrial situation of the last three or four years, a strike of that character would have had tangible results in derating the standards of life of the people?"

Well, if a strike of that character cannot have tangible results, what is the meaning of the demand for the 40-hour week without wage reductions, passed by the Congress two days previously? Out of his own mouth Citrine shows that to be mere demagogic trickery.

But a still more illuminating incident took place on the last day of the Congress, when the Engineering and Draughtsmen moved a resolution to the effect that any effort to raise the wholesale price level apart from an all-round increase in purchasing power would accentuate the present economic difficulties.

The mover and seconder of this resolution severely criticised the following passage in the memorandum of the General Council to the British Government on the occasion of the World Economic Conference:—

"We have also stated repeatedly that equilibrium cannot be restored by reducing wages, and we have advanced the alternative policy of raising the world price level."

A later passage in the memorandum stated that the means to be adopted for raising the price level were a liberal credit policy and the inauguration of public works.

The attack on this policy brought Citrine to his feet again with the statements:—

"Wholesale prices were about pre-war level, while the level of wages was between 50 and 60 per cent. above pre-war level. Retail prices were about 40 per cent. above pre-war level.

"Until there was an appreciation in the wholesale price level unemployment would not materially decrease and wages would not rise."

In short, until there is a boom—stimulated by inflationist policy—wages cannot rise. Prices must rise first before there can be a rise in wages and unemployment relief. Wages will then rise, but after prices.

Again the rotten insincerity of the demand for the 40-hour week with no wage reductions stands exposed.

Of course Citrine argued that the General Council was in favour of raising wholesale prices and not retail prices. But to raise prices by monetary means (plus public works) is to raise both sets of prices alike. There is no means of getting monetary influences to play upon wholesale prices, leaving retail prices untouched.

The real meaning of the Roosevelt resolution is plain. The General Council has intimated to the British government that if it desires to engage in competitive inflation with Roosevelt, the General Council will be prepared to support it. Perhaps out of this, reasons the General Council, there might come about a "recovery" and the danger of fascism will be offset.

All the arguments put forward by the General Council were simply defeatist arguments. No analysis either in the memorandum on "dictatorships" or in the speeches of Citrine was made of the role of the social democracy in Germany.

Citrine said:—

"They saw government not by parliamentary discussion, but by decree, so that the German people were being prepared for the operations which took place."

In short, the Bruening decrees prepared the way for fascism and the German social democrats tolerated Bruening.

Yet, when it is pointed out that a similar policy of class collaboration is being pursued in this country, Citrine pretended not to understand what class collaboration is. We must negotiate with the employers in the various industries, he argued. How else can we fix up trade union agreements. All that the General Council has sought to do is to negotiate with the central bodies of the employers, the Federation of British Industries and the Confederation of Employers' organisations.

This is just nonsense. At no time has the Trades Union Congress General Council placed before the central bodies of the employers demands for improved conditions and asked that negotiations should be opened around those demands. They know what reply they would get if they did.

On the contrary, the General Council's co-operation with bodies like the Federation of British Industries has been concerned mainly with the joint advocacy of capitalist panaceas, improved Empire trade, the maintenance of the Empire Marketing Board, the price-raising memorandum (signed by both bodies), which was submitted to the Ottawa Conference. This co-operation in putting forward capitalist policy and the carrying out of a propaganda for that policy throughout the trade union movement has expressed the class collaboration policy of the General Council.

In the individual unions (a notorious example is in the famous Building Council of Review) there has been co-operation with the employers in pushing forward the advocacy of the rationalisation of the industry.

At the moment the whole capitalist world is moving forward to the robbery of the working class through inflation. The General Council rushes forward to support that policy.

That, and not negotiations, is what is meant by class collaboration, and it is a similar policy to that which prepared the way for the victory of fascism in Germany.

The very essence of the General Council's policy on fascism is revealed in the following illuminating passage from Citrine's speech:—

"If we go in for methods of force we will be badly beaten.

The Russian Revolution gave the capitalists a great object lesson. They found how it was possible to get power, even if they had not a majority of the people behind them."

He then hastens to assure his hearers that if they go in for methods of parliamentary democracy and win a majority of the electors this cannot give them power, for the capitalist class has "found how it is possible to get power, even if they had not a majority of the people behind them."

Obviously, since there is no means of getting rid of the capitalist class, the only policy for the General Council to adopt is to continue to co-operate with them.

This co-operation, naturally, extends to the war, which is being prepared.

That is the meaning of the support for the resolution of the International Federation of Trade Unions which calls for action of the workers against the "aggressor," in the event of war, and not against all capitalist governments participating in the war.

War is not in the General Council's policy, the outcome of the imperialist policies which all capitalist governments pursue. It is due to the especial wickedness of the bad "aggressor" governments.

Just as the British trade union movement, between 1914-18, divided the world into bad imperialist governments fighting "against civilisation" and good capitalist governments fighting in "defence of civilisation," so to-day they are seeking to divide the world into bad aggressors who will not submit to the arbitration of the League of Nations and good defenders who will.

As the League of Nations is nothing more nor less than French and British imperialism and their satellite States, an appeal to the League is really an appeal to those imperialist States.

In short, the Trades Union Congress declares no matter what the origins of war may be, any country which does not submit to the arbitration of a body dominated by the British government and the French government is an "aggressor" government.

In short, instead of the workers in all countries being pledged to struggle against their own imperialist governments in the event

of war, some workers have to support their own imperialist governments because they are good "defending" governments and other workers to oppose their imperialist governments because they are bad "aggressor" governments.

No one but a lunatic could believe that a fight against war can be waged on such principles. It is not a policy for a struggle against war. It is a policy for lining the workers up behind their own government.

The General Council, supported by the steel framework of paid officials on the floor, was able to stifle much of the discussion at the Congress.

Yet their references to the fact that they were losing the working-class youth, the emphasis in more than one speech of the need for taking up the fight against the extremists within the unions, shows that the General Council fear the progress of the rank and file movements in the various industries.

The decisions of the Congress in favour of an inflation policy, in favour of surrender to fascism and in favour of lining up the unions behind the war policy of their own government, must be a spur to all militant trade unionists to intensify their activity in the unions and the factories, in order to rally the workers in struggle against the disastrous policy of class collaboration, which is clearing the way for the more intensified robbery of the working class.

## **Proletarian Youth Movement**

### **The Young Metal Workers and the International Fighting Congress of Youth**

The World Congress of the Youth against imperialist war and fascism will meet on September 23 in Paris. In view of the increased imperialist war danger and the enhanced preparations of the imperialist Powers preparing for war of intervention against the Soviet Union, this Congress is of enormous importance. The social-democratic parties of all countries, who only recently met in Paris at the Conference of the Labour and Socialist International, have shown to the whole working class of the world that the only measures of the social democrats against war consist of radical phrases, pacifist talk and holding out hopes of the League of Nations.

The social-democratic parties, which during the imperialist war issued the slogan of defence of native country, sacrificed the lives of millions of young workers and peasants in the interest of the imperialists.

At the present time, when an unexampled crisis is shaking capitalism, the social democrats who participate in bourgeois governments demand that in the first place the young workers shall be dismissed from the factories. In Poland and in other countries they have passed a law providing compulsory labour for the apprentices, the lengthening of the period of apprenticeship, etc.

The social democracy helped the bourgeoisie in introducing labour service in Germany, Poland, and the United States, where the young workers are inhumanly exploited in return for a beggarly diet and shelter. They helped in the closing of schools, and thereby doomed millions of young people to remain illiterate.

An ever-increasing number of young workers are being thrown out of the process of production. The number of unemployed young workers who have never had any work is increasing. The social democrats not only assist the bourgeoisie in preparing for the new imperialist war, they are even assisting in the compulsory military training of the youth. By their fight against the growing proletarian revolution they paved the way for the fascist dictatorship and delivered the workers and youth organisations over to Hitler without any resistance.

On the other hand, the Communists, in an irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeoisie and their agents within the working class, have established the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the proletariat and the toiling masses, including the youth. The proletariat, under the leadership of the Communists, has converted the Soviet Union from an agrarian country into an industrial country, a country of heavy industry, metal and electrification.

Hundreds and thousands of young technicians and engineers, former workers and springing from the working class, are working in the factories and works at the Martins ovens, in the electric-power stations of the Soviet Union. Hundreds and thousands of

young metal workers are studying in the work schools and technical schools, at the universities. They are studying at the cost of the proletarian State. Millions of young metal workers are raising their qualification in the technical and evening schools without leaving work in the factory.

In contrast to the inhumane exploitation in the capitalist countries, the young metal worker in the Soviet Union receives equal pay for equal work. A metal worker up to 18 years works only six hours a day. He receives a month's holiday with pay, and is sent for this period to a sanatorium, recreation home or spa. There exists no night work for the youth; young workers may not be employed on heavy work or work injurious to health.

In the capitalist countries the Communist Parties, the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition and the Young Communist Leagues have conducted a ruthless struggle against the attacks of capital upon the toiling masses, including the youth. They fight irreconcilably against the treachery of the social fascists, for the proletarian united front; they are showing the only way out from the strangling crisis, the way which the Soviet proletarians have pursued, the path of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The World Congress of the Youth will be held under the slogans of Lenin and Karl Liebknecht, the slogans to convert imperialist war into civil war against their own bourgeoisie. The World Congress of Youth will be a Unity Congress on the broadest possible basis, for Communist, social-democratic and non-party young workers, members of the revolutionary and reformist, as well as of the christian trade unions will participate in it. At this World Congress of the Youth in Paris the young metal workers will discuss and decide on fighting measures together with the whole youth. Fight against all wage cuts, for wage increases, against the capitalist rationalisation of labour, against dismissals, for unemployment benefit for the young unemployed workers, for equal pay for equal work, against the fascist terror, against the concentration camps and compulsory labour, against imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union, for the defence of the only country where Socialism is being built up, for the proletarian revolution.

## **Fight Against Imperialist War**

### **British Imperialism Increasing its Naval Armaments**

Tom Bell (London)

The announcement by Japan of its big naval programme following the Roosevelt programme is undoubtedly going to speed up the race in naval armaments. The restoration of the famous naval base of Port Arthur, its re-armament, its naval aerodrome, as well as the fortifications being built on the Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific are more than a matter of rivalry with the United States. They are also a challenge to British naval power.

Needless to say the British Admiralty and High Naval Command are on the alert. Particularly, since the advent of the National government, there has been a steady, persistent propaganda and pressure exerted towards a newer and bigger Navy. This propaganda had to be restrained during the first period of the government's Economy campaign. But following the Invergordon revolt, and the changing political situation internationally, the voices of the Admiralty have been growing louder.

Naval publicists like Captain Acworth and Hector C. Bywater have been insisting now for several months on the relative decline in British naval power, in organisation, personnel, ships and material. With regard to the American and Japanese programmes they naively pretend these are not really challenges; they are only making up the tonnage and numbers allowed by the London Naval Treaty! The British government could also do the same if it was not for the parsimony of the politicians.

In reality the London Naval Treaty was punctured by the refusal of France and Italy to append their signatures. Since the Naval Conference, both these countries have been actively building cruisers, destroyers, and submarines in numbers and designs not governed by the Treaty. This has been frequently commented on by the advocates of the big navy in England. Scare articles have been written to show the perilous position of Britain's food supply due to the insufficiency of cruisers in point of numbers, and their obsolescence, in face of the rival navies of France, Italy, Japan and America, all of which are said to be more up-to-date.

The announcement of the American and Japanese programmes has provided the big navy advocates in Britain with new and additional arguments, which they are now exploiting for all they are worth. In the "Observer" (September 3, 1933) Captain Bernard Acworth says:

"The gravity of the position with regard to the security of the nation's food in any unexpected emergency is shortly to be placed soberly before the nation by one whose voice can hardly fail to command the attention of his fellow countrymen."

This remark recalls the speech made by Sir Bolton Eyres-Monsell, First Lord of the Admiralty, at Barrow-in-Furness a few weeks ago, in which he declared:

"We cannot have any more one-sided disarmament. We cannot always be idealists; we must face realities; and remember that it is not peace-time Navy Estimates that cost money; it is wars."

In the "Daily Telegraph" for August 23, Hector Bywater, the special naval correspondent, and presumably speaking from inside information, reported that the naval authorities favour a new Naval Defence Act by which it proposes to rebuild and strengthen the Navy. The forecast of the Admiralty's proposals he gave as follows:—

Twenty-five new cruisers equal in tonnage and armament to the best foreign craft afloat;

An annual quota of fifteen to eighteen destroyers to make up the huge deficit in this indispensable type of vessel;

A large submarine building programme, to include both ocean-going and coastal boats;

A great increase in the strength of the Fleet Air Arm;

An addition of at least 10,000 to the personnel; and

Largely increased appropriations for Fleet fuel, practice ammunition, and naval exercises.

In connection with these rebuilding plans far-reaching changes are contemplated in organisation, personnel and material. Regarding personnel the Admiralty is demanding 10,000 additional ratings as a beginning towards the 18,000 it declares needed to bring its strength up to the American total. There is also a strong support in Navy circles in favour of allowing cadets from the public schools to enter the Navy direct at a minimum of 17 years of age. With a short-service system this would give an increase of many thousands of first-class sailors to the Navy.

Concerning material, new guns, all-steel built on the autofrettage system, are under design. These guns will be lighter but more powerful than those in use. Striking progress is also recorded in the development of shells, torpedoes and explosives.

Captain Acworth in a special article ("Observer," 3/9/33) refers to a new type of *convoy* vessel put out for tender, the qualities of which are a close secret to naval circles. It is to be noted here that the Labour government reserved freedom of action in convoy vessels, when framing the London Naval Treaty. By Article 21 the British government is entitled to construct suitable vessels for trade defence at any time, and preserve the liberty without invoking this clause, to lay down the necessary number of trade defence vessels provided they are not completed until 1937. In general designs of vessels are now for greater size and weight than any in service.

Under the terms of the London Naval Treaty a new Naval Conference is due to take place in 1935. This conference will presumably deal with existing agreements and consideration of their amendment and extension. The new British programme and policy is no doubt calculating on the expiry of the London Treaty in 1936. Since the average period for the construction of a cruiser is three years and for destroyers two years, and the custom being to allow for a year between authorisation and laying down, British policy is to bring forward its new programme timed to be out with the London Treaty, and thus maintain its historical rôle of "never violating an agreement"!

What is certain is, the British bourgeoisie will insist on a drastic revision of the London Treaty of 1930. The naval propagandists have been quick to emphasise the "more work" argument of Roosevelt: "Great Britain, too, has large idle shipyards, and a large army of unemployed shipyard workers. What is good for the United States, they argue, is good for Great Britain!" The pretext of Japan's big programme that it is necessary for "national safety" is met by the argument that Great Britain is even more vulnerable to attack than any other power. "The Navy

to-day," say the publicists, "is patently incapable—through no fault of its own—of fulfilling its paramount function: the protection of our seaborne supplies against resolute attack."

Thus while Citrine, Henderson and the Labour and Socialist bureaucrats extol the virtues of "the World's Peace Charter" (the Versailles Treaty, the Peace Pacts of Paris, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Disarmament Conference), and loudly proclaim Labour's faith "in the judgment of the world community on the question of war or peace," the British Admiralty and the National government go forward unperturbed, steadily and persistently, strengthening as rapidly as possible its naval and military preparations for war.

## The White Terror

### The Persecution of the Communists in Austria and the I.R.A.

By B. Keller (Vienna)

The persecution to which the Communist movement in Austria has been subjected since the establishment of Dolfuss' emergency decree dictatorship in March last confronted the International Red Aid with very difficult tasks, the more so as the I.R.A. was likewise dissolved and many of its functionaries arrested. This dissolution took place at a moment when, about the beginning of May, about 800 political prisoners and their families had to be supported in the whole of Austria.

The number of political prisoners has declined in the meantime. There are at present in the whole of Austria about 250 Communists behind prison bars. Most of them were arrested before or after the 1st of August and sentenced to imprisonment for "continuing the activity of the prohibited Communist Party." But since then arrests have not ceased. In Vienna-Neustadt and the neighbourhood the police arrested all the known Communists in the middle of August. And in Vienna, on the occasion of the preparations for Nineteenth International Youth Day, some well-known functionaries of the Young Communist League were arrested. Altogether there are over thirty Communists detained in the Vienna police prison, among them being the secretary of the C.P. of Austria, Comrade **Koplenig**.

The arrests of and prison sentences imposed upon Communist workers are on account of participation in street demonstrations, hoisting of red flags, issuing of nucleus papers, distribution of illegal propaganda material of the C.P.A. or the revolutionary free-thinkers' organisation. But recently there have been an increasing number of cases in which the police have arrested people simply on the ground that the arrested person is known to be an active Communist.

The treatment of and diet provided the political prisoners are extremely bad. At first they were kept in common cells with ordinary criminals, rarely allowed any exercise, and were not permitted to receive any food packets or visits. A hunger strike of the political prisoners, recently carried out in Vienna, achieved some successes. Daily exercise became the rule, food parcels and regular visits can now be received by the political prisoners, who have also been separated from the ordinary criminals. But the conditions in the prisoners are still very bad, because food is inadequate and the prisoners are actually starving. Of course they can have their own food sent in, but this involves great expenses. They are allowed to receive books, but political books are prohibited by the censor. Even Comrade Koplenig is not allowed to read Marxist books or any political literature whatever.

The International Red Aid, after it was reorganised under illegal conditions, had to cope with the double task of supporting the revolutionary workers in the prisons and saving their families from starvation. The Red Aid has now begun to distribute food parcels to these families. As a whole, the I.R.A. promotes the organised initiative of the masses. As soon as a worker is arrested on account of his revolutionary activity, collection sheets are circularised in his factory or in the neighbourhood where he resides. Particular attention is devoted to the children of the arrested workers. During the imprisonment of the father they are either lodged with other workers' families or some persons undertake themselves to pay for their upkeep. The Red Aid is trying to organise and support these endeavours.

Another sphere of activity of the International Red Aid is the launching of the solidarity action for Torgler, Dimitrov and comrades. This solidarity campaign has met with a great response in the factories.

## In the Camp of Social Democracy

# Proletarians of All Countries! Unite under the Banner of the Communist International!

**Draw the Conclusions from the Paris Meeting of the Second International**

### **Social-Democratic Workers, Workers in the Second International!**

In the heart of Europe, in the land of the one-time Weimar democracy, a fascist government of murderers and incendiaries is ruling against the interests of the people by means of the gallows and the lash of hunger. Every day fresh victims fall. Every day proletarians have to pay with their lives and their liberty for the accursed treachery of the social-democratic leaders, who betrayed the revolution a thousand times and declared that bourgeois democracy leads to socialism, to the emancipation of the working class. At the cost of great bloodshed and suffering, History has taught the workers of the world the stern lesson that they have only one choice:—

**Either bourgeois "democracy,"** policy of coalition and toleration, ministerial positions for social-democratic leaders and prevention of revolutionary class unity—at the end of this path there stands the gallows and the guillotine, the rule of fascist orgies of murder and fierce social reaction!

**Or dictatorship of the proletariat,** expropriation of the exploiters, arming of the workers, proletarian democracy for the working population, merciless crushing and annihilation of the class enemy—and the building up of socialism is assured, the foundation of the political and economic emancipation of the workers and all toilers is laid.

**Either—or!** That is the question which the example of Germany has once again put to the workers of all countries. That is the question for the solution of which the anti-fascist proletariat in Germany is to-day bleeding and fighting, and in spite of everything will win the victory.

Have the leaders of the Second International and of the German social democracy who met a few days ago in Paris at an extraordinary session given a reply to this question? Have they, in face of the lessons taught by the events in Germany, proclaimed the revolutionary class unity and class actions of the world proletariat and the German workers in the name of the revolution, in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Let us look at the facts!

**"We must defend democracy where fascism is not yet in power." That was one of the theses of the Paris conference.**

It was defended by the ministers and those who hope to become ministers, in Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Sweden, and by the majority of the French parliamentary fraction. Just as at one time Wels and Scheidemann, so long as they enjoyed the flesh pots of the Weimar democracy, performed the role of physician of capitalism, so their colleagues to-day openly and cynically designate the policy of coalition and enjoyment of ministerial jobs as the "way to the proletarian conquest of power" and the "fight against fascism." The result of the coalition and toleration policy of the German social democracy is in fact for them a stimulus to fulfil still more thoroughly the role of repressor of the proletariat, to organise bloody strike-breaking against the workers, to throw into prison those in their country who demonstrate against the swastika flag.

**The policy of open collaboration with the bourgeoisie of their own country was, is and remains the programme of the Second International.**

It is the policy of the German social democracy, the policy of the fascisation of the State apparatus, of preparing the way for fascism, of preparing imperialist wars for the redistribution of the world, of maintaining the split in the working class, of preventing the revolution. But this open, undisguised policy of entering into pacts with the bourgeoisie, the splitting of the working class in the fight against the revolution cannot be maintained in all countries, least of all in Germany.

Therefore the second main thesis of the Paris conference of

the Second International was: **"Revolutionary fight in those countries where fascism is already victorious."** It was put forward by those bankrupts whose policy of democratic capture of power has already led to the fascist dictatorship and for those countries to-day in which it would be a hopeless deception of the workers to describe the bourgeois democracy of Noske and Severing, of Brüning and Hindenburg, as the way to socialism. "They must understand," declared Otto Bauer, the "Left" leader of the Second International, "that in setting up this slogan we had particularly in mind the German and Italian workers . . . we must put forward such slogans if we do not wish to lose touch with the feeling of these workers." The fraud of these "Left" words is apparent.

**The deceit is obvious when the "Left" Aufhäuser demanded at Paris, in the name of the S.P.G., instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an "educational dictatorship";** and this social democrat, who has become a "revolutionary" overnight, followed this up by expressing the eager expectation "that the magnificent fighting German youth would overcome the party-agitational attitude of the Communists (whose object is the dictatorship of the proletariat)." Wels, who spurned his own International so long as he believed it would be possible to conclude a loyal compromise with Hitler, had the effrontery to declare regarding the fighting alliance of the social-democratic workers with their Communist class comrades, that "the illegal struggle was poisoned by the policy of the Communists." Not a word about his declaration in the Reichstag of devotion to the fascist dictatorship government, no mention of the fact that the Central Committee of the social-democratic party of Germany betrayed the general strike three times, not a word about the practical fight against the fascist dictatorship, but befouling and mockery of the revolutionary German proletariat, whose hearts are filled with the burning hatred against and desire to settle accounts with the hangmen of the Third Reich. **"Fascism goes through blood and iron," declared Wels, and the same Wels declared: "Communism goes through blood and iron."**

Legions of proletarians are being tortured to death by the brown pest. Only the pitiless overthrow of the bourgeoisie and their agents, only the dictatorship of the proletariat will put an end for ever to the terror of the ruling class against the oppressed.

**For Wels and Aufhäuser, Blum and Otto Bauer, the one is the same as the other, the hell of fascism is the same as the revolutionary crushing of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.**

Is any further proof necessary of what a fresh deception is concealed behind the radical phrases of the Second International?

### **Social-Democratic Workers, Workers in the Second International!**

As a result of its own terrible experience in the midst of the fascist hell, the heart of the German proletariat beats true to the **Soviet Union.** To-day, even the social-democratic workers know that he who spits at the dictatorship of the Russian proletariat is an agent of Hitler and Göbbels; that he who describes the ever-greater records of socialist construction, the unique harvest this year, and above all the results of socialist collectivisation as "famine and collapse of the Bolshevik experiment," is a liar in the service of fascist reaction and the deadly enemy of the proletarian dictatorship. But the Menshevik Abramovitch declared, amidst applause at the Paris Conference: "Actual practice in the Soviet Union shows how this dictatorship of a minority, step by step is narrowed down until it becomes a grotesque plan to allow millions of peasants literally to starve. . . . Starvation is so great in the Soviet Union that often, owing to the weakness of the population, the **corpses are left unburied.**" And nobody drove this concealed white-guardist from the platform. And the Czech social democrat, Winter, referred to the "cruel experiment of Bolshevism." "Roosevelt's national socialism (the socialism of inflationist robbery of the American people by finance capital) is the same as the socialism in the Soviet

Union," declared Vandervelde, the leader of the Second International.

Are these not magnificent lessons which the Second International has drawn from the events in Germany? Are they not an exhaustive commentary on their "Left" phrases about "revolutionary fight," their "educational dictatorship," their "total revolution" against fascism?

**Is it not clear that these agents see with fear and terror the time approaching when the majority of the German working class, when the social-democratic workers of Germany, will not only settle accounts with the fascist hangmen, but, by achieving the proletarian dictatorship, will abolish the capitalist wage slavery altogether? Are they not compelled, therefore, just as Hitler and Göbbels, to besmirch and calumniate the actual dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union?**

Could the Paris Conference of the Second International express more clearly that it remains up to the last a counter-revolutionary force, which makes use of revolutionary phrases in order the better to prevent a Red October in Germany?

#### **Social-Democratic Workers, Workers in the Second International!**

German fascism is a product of the **shameful treaty of Versailles**. It placed the German working people under the yoke of twofold robbery and slavery. For fascism it was and is the source of its chauvinistic orgies. To-day it is kindling in all parts of Europe the sparks which to-morrow can explode the powder barrel of imperialist fratricidal slaughter. What, however, was the reply of the "peace-loving internationalists" at the Paris Conference? "It would be a crime towards the future citizens of Germany if we admitted a revision of the Versailles Treaty," declared the English delegate. "The Four-Power Pact gives us hope of peace," declared Leon Blum, the leader of the French Socialist Party. "To abandon the right to defend one's own capitalist fatherland means to support Bolshevik ideology," declared the leader of the French parliamentary fraction, **Renaudel**.

**Mockery and denial of proletarian internationalism, defence of the robber treaties of Versailles, alliance with its imperialist upholders and usufructors under the anti-fascist phrase of "fight against Hitler Germany which is arming for war"—that is the second lesson which the bankrupts of the Second International, at their Paris Conference, drew from the German events, from the policy of Wels and his comrades.**

#### **Anti-Fascists of Germany! and all other Capitalist Countries!**

In the face of such a policy can even one worker cherish the illusion that the Second International and its parties stand for revolutionary international fighting against fascism, hunger and war? Is not every radical word merely a phrase, a piece of deception in the mouths of these open and disguised coalition politicians? As a result of the pressure of the social-democratic masses, the bankruptcy of the strongest section of the Second International and the going over of German social-democratic workers into the Communist camp, the "Lefts" at the meeting of the Bureau of the Second International in Paris decided to make an offer of a united front to the Communist International. By negotiations between leaders, in which the rank and file of the working class take no part, they wish to carry out a **fresh deceitful united front manoeuvre**. It is to be a new edition of that deceit of the German S.P. leaders who proposed to the C.P.G. a non-aggression pact in order three times to frustrate the general strike against Hitler. But even this united front manoeuvre appeared to go too far, to be too dangerous to the majority of the Paris Conference. It was rejected. Instead, it was decided to **send a request to the League of Nations** of the imperialist robbers to place on the agenda "the German-Austrian conflict and the control of German armaments." These are their "fighting decisions," their "way out" of the crisis. That is their anti-fascist fighting unity against war, hunger and terror in all capitalist countries.

**Not a single practical fighting measure against the Germany of Hitler and the bourgeoisie of their own countries. Nothing about struggle and concrete fighting measures against fascistisation, terror, and social reaction in their own countries. Nothing about an international action of the proletariat against fascism in all its forms in all countries.**

**Not a word about the approaching Reichstag fire trial staged by the German government of incendiaries, nothing about an international solidarity action on behalf of the German proletariat against swastika provocations in the frontier districts and in the foreign ports.**

**No fight against the Versailles robber treaty and its guarantors, against competition in armaments and the militarisation of the youth, against the bloody oppression of the colonial peoples and the imperialist threats to the Soviet Union.**

**Workers in the social democratic party of Germany! Workers in the Second International! Can it be hard for you now, on your part, to sum up the results of the Paris Conference of the Second International?**

It proclaimed the defence of bourgeois democracy from which has developed in Germany the fascist gallows-dictatorship.

It lines up in the intervention front of world capital headed by the anti-Bolsheviks Hitler, Göring and Göbbels, against the country of the proletarian dictatorship, and seeks with "Left" sounding phrases about "educational dictatorship" and "revolutionary socialism" to bar the proletariat in the capitalist countries from the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

It again discredits Marxism and proletarian internationalism and supplies the fascist deceivers of the people with the ideological instrument for discrediting revolutionary Marxism.

It supplies imperialism with the ideological justification for war-like defence of the shameful treaty of Versailles. It proclaims the maintenance of the split of the proletariat, the combating of Communism in order to rescue decaying capitalism.

**It was only a cruel mockery of the German workers, a cynical, open betrayal of the proletarian revolution right up to the last, when the Paris Conference decided to observe November 9, of all days, as an international fighting day against fascism. . . .**

The Paris Conference, consisting of former, present and future ministers of the bourgeoisie, reflects the whole rottenness, the breakdown, the insoluble contradictions of world capitalism. It was, in fact, a meeting of the general staff to prevent revolutionary class unity, to prevent the victory of the revolution over fascism. . . .

**Workers, anti-fascists of all countries! Draw the conclusions, follow the path which tens of thousands of your social-democratic class brothers have already adopted and which to-morrow will be followed by the majority of the German proletariat.**

**Never again "bourgeois democracy," coalition and toleration policy which led the German proletariat to the slaughter bench of fascism.**

**Never again social democracy, whose influence in the camp of the working class must be destroyed if the class unity of the proletariat is to triumph over the blood-stained rule of fascism, the capitalists and junkers.**

**The dictatorship of the proletariat alone frees the working people from the hell of "democratic" oppression, fascist terror and imperialist war.**

**The Communist International alone, its Marxist theory, its strategy and tactics, is the organising force of proletarian internationalism.**

Forward, anti-fascists, social-democratic workers, trade unionists! Let us march together, holding firmly in our hands the banner of revolution, to our common class aim.

Down with Hitler's fascist gallows dictatorship, down with the imperialist war-mongers this side and the other side of the frontiers! Down with the social-democratic splitters in the camp of the working class!

Long live the socialist action for freedom against fascism, hunger and war!

Long live the Red October, the German Workers' and Peasants' Republic!

**Workers of all countries, unite under the banner of the Communist International!**

**Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany  
(Section of the Third International).**

**Berlin, end of August, 1933.**

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# The Way of the Soviet Village to Socialism and Prosperity

No Worries about the Morrow—No Desire for the “Hereafter”

By our Special Correspondent in Moscow L. F. Boross

I visited about three dozen collectivised villages in the Central Volga District. Hardly anywhere in these villages did I come across a church which was “still working.” I inquired everywhere when the churches had been closed down (churches can be closed down in the Soviet Union only at the wish of the local population) and everywhere I was told that the churches had been closed down in recent years, or, in other words, in that period when the collective farms began to work properly.

In the capital of the district, *Samara*, there are only two churches out of a total of 43 formerly, still in use. One Sunday morning I took up my position in front of one of these two churches in order to observe the types who still frequented the churches. They were old women and old men, and no one else. I stood watching for about half an hour, but I did not see one single younger person go into the church.

A tremendous change has taken place in the attitude of the population towards the church in recent years. The years 1930 and 1931 brought with them a mass abandonment of the church by the population. Why was it just these two years which produced this result? Powerful anti-religious propaganda has been going on steadily since the beginning of the revolution. In answer to my question I was told that whilst this anti-religious propaganda had freed the advance guard of the toilers from the drug of religion, something further had been necessary to emancipate the broad masses, namely the necessary economic and social basis. Belief in a “God ordained order” and in a “better life hereafter” did much to disperse the feeling of impoverishment and misery, insecurity, the worry for the morrow. This worry for the morrow was banished from the lives of the Russian workers when unemployment was abolished, and was banished from the lives of the Russian peasants when the collectivisation came into being. This is the chief reason for the mass abandonment of the church in recent years.

The little village of *Kolybel* is completely overshadowed by a great cloister and there is an unusually large church in the village. From these productive centres the whole neighbourhood was supplied with religious opium. To-day the village is the headquarters of the commune “Flame of the Revolution.” The occupants of the cloister (nuns) carried on their dope-peddling until quite recent years. When they observed that the idea of collectivisation was spreading rapidly amongst the peasants, they declared that they too were in favour of it and formed a collective of their own. They even obtained the amalgamation of their collective with the commune “Flame of the Revolution.” The administrative committee of the united commune consisted at one time of three communards and two nuns. The secret of this attempt to put the old world and the new into double harness lay in the fact that a former White officer was in the committee of the commune. With the help of false papers this man had even succeeded in joining the Communist Party. In alliance with the nuns this White Guardist organised the demoralisation of the commune. When he was accused of misappropriating the funds of the commune his counter-revolutionary activity also came to light and this made an end of the nun domination of the commune. The commune took over the cloister lands also and after many years of stagnation it began to develop rapidly and like an evil spell the religious pressure which had been weighing down the peasants disappeared at once. A big rôle in enlightening the masses of the peasantry was played by the numerous demobilised Red Army men in the commune who used the knowledge they had gained and their capacities enthusiastically in the services of the commune. A tremendous change in the consciousness of the communards took place.

“In 1930 the young tractor drivers crossed themselves every time they drove their tractors past the church, and to-day our 60-year-old women go into the neighbouring villages as anti-religious propagandists.”

This was how the old communard Starikov described to me the victory of the commune “over God.”

I asked a number of the collective peasants what had caused them to abandon religion. The usual answer was: “We were formerly stupid and uncultured; the Communists have helped us to live a cultured life.” But as though they felt that this answer was not complete enough most of them began to describe their new lives. One of them declared, “I think the cloister is much more use to us to-day as a granary, and the church as a club than they ever were before.” Another declared, “In the commune we get three good meals a day in the winter, and four good meals a day during the heavy harvest work. Almost every day we eat meat. Not even the well-to-do peasants could do that formerly. Formerly we didn't know whether we were going to get anything to eat at all the next day. To-day we need not bother about the future. We don't need any consolation from the priests. Let the Kulaks console themselves with the idea that in the hereafter they may again have the right to exploit their labourers.”

A third one told me about the latest acquisition of the commune, an incubator for 22,000 eggs which is to revolutionise the poultry farm of the commune. A fourth showed me the small and clean hospital of the commune in which a medical man and two nurses looked after the sick communards. This little hospital is about to open a new department, the first village lying-in hospital in the whole district. Formerly such a village could never have dreamt of such a thing, I was assured by the doctor. An old peasant talked to me enthusiastically about the school. The school had not yet proper accommodation, but ten teachers were looking after the children of the village. Amongst these teachers are two former peasants who have been sent by the commune to take a thorough course of training at a teachers' seminary.

This old peasant was particularly delighted with the school and he declared: “Before the revolution I was a labourer on a big estate. I was a good worker, so that when I wanted to go away to the town to work in a factory the landowner did not want to let me go. He insisted that I was better off with him than I would be in the town. And at that I got angry and told him, I can work and slave all my life and my children will be just as poor and ignorant as I am. You can talk, yours can learn French and German. The fact that the children of the landowner could learn French and German seemed to me to be the last and highest expression of their power. And to-day we have a school in which my children can learn German. Yes, we are masters in our own village to-day. We are working for ourselves and already we can lead a life that no peasant could formerly. Our commune is the best in the whole district. You can laugh at me if you like, but my greatest pride is that our children can now learn French and German like the children of the rich landowners formerly did.”

Whoever knew anything about the former attitude of the Russian peasants to the “blessings of children” and about the former situation of the peasant children, he will be most surprised by the care and love with which the collective peasants treat the children to-day. To-day children are no longer a burden and no longer do they increase the poverty of a family. They are excellently cared for by the collective. And when the children have grown up to working age the old trouble of how to divide up the poor peasant farms amongst the sons no longer arises. The children take part in the work of the family and double and treble the family income. More labour-power for the collective means a greater tilled area,

improved and more thorough cultivation and speedier progress. Not to mention the fact that the grown-up children of the collective peasants no longer need remain in the village unless they feel inclined. All ways lie open to them—the factory, the technical high school, the university.

The old communard with his naive enthusiasm over the fact that his children can now learn French and German was only expressing the general feelings of all the old communards. The old communard Starikov, who has a tendency to "philosophise," put it as follows:

"We have not only won for ourselves and our children a secure and happy life and a happy future, but in our children we not only love the future, but also experience satisfaction and compensation for our own past, for our own bitter childhood."

I was sorry that I was unable to show the old peasant the number of the "Berliner Boersen-Zeitung" which assured its readers that the Russian peasants had been robbed of everything which was dear to them: "Land, Property, Family and Religion," for the members of the commune "Flame of the Revolution" are a joyful happy crowd and they would have been a thankful public even for such bad jokes.

## The Week in the Soviet Union

### Beginning of the Sugar-Beet Harvest

The harvest work has begun in the most important sugar-beet districts in the Soviet Union. This important work is being conducted with the greatest enthusiasm and is being carefully organised down to the smallest details. A letter has been broadcasted from the leader of the political department of the tractor and machinery stations in the sugar-beet districts dealing with every detail of the organisational work for the harvest. In order to encourage the harvest work the Soviet government has offered various privileges to the collective farms in the sugar-beet areas. For every cwt. delivered by the collective farms over and above the normal quota, the collective peasant will receive an extra supply of sugar and by-products. Socialist competition is being organised on a wide scale to accelerate the harvest work. The harvest yield is being sent directly to the sugar refineries.

### Conference of the best Village Soviets in the Western Area

On the 5th September a conference of the best village Soviets in the Western area was opened in Smolensk and Comrade Kalinin was present. Out of 2,700 village Soviets in the Western area, no less than 1,700 have fulfilled the conditions necessary for participation in the conference. Apart from the representatives of these 1,700 village Soviets there are about 90 representatives of the best collective farms in the area present. The aim of the conference was to compare experiences in connection with the harvest work and to utilise the experience gained for the coming winter sowings.

### The Winter Sowings making Good Progress

The winter sowings are being begun and carried through everywhere with great energy and the commission for examining the quality of the sowings has sent in splendid reports. In Western Siberia for instance 353,000 hectares had been sown by the 1st September, as compared with 77,000 hectares on the same date last year. A number of districts have even completed their winter sowings altogether. The slogan of the sowings is: Next year we want a still larger harvest than we had this year.

### End of the Fascist Lies about "Hunger" in the Soviet Union

Even the worst anti-Soviet organs of the bourgeoisie are now compelled to bring reports of the splendid results of the harvest in the Soviet Union which is the best since the existence of the Soviet power. A number of big British newspapers have published such reports and in consequence the fascist press of Germany has been compelled to put its lying stories of "eaten babies," "bread from bark," and so on, back into its archives for later use. The American writer, Sherwood Eddy, who has just returned from an eighth visit to the Soviet Union, publishes a report in the British "Manchester Guardian," in which he declares that he has seen in the Soviet Union what is "in all probability the biggest harvest in the history of the country." Sherwood Eddy stresses the fact that

he was permitted to travel about the Soviet Union as he pleased and to go to any district he wanted to visit. He refutes the slanderous allegations of certain British newspapers concerning alleged "hunger" in the Soviet Union and complains about the frivolity with which the "wildest rumours" about the situation in the Soviet Union are taken up and published in the press.

### Soviet Grain Farms deliver 10 Million Poods more than Last Year

The Soviet grain farms throughout the Soviet Union had delivered 10 million poods of grain more on the 1st September this year than they had done by the same date last year. On the 1st September this year they had delivered a total of 45 million poods. Their August plan of grain delivery was exceeded by 9.8 per cent.

### Red Army Calls Up New Class

The recruiting of the new class this year for the Red Army has been begun in Moscow. The army of the workers and peasants is being filled up with a new batch of strong and healthy men. The medical authorities report that the physical state of the new class is very satisfactory. In many districts not more than from 2 to 5 per cent. of those who presented themselves for examination have had to be rejected.

### From the Industrial Front

The All-Union Trust for the electrification of agriculture plans for construction of 300 new power stations this year with a total capacity of 23,000 kilowatts. Forty-seven of these power stations are already at work. They supply the tractor and machinery stations with light and motive power, and the Soviet and collective farms with cheap power.

The workers and engineers of the 3rd blast furnace in Magnitogorsk, who joined in the socialist competition for foundry workers all over the Union immediately after the lighting of the furnace on the 26th June, are now able to report splendid results. Up to the 1st September they had turned out 57,268 tons of best quality iron. The daily average production of the furnace during this period was 868 tons. The workers had agreed to work up to a production of 1,000 tons a day, but in August they passed this mark easily and brought the daily production up to 1,145 tons.

The locomotive work in Lugansk is to be opened shortly. The government technical commission, which is to take over the works, is already on the spot.

A new grain elevator has just been completed in the harbour of Mariopol, in the Ukraine. It is the second largest in the Soviet Union and has a capacity of 50,000 tons. All the labour processes in connection with the elevator have been mechanised on ultra-modern lines.

### Construction of Dwellings in Moscow

In 1932 670 blocks of dwellings were built in Moscow alone, with a total floor space of 610,000 sq. metres. In the current year 892 blocks of dwellings will be completed and offer living accommodation on modern lines to from 150,000 to 200,000 toilers. Further, a series of schools, hospitals, clubs and other cultural and scientific buildings are in course of construction.

However, even these great efforts are not sufficient to solve the great problem of housing. In order to accelerate building activities they are to be standardised and the wage system is to be reorganised; in this way it is hoped to increase building operations and improve the quality.

### Moscow in Mourning

On the 5th September seven comrades, including a woman, lost their lives in an air catastrophe. Amongst the dead were: P. I. Baranov, who was the leader of the aeroplane industry in the Soviet Union since 1931; A. S. Golzmaneiner, one of the best aeroplane constructors in the Soviet Union and organiser of the civil air services; Sarsar, the leader of the famous expedition headed by the machine "Wings of the Soviet"; and Gorbunov, a capable aeroplane constructor. The loss of these highly-capable experts and loyal comrades is deeply mourned throughout the Soviet Union. Throughout the whole of the 6th September long columns of workers filed past the biers on which the dead comrades were laid out in the great hall of the Labour Unions. Every five minutes the civil guard of honour was changed as all institutions and organisations were anxious to pay their last respects to the dead in this fashion. In the evening a great memorial meeting was held in the building of the "Aeroflot."

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