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## Vienna Sounds the Alarm!

By Karl Radek

The news of the rising of the Austrian proletariat has electrified the whole world. In the heart of Europe the artillery of the former Austrian imperial army has been brought into action to lay waste the working-class quarters and batter down the modern tenement dwellings erected by the Vienna workers in years of hard struggle. With a thimble on his head instead of a shrapnel helmet the pocket dictator of the Austrian bourgeoisie sought to destroy the Austrian proletariat with fire and sword. But the Austrian proletariat, apparently utterly demoralised by the social democracy and a nerveless victim to the Austrian brand of "left-wing" social fascism, defended itself like an awakened lion.

The fascist murderers had to take the working-class houses in a hand-to-hand struggle even after their artillery had smashed open a way. Floor for floor, corridor for corridor had to be won against the tenaciously fighting workers who defended themselves to the last breath. Bomb after bomb was necessary to shift the workers out of their positions.

The Austrian proletariat appears before the world in a new guise. It has drawn itself up to its full height and grandeur. The Austrian workers have torn down the lying flag of the social democracy and hoisted the red flag of the proletarian revolution.

Whilst the cannons are still booming sporadically, whilst the fascist Storm detachments, the armed police and the military are dragging off their prisoners to the exceptional courts, our first feeling is one of pride and admiration for the fighting Austrian workers, and our first words, words of solidarity with them. The first thought that comes to us when we read the stirring news from Vienna is one of contempt and hatred for the Austrian social democracy and for the Second International. For years they have

worked to emasculate the Austrian working class, to curb the fighting spirit of the proletariat, to prevent its heroic struggle ending in well-earned victory.

The Austrian proletariat rose not only against the bloody Austrian bourgeoisie, but also against its own historic past as embodied in the Austrian social democracy. Even in its heyday in the period of the struggle for a secret and general franchise in the 'nineties of last century, the Austrian social democracy did its utmost to curb the struggle of the workers and to keep it within the bounds of a rotten parliamentary reformism.

In a country seething with national antagonisms and national struggle, antagonisms and enmities exploited by the bourgeoisie, the feudal clique and the bureaucracy to maintain their own rule and incite the peoples against each other, the social democracy could not put forward the slogan of proletarian solidarity without at the same time putting forward the slogan of the right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities. Instead of putting forward these slogans the Austrian social democracy came forward with a plan to rationalise and organise the oppression of the national minorities by the Austrian bourgeoisie and the Polish and Hungarian magnates.

When the struggle against reformism in the working-class movement began on a world scale the Austrian social democracy, under the leadership of *Victor Adler*, produced a bastard mixture which became known to the world as "*Austro-Marxism*" and which whilst opposing reformism in words itself pursued a centrist policy and tactic. In an article entitled "*Marxism and the National Question*" published in 1913, Comrade *Stalin* laid bare the treacherous content of this theory. Whilst the whole world was

preparing feverishly for war the leaders of the Austrian social democracy came forward with the idea of "a peaceful reorganisation of Austria." When the threatening spectre of a terrible war began to shake the rotten edifice of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy they proposed to bolster it up with reforms.

History confirmed the brilliant criticism directed by Comrade Stalin against "left-wing" social fascism with unusual clarity. The sorry "hero" of the Austrian social democracy *Otto Bauer* has written a history of the so-called "Austrian Revolution of 1918." In this work he presents a "scientific analysis" in order to prove why the Austrian social democracy and its theoreticians were necessarily the losers.

The building of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy collapsed like a pack of cards under the pressure of the advancing armies of the Entente, under the blows dealt it by the national movement and under the weight of its own crimes. The Austrian proletariat rose against its oppressors. It was the only organised force in the chaos left by the collapsing Austro-Hungarian State. The storm swept through Europe. The German proletariat rose. The Italian proletariat rose. The proletarian revolution burst out in Hungary in the first days of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. And in this situation the only idea which occupied the leaders of the Austrian social democracy was how best to unite German-Austria with Germany.

However, it could not even pluck up courage enough to put this idea into action and complete the national revolution of 1848. Setting their hopes on the Entente to whom they looked for salvation, the leaders of the Austrian social democracy could do nothing which might displease the politicians of the Entente.

*Otto Bauer* described the situation in a fashion which erects a monument to the treachery of the Austrian social democracy. In Hungary the working class had seized power and formed a Soviet government. In Munich the workers had risen and established a Bavarian Soviet Republic. Throughout Germany fierce struggles were being waged between the workers and the monarchist and reactionary bands of *Noske*. The Italian government was impotent in face of the rising working class and unable to answer its blows. Soviet Russia was holding the armies of intervention in check.

If in that situation the Austrian social democracy with its control over modern arsenals and munition factories, with its command over Austrian heavy industry, had flung in its lot with agrarian Hungary and united with the Soviet areas in Germany, then the face of the world would have been changed and no power on earth could have defeated the rising proletariat. The proletarian revolution would have been victorious throughout the whole of Southern and Central Europe and would have united with the Russian revolution. The world of to-day would have borne different features.

But the social traitors with *Otto Bauer* at their head did their utmost to smash the forces of the proletarian revolution and to intimidate the Austrian proletariat with the threat of blockade and famine. They did their utmost to disarm the Austrian working class and to prevent any unification with the Hungarian proletariat. *Otto Bauer* evolved a series of brilliant ideas and published them in a series of articles under the title "The World Revolution" (in June, 1919). They are enshrined in the history of international social-democratic treachery.

According to *Otto Bauer* in his articles at the time the most important fact in the post-war situation was the enormous growth in the strength of the two Anglo-Saxon powers Great Britain and the United States. For him the victory of the Anglo-Saxon countries was the chief result of the first imperialist world war, not the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, not the establishment of the first workers' and peasants' State. According to *Bauer* the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia was a temporary phenomenon of a localised nature.

*Otto Bauer* went even further; he proved that if the proletarian revolution was victorious in Germany, France and Italy it would be unable to maintain itself because Anglo-American capital would destroy it! However, according to *Otto Bauer*, there was no need to fear this increasing Anglo-Saxon strength because Great Britain itself was well on the way to socialism. Great Britain would develop to socialism on different lines from those of continental Europe with its civil wars. Did the English not overthrow feudalism without a revolution on the French model? And *Otto Bauer* solemnly informed the workers of Austria that in the first half of the twentieth century Great Britain would in all probability

develop without bloodshed from the bourgeois social order to a socialist order.

The Austrian social-democratic leaders disorganised and demoralised the proletariat, they prepared its inevitable disarmament by the bourgeoisie, they deceived it and confused it with the idea of a peaceful development from capitalism to socialism, and they prevented with all the means at their command the unification of the Austrian with the German and Hungarian proletariats. When thanks to this treacherous policy the Hungarian Soviet Republic was unable to maintain itself in a world of enemies and collapsed on August 1, 1919, when it was followed by a bloody and brutal white terror throughout the country, *Otto Bauer* wrote in his "History of the Austrian Revolution" that the Austrian proletariat could now see clearly from what a fate it had been saved by its social-democratic leaders.

The Austrian social democracy saved the proletariat from the bloody counter-revolution and condemned it to live on in semi-starvation, impoverishment and humiliation. The Austrian social democracy did its best to console the proletariat for its sorry state by building a number of municipal tenement dwellings in Vienna, and for years these dwellings have been the pride and joy of the international social democracy as its one achievement.

However, the Austrian proletariat was not to be duped quite so easily and a persistent struggle went on in the ranks of the Austrian social democracy between the rank and file members and their treacherous leaders. The masses favoured the idea of a proletarian dictatorship and demanded a struggle for its establishment. The leaders of the Austrian social democracy were compelled to take this powerful feeling into consideration and in consequence, fearing to lose their influence on the masses, they dared not oppose the idea of the proletarian revolution so openly as the leaders of the German social-democratic party. They expressed "feelings of friendship" for the Soviet Union, they even admitted that perhaps socialism was really being established in the Soviet Union and consoled the workers with the idea that if this were really the case and if it were successful then the workers of other countries might be able to try it too.

They did not even reject the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat on principle. Heaven forbid! In their opinion the proletarian dictatorship was something like an umbrella to be kept in reserve for a rainy day. If it rained, then one would put up the umbrella, otherwise one kept it neatly rolled in a corner. If the bourgeoisie refused to permit the development to socialism along peaceful lines, then even *Mr. Bauer* would order the umbrella to be opened. However, the dictatorship was a difficult business and could be overdone. It must not last long, just long enough to intimidate the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie would let itself be intimidated easily. The struggle would not last long and then the clouds would pass and the sun would shine, and then, of course, the umbrella could be neatly folded up again and the proletariat would rule like all decent respectable people by means of democratic institutions.

But the workers of Vienna demanded to see action. They demanded the formation of armed organisations of the proletariat. The leaders of the social democracy were willing to oblige up to a point. They founded the Republican Defence League which in their opinion was to be a sort of plaything, a sort of safety-valve for the martial spirits of the workers.

In the meantime the reaction went steadily about its work until in 1927 the Vienna workers rose spontaneously against the *Seipel* government which sought to crush the proletariat by administrative terror. This rising of the Vienna workers was crushed by the social-democratic Mayor of Vienna, *Seitz*, with the troops of the Austrian bourgeoisie.

Still, for a time the Vienna insurrection of 1927 held up the advance of the counter-revolution, but the coming of the world economic crisis strengthened the fascist tendencies both in Austria and Germany. When fascism came to power in Germany the Austrian working class was deeply moved and apprehensive. It called on its leaders to show some signs of fight, to organise an effective resistance against fascism. But the Austrian social-fascist leaders abandoned one position after the other without fight. They watched the forces of fascism grow steadily stronger and held the workers back from action with a strong hand on the bridle. They even proposed an alliance with the Austrian fascists against the German fascists, and the only condition was that the Austrian fascists should give the social democracy in Austria a breathing space.

However, the Austrian fascists who were preparing a deal with the German fascists, were unwilling to grant the Austrian social democracy even honourable terms of surrender. They feared the social-democratic workers would use their organisations for resistance. The Austrian fascists prohibited the Austrian Communist Party and then began to occupy social-democratic and trade union quarters. And as the social-democratic leaders even showed no signs of resistance the workers themselves took a hand in the game at the very last moment. In *Linz* the rank and file of the Republican Defence League, formed by the social-democratic leaders to hold the workers back from the revolution, went into action independently.

It was not fortuitous that the great struggle began in *Linz*. In his speech to the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the Austrian Communist leader *Koplenig* declared on December 2, 1933:

"Of decisive importance for judging the situation in Austria is the rapidly growing process of radicalisation among the working masses and the beginning of a new revolutionary advance. . . . A process of disintegration is beginning within the social-democratic party. . . . The petty-bourgeois supporters of the social democrats are beginning to abandon the party and join the "Fatherland Front" of Dollfuss. The main tendency, however, is the left-wing radicalisation of the social-democratic workers, which is finding its expression in increased activity, in the breakdown of democratic illusions and in a growing sympathy for the Communist Party. There have been many cases in which social-democratic workers have taken our illegal literature and distributed it in their factories. There have been cases in which our comrades were invited by social-democratic workers to attend the social-democratic branches and speak at them. There have been cases of joint demonstra-

tions carried out by social-democratic and Communist workers, for instance, in *Linz* where 4,000 workers took part and demonstrated entirely under Communist slogans and resisted the efforts of the police to break up the demonstration."

In *Linz* in particular the local Communists have succeeded, despite the weakness of their organisations, in approaching the social-democratic workers and establishing close contact with them, leading to the setting up of a real united front from below. By their armed resistance to the attempt of the fascists to occupy the local headquarters of the workers, the workers of *Linz* gave the signal for the armed rising of the Austrian proletariat.

The bourgeoisie is doing its best to represent this struggle of the Austrian workers as a rear-guard action of an army in full retreat. That is a lie. The proletariat of Austria, a country in which the Communist organisations are weak, rose in a heroic struggle against the forces of the bourgeoisie, against numerical superiority, against an enemy equipped with all the modern weapons of warfare, machine-guns, artillery, armoured cars and aeroplanes, and fought for days, announcing thereby to the workers of the world that the tide of proletarian resistance to fascism is rising.

The proletariat is adopting a counter-offensive. The armed rising of the Austrian proletariat was an advance guard battle, just as the general strike of the French proletariat was a preliminary skirmish in the advance of the proletariat against fascism.

Fascism in Germany has revealed its features in all their hideous brutality to the workers of the world and the international proletariat is drawing its own conclusions in action.

The weak *Communist Party of Austria*, laughed at by its enemies, proved to be the heart and soul of the Austrian proletariat. It is leading the struggle of the Austrian workers against fascism and for socialism.

# The Lessons of the Armed Struggle of the Austrian Workers

(Taken from the "Pravda" of the 19th February)

The armed February struggle of the Austrian proletariat has shown how far the process of the development of the revolutionary crisis has already ripened, how deeply the whole system of capitalism has been shaken, and how unshakeable is the determination of the proletariat to destroy this system. The atmosphere of the capitalist world is over-heated to an intense degree. The social democracy can no longer hold back the masses of the workers from action even up to the point of an armed rising for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The European and the world bourgeoisie has entangled itself hopelessly in its own contradictions. It is choosing the path of imperialist war, the path of civil war against the working class. "However, if the bourgeoisie chooses the path of war, then the working classes of the capitalist countries, made desperate by the four years of economic crisis and unemployment, will take the path of revolution. This means that the revolutionary crisis is ripening and will continue to ripen. The revolutionary crisis will ripen the more quickly according to the rate at which the bourgeoisie entangles itself in its warlike combinations and the rate at which it develops its terrorist methods in the struggle against the working class and the peasantry." (Stalin.)

The happenings in Austria represent a full confirmation of this analysis put forward by Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They represent a brilliant confirmation of the thesis of Stalin that "the idea of revolution is developing in the consciousness of the masses."

How did the events in Austria develop? What attitude did the Austrian working masses take up on the eve of the insurrection, and what attitude did the social democracy adopt? The answer to these questions is to be found in the *Prague* newspaper "Sozial Demokrat" of the 15th February. The editor of this newspaper points out that the article in question comes "from the pen of one of the leaders of the Austrian social democracy." The article is a deadly document which completely exposes the treachery of the

Austrian social democratic leaders. The article declares, inter alia, the following:—

"Since the 7th March, 1933, since the day the Austrian government carried out its coup d'Etat, the Austrian social democracy has done its utmost in order to make possible a peaceful and constitutional solution of the political crisis. For 11 months the social democratic party showed the greatest possible restraint. It refrained from adopting any violent measures even in the face of the gagging and emasculation of parliament, the establishment of an absolutist regime based on emergency decrees, the dissolution of the Republican Defence League, and a whole series of emergency decrees which violated the Austrian constitution and robbed the workers of the right of assembly, deprived the press of its freedom, diminished the socio-political rights of the workers, robbed the social democratic municipal council in Vienna of its income and thus made it impossible for the council to function properly. On the contrary, up to the very last the social democratic party did everything possible to open up negotiations with the Dollfuss government and with the non-fascist wing of the Christian Social Party with a view to securing a peaceable understanding and the formation of a united front against the national socialists. However, the peaceable and waiting attitude of the social democratic party encouraged the Dollfuss-Fey government to ever new hostile measures against the working class and against the social democracy. . . . On the other hand, the bitterness amongst the working class against the government policy steadily increased. . . . This bitterness of the workers directed itself more and more against the waiting and conciliant policy of the Party leadership. A growing section of the Party members demanded more and more violently that the Party should act. . . . For months the Party leadership was having to cope with increasing difficulty in making clear to the embittered workers the necessity for this waiting policy. . . . However, the indignation of the masses reached such a pitch that the warnings of the Party

leadership were no longer effective. . . . If the Party leadership had succeeded in securing allegiance to its policy up to the last moment this would not, it is true, have avoided the fight, for the enemy was preparing actions which would in any case have compelled the working class to take up the fight."

With this article we are placed in possession of documentary proof that the leaders of the Austrian social democracy, between two fires, between the advance of the fascist reaction on the one hand and the enormous and growing pressure of the working masses on the other, were compelled to agree to the proclamation of a general strike. The general strike and the armed struggle of the Republican Defence League and of the workers of Austria against the Dollfuss government burst beyond the bounds set up by the social democratic leaders in their attempts to protest legally and constitutionally against the disarming of the Republican Defence League and the dissolution of the Vienna municipal council. We know that the strike itself actually began when the leadership of the social democratic party was still engaged in discussing the question of whether it should call a strike or not. The question of to strike or not to strike was decided with a majority of only one vote in favour, according to Otto Bauer. When Bauer and Co. were compelled in this situation to take the initiative in the struggle forced upon them by the workers they naturally did not dream of or intend for one moment, a struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their aim was solely to intimidate the bourgeoisie, to intimidate the fascists, and to force them to agree to a "peaceful and constitutional solution of the political crisis."

This manoeuvre was unsuccessful. The logic of events and the given objective situation proved stronger than the wishes of the social democratic leaders. The original protest developed with elementary force into a grand armed rising of the workers against the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary determination of the workers is now so strong that at the least attempt to lead the workers onto the streets the movement wrests itself from the hands of the "well-meaning" social democratic Liberals and the iron logic of the class struggle comes into its own. The situation in capitalist Europe is so revolutionary that when the least appeal is made to the masses they brush aside contemptuously the liberal mouthings of the social democracy and begin to talk to the bourgeoisie in the iron language of Bolshevism.

From this point of view the happenings in France are also typical. The leaders of the French socialist party had and have not the faintest intention of fighting for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, but under the pressure of the working masses and the lower officials they were compelled to call a general strike. And what was the result? According to incomplete figures over four million workers downed tools and came onto the streets all over France. A powerful proletarian movement set in all over the country and the slogan of "Soviets!" was taken up everywhere. In France also the working masses are ignoring the bourgeois radical phrases of the leaders of the socialist party and adopting the slogans of Bolshevism.

The events in Austria and France confirm once again the correctness of Lenin's thesis that under the conditions of modern monopolist capitalism the struggle can be carried on only either for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "Golden Middle Path" of the social democracy is treachery to the cause of the workers and assists the bourgeoisie to consolidate its power. And here we have the typical characteristic of the present situation, the typical characteristic feature of the events in Austria and in France.

The international social democracy is now seeking to exploit the armed rising of the Austrian proletariat, to use the blood of the Austrian workers to wipe out the black marks of treachery on the record of the Second International. But is it not clear that the rising of the Austrian proletariat is an indictment of the whole international social democracy? Is it not clear that solely thanks to the treachery of the social democracy the Austrian working class was unable to utilise to the full its enormous reserves to crush fascism in Austria completely? Why were the Austrian workers unable to use their reserves of strength to the full in order to crush fascism? They had no revolutionary leadership and no revolutionary slogans to point out the path and rally the masses. Up to the present the Austrian social democratic leaders have succeeded, thanks to the exercise of cunning demagoguery, in preventing the masses from going over to the Communists. And when the armed

rising began the social democratic leaders again betrayed the workers.

In reality the Austrian social democratic leaders wanted neither a general strike nor an armed rising. Throughout the course of the six days' fighting they were never tired of telling the workers that they must confine themselves exclusively to defending "democracy" and in this way they disorganised the ranks of the fighting workers. The aims of the broad masses of the Austrian workers went far beyond the bounds of bourgeois democracy, but their desires were given a formulation only in the slogans of the Communists who fought in the front ranks of the struggle as devoted and courageous working class fighters. However, the small Austrian Communist Party was unable to create a unified and centralised revolutionary leadership of the insurrection which swept over the whole country. Thanks to their education by the social democratic leaders in the spirit of defence and legality, the insurrectionary social democratic workers were defeated by the forces of the Dollfuss government. The working masses will draw the necessary conclusions from the armed rising of the Austrian workers. On the basis of this new example they will learn how to fight and, what is more, how to win. One of the most important lessons to be drawn from the events in Austria is the necessity of clearing the ranks of the workers from the traitors, from the social democratic leaders.

The armed rising of the Austrian workers is the first stage in a new phase of gigantic class struggles on the part of the proletariat against fascism and for the establishment of the Soviet Power. The victory of Dollfuss is a Pyrrhic victory. This fact is recognised by the Austrian fascist leaders and therefore the fascist terror in Austria is so brutal and ruthless. Austrian fascism is reviving the bloody crimes of Thiers, Gallifet and MacMahon. It is striving even to outdo these mass murderers whose names bring words of hatred to the lips of all workers. The miserable impotent Austrian bourgeoisie aspires to go down in history as the bloodhound of the international bourgeoisie. But the Austrian working class is not alone. Its undying heroism has lit a flame which lights up Europe from end to end. The international proletariat is behind the Austrian working class. In all countries of the world the masses of the oppressed and exploited have demonstrated their solidarity with the fighting Austrian workers. The insurrection of the Austrian workers refutes all the lies of the social fascist traitors to the effect that the workers are not willing to fight against fascism.

In view of the events in Austria the attitude of the German social democratic leaders who controlled the biggest working class organisations in any capitalist country, who held the State apparatus and the police in their hands, and yet refused to join battle with the excuse that the working class was not willing to carry on a struggle for power but preferred to come to some arrangement with the bourgeoisie, appears even more criminal and treacherous. The armed insurrection of the Austrian proletariat also shows that the working class is in a position to carry on a struggle even against the modern methods of warfare at the disposal of the bourgeoisie. It formed a real united front of the social democratic and Communist workers from below and demonstrated during the course of the struggle that wherever the revolutionary fight is raging the Communists are always to be found in its front ranks.

The events in Austria are of first-rate political importance. They show what the bourgeoisie has to expect in case of war and how insecure and shaky is the hinterland of any such struggle. They demonstrate the change in the spirit of the broad masses towards a struggle against the capitalist system and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They show how great is the force of the example of the Soviet Union for the whole of the international proletariat. They show what tremendous forces the working class can generate within its ranks. The events in Austria and France show the whole world that whilst the bourgeoisie is choosing the path of war, the class struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries is taking on intensified and sharper forms. The front of the fighting masses is constantly extending and the aim of the struggle is steadily rising. The struggle for power is on the agenda. The civil war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is on the threshold. The workers of Austria and France, the workers of a weak and of a strong capitalist country, have shown in action how high the revolutionary wave in Europe has already risen, how great are the contradictions between the classes, and how near is the proletarian revolution.

Throughout the world the bourgeois order of society is experi-

encing its greatest revolutionary crisis. The revolutionary parties must now prove in practice "that they possess sufficient consciousness of their aims, sufficient organisation and a sufficiently close connection with the exploited masses, sufficient determination and ability to utilise this crisis for a victorious proletarian revolution." (Lenin.) In this fight against the bourgeoisie the workers and the toilers have only one way—the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "Golden Middle Path" of social democracy is, as has again been shown by the events in Austria and Germany, treachery to the cause of the workers and leads direct to fascism. The working class must recognise at last that in the struggle to maintain its power against the advancing working class the bourgeoisie knows no mercy and that it is prepared to commit any bestiality provided that it can thereby keep the workers in chains. The working class must recognise that it, too, must be merciless in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, that its immediate task is to conduct a ruthless struggle against the bourgeoisie and against the watchdogs of the bourgeoisie, the fascists. This task must be carried out completely unless the working class is to remain the slave of the bourgeoisie. When the workers of Europe recognise this truth then they will be victorious beyond doubt. These are lessons of the Austrian events.

## Politics

### Capitalist "Economic Plan" and Social Democracy in Czechoslovakia

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

For weeks the struggle has been going on for the new economic plan, with whose aid the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie hopes to bolster up its tottering economic positions, to increase its profits, relieve its exchequer, and, indeed, find a "way out" from the crisis. The original plans of the exponents of both groups of financial and banking capital, **Englis** and **Preis**—one of which proposed the promotion of exports and the throttling of imports by the granting of premiums and the imposition of levies, whilst the other advocated the reverse proceeding of the repayment of the taxes to the export industry—have been finally dropped in the course of this struggle for the new economic and financial plan. The decisive reason for this has been that the mere fact of a discussion on these plans sufficed to shake the currency. Even the governmental press was obliged to admit that at the first alarm 230 million crowns worth of securities were withdrawn from the National Bank, that the Czech crown was falling abroad, and that the "confidence in the Republic" was shaken all over Europe. And this, although the censorship suppressed every detail on the financial plans in the whole press. To this must be added the "stabilisation of the dollar" carried out by America, and, finally, the circumstance that the proposed levies on imports would naturally not suffice to pay the export premiums, so that the carrying out of these proposals would further increase the deficit in the State treasury, already amounting to two milliards, and the extent of the national debt, already about five milliards.

In this situation, social democracy intervenes with its plans for the salvation of Czechoslovakian capitalist economy. Both the German and the Czech social democrats put forward their "economists," who on the one hand propose and substantiate social fascist plans for "sound economics," whilst on the other hand the social democratic press, the social democratic leaders, and the reformist trade union secretaries are attempting to persuade the workers, in order to make these believe that the social-democratic plans accord only with the interests of the working class. But what do these social democratic proposals consist of in reality? This may be seen with all desirable clarity from the last speeches of the chairman of the Czech social democratic party, **Hampel**, and of the social democratic minister of railways, **Bechyne**, at the recent conference of the social democratic women's organisations. **Hampel** declared in so many words that a partial solution was not sufficient and that a whole system of measures, organically built up, must be carried out. And this must be based, not on **Englis'** plans, but on a **reduction of the gold cover of the Czech currency**. By this method not only the gold currency can be maintained, but at the same time the amount of circulating media is increased, enabling production to be increased and investments made in public works. **Bechyne** seconded **Hampel** by adding: **Let**

**us put an end to the deflation policy**, for its effect is to diminish consumption and to hamper the "spirit of enterprise."

That these two prominent leaders of Czech social democracy do not admit that the social democratic proposals for the "solution" of the crisis actually represent the beginning of an inflation policy, and of an increased burden on and exploitation of the working class, is due only to their wish to conceal the real aims and content of their proposals from the workers. For solely by this deception can they prepare the soil among the masses for the acceptance and execution of the capitalist plans.

But the plans of the social fascists aim essentially at an open and direct inflation—not by the roundabout route of premiums and levies proposed by the representatives of finance and banking capital—but by means of increasing the circulation of notes. The galvanisation of production attained by this means will be accompanied by a rapid depreciation of the workers' wages.

The German social fascists in Czechoslovakia support their Czech comrades by advancing wise considerations on the "struggle against the crisis." The "**Sozialdemokrat**" demands, for instance, that the State should intervene to "**overcome the paralysis of economy, to facilitate the credit policy of the bank of issue, and to activate 'our' capital market.**" These proposals cannot but remind the reader of the economic policy being carried on in Germany. These are almost the identical words with which Hitler designates and praises the inflation policy already commenced in Germany. But the German social democrats go even further. They demand no less than an intensification of rationalisation, disguising this demand, however, in the form of a proposal for "planned economy." They state that the rationalisation which has proved harmful has been unregulated and uncontrolled, but "planned rationalisation" will save economy and the workers.

The social fascist plans for "activising economy" are thus as follows: **Lowering of wages** by inflation and higher prices, **mass discharges** following intensified rationalisation, **economic warfare** and **increased war danger** in consequence of counter measures on the part of other capitalist countries. The social fascists are ready to carry out these plans, in all circumstances and by all available means, in the interests of capital. The president of the Czech social democratic party, **Hampel**, declared at the congress of social democratic women that: "The party invariably chooses the **lesser of two evils**, and keeps in mind the alliance of the democratic groups of the Czech political camp for work for democracy, or at least for support of democracy. We must further support this moral (!) line." These words of the president of the Czech social democratic party show that in Czechoslovakia, too, the social democrats are pursuing the notorious "lesser evil" policy in order to enable the bourgeoisie to make its transition to the methods of fascist suppression, to the realisation of its fascist economic policy that is, to the unrestricted and brutal exploitation of the working class.

### Down with the Hangmen's Dictatorship of Hitler and Dollfuss!

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany

Workers, Class Comrades, Toilers!

The working class of Austria has risen against fascism. In heroic struggles, lasting for several days, by means of mass strikes and armed insurrection, the Austrian workers combated the fascist bloodhounds the Dollfuss, Starhemberg and Fey government. The badly-armed, anti-fascist workers, men, women and youths, social democrats and Communists, fought in a genuine revolutionary united front against armoured cars, artillery and machine-guns, against armoured tanks and mine throwers.

It was not the social democrats and the free trade unions, embracing the great majority of the Austrian workers, that prepared and led this heroic struggle. The Austrian reformists, just like their comrades in Germany, have for years been retreating step by step in the face of fascism; they supported Dollfuss-fascism as the "lesser evil," they declared themselves ready to collaborate in the fascist constitution, they voluntarily delivered over the greater portion of the weapons which were in the possession of the workers, they tolerated without resistance the federal army, the police, the railways and the post offices being purged of class-conscious workers.

But at the last moment, when the fascist bloodhounds pro-

ceeded to strike the decisive blow against the working class, the social democratic workers did not, as in Germany, follow the slogans of capitulation of the social democracy, but followed the slogans of the Communists, they resorted to armed resistance and downed tools in the factories. And Austria now reveals what enormous strength the working class wields when it unitedly rises for the struggle.

If in spite of this the workers were unable to achieve the victory which was almost within their grasp, it was only because they lacked the revolutionary leadership, because they tolerated, even in the life and death struggle, the sabotage of the treacherous social democratic leaders, let themselves be held back from the attack on the centres of power of the fascist government, and did not heed the Marxist principle: "Defence is the death of every revolt."

Workers of Germany, think what annihilating blows you could have delivered Hitler fascism if on 20th July, 1932, and on 30th January, 1933, you had followed the fighting slogans of the C.P. of Germany instead of allowing yourselves to be handed over by your social fascist leaders bound hand and foot to Hitler fascism!

The Hitler bandits are profoundly impressed by the powerful revolutionary uprising of the Austrian proletariat. Beneath the surface of "law and order," maintained only by means of extreme terror, the disappointment and resentment of the masses who have been deceived by the Nazis, the hatred, indignation and burning will to fight of the suppressed, tortured, plundered and enslaved workers is growing. Misery and terrorism are increasing together with the progressive crisis, but under the leadership of the undaunted Party of Thaelmann, the revolutionary cadres, the millions strong masses of the deadly enemies of the fascist hangmen are growing. The brown bureaucrats realise what will be their fate when the workers of Germany follow the example of their Austrian brothers. Hence, they wish to cause their own crimes to be forgotten by loud abuse of the Dollfuss government and hypocritical declarations of sympathy for the Austrian workers.

But the workers realise what has happened. The Austrian murderers of workers are blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the German Nazi murderers. The Austrian Nazis, who pretend to combat Dollfuss, are standing as a reserve behind the Heimwehr bands in order to come to their assistance in the fight against the proletariat. It was only recently that the Nazis and the Heimwehr fascists negotiated on the setting up of a joint government, and it was only due to the fact that they could not agree on the distribution of jobs that the bargain was not concluded.

The Hitler bandits are waiting for the moment when they will be able to intervene in Austria in order to participate in the bloody suppression of the working class. But the intervention of the German fascists in Austria would be the signal for war.

As a result of the most terrible crisis ever known in history, the ruling system in all the capitalist countries is becoming shaky. The revolution is maturing. Austria is a fiery portent of this.

In France the workers, under Communist leadership, have flung themselves against fascist reaction by means of powerful demonstrations and strikes; in Poland and Spain great mass strikes are shaking the rotten capitalist system; in Austria the struggle will be continued, may the hangmen triumph to-day, until the overthrow of Dollfuss fascism.

The future belongs not to blood-stained fascism, this last bulwark of bankrupt capitalism, the future belongs to Communism, which has achieved the greatest, world-historical victories in the Soviet Union.

Workers of Germany! Your place is in the foremost ranks of the international fighting front of the working class. Every blow against Hitler fascism is a blow against the exploiters and hangmen in the whole world.

In the daily determined struggles against wage-cuts and speeding-up, against insolent robbery by means of "voluntary" gifts, against the arbitrary rule of the Nazi leaders in the factories and labour service camps, against the cutting down of benefit and pensions, against victimisation and terror, for wages and bread, for the right of self-determination of the workers in the factories, we are forming the cadres of our revolutionary liberation army, we are preparing for the political mass strike and the armed revolution.

Class comrades, rally together in the factories, at the Labour-Exchanges, and in the workers' quarters under the leadership of the only fighting party against fascism, the Communist Party.

Elect revolutionary shop stewards! Organise your independent class trade unions!

Set up the united front for the defeat of fascist terror, for the release of our imprisoned comrades Thälman, Dimitrov and all the other thousands of imprisoned anti-fascists.

Down with the hangmen's dictatorship of Hitler and Dollfuss!  
Long live the struggle for the German and Austrian Soviet Republics!

Berlin, February, 1934.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany  
(Section of the Communist International).

## Solidarity with the Heroic Proletariat of Austria!

(Appeal of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia)

To the Toiling People of Czechoslovakia!

The Austrian working class is fighting on the barricades. Social democratic, Communist and unorganised workers are fighting shoulder to shoulder with weapons in hand against the murder bands of the State apparatus of Dollfuss and Fey and against Starhemberg's Heimwehr. The heroism of the Austrian workers is unbounded.

The Austrian working class resorted spontaneously to the general strike and took up arms against the Dollfuss government, to whom the leaders of the social democracy made the most shameful offers of collaboration right up to the last moment. This same government is to-day shooting down the Austrian workers by means of rifles, machine-guns and artillery and murdering hundreds of them. The same government which only yesterday was designated by the leaders of the Austrian social democracy as the government of the "lesser evil" as against a Nazi government, is today shedding the blood of thousands of Austrian workers. The same government whom the leaders of the Austrian social democracy tolerated and loyally supported during the whole period of its existence, in whose interest they again and again broke the resistance of the Austrian workers—this same government is to-day waging open civil war against the Austrian proletariat. And to-day, when in spite of all the cringing offers of the leaders of the Austrian social democracy, the Dollfuss government provoked civil war, and the Austrian proletariat, its patience at an end, is heroically fighting on the barricades—the leaders of the Austrian social democracy are leaving the fighting workers to their fate.

Only the Communist Party is putting forward revolutionary fighting slogans, giving revolutionary directions and aims to the Austrian proletariat and standing in the front ranks of the fighting proletariat. Its slogan is the establishment of Soviet Austria, setting up of Soviets, arming of the proletariat, armed overthrow and driving out of the Austrian bourgeoisie, setting up of the workers' and peasants' government, which would not only put an end to the government of Dollfuss and Starhemberg but also to a government of any other tendency. Only if the Austrian workers realise the correctness of this path, if they carry out the slogans of the Communist Party of Austria, will their spontaneous revolt be crowned with success. The Communist Party of Austria is doing everything in order that the cause of the Austrian proletariat, which is the cause of the workers of all countries, shall triumph.

The struggle of the Austrian proletariat requires immediate and powerful solidarity demonstrations on the part of the toilers of Czechoslovakia. This is all the more necessary as the Czech bourgeoisie is making use of the Austrian events in order to strengthen its policy directed towards the fascisation of Czechoslovakia. On the day when workers are fighting on the barricades in Austria, the Czech government and its social democratic ministers are suppressing "Rudo pravo," the central organ of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia. This is the same policy with which the Dollfuss government commenced, and which it continued up to the present civil war against the Austrian proletariat. The toiling people of Czechoslovakia must raise its voice in protest because the events in Austria have greatly intensified the war danger in Central Europe. The General Staffs in Prague, Paris, Berlin, Rome and Budapest are feverishly conferring regarding plans for occupying and partitioning Austria, before all in the event of the Austrian proletariat being victorious, overthrowing and driving out the Dollfuss government and establishing the workers' and peasants' government.

In this serious hour the communist Party of Czechoslovakia

again makes to the socialist workers a united front offer for the joint struggle. Workers and toilers in all factories and localities, discuss at once the events in Austria, express your solidarity with the heroic Austrian proletariat. Elect uniform anti-fascist and anti-war committees in all factories and localities, immediately organise anti-fascist conferences and demonstrations!

On Friday, February 16, carry out political demonstration strikes in all factories and come in masses into the streets!

Everything for the victory of the heroic Austrian proletariat!

Down with the bands of the fascist murderers!

Put an end to the collaboration with the bourgeoisie, all workers into the revolutionary united front!

Long live Soviet Austria!

Long live the struggle for the Soviet Power in Czechoslovakia!  
Prague, February 14, 1934.

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,  
Young Communist League,  
Red Trade Unions.

## Against any Intervention of Italian Imperialism in Austria!

(From the Declaration of the C.C. of the C.P. of Italy.)

The C.C. of the C.P. of Italy sends the warmest greetings to the Austrian proletariat which has fought heroically against the furious, bloody, fascist reaction. The C.C. especially greets the social-democratic workers who followed the call of the C.P. of Austria for strike and struggle and who fought with weapons in hands at the side of their Communist brothers against the Dollfuss government for the immediate dissolution of all fascist organisations, for the defence of workers' organisations and workers' rights.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Italy calls upon all Italian workers and all anti-fascists to draw the lessons from the events in Austria and to utilise them for their own struggle against Italian fascism. Only the organised action of all exploited, only the stubborn and ruthless mass struggle under the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat and of the only class Party, the Communist Party, is able to triumph over fascism. Only the proletarian revolution, the power of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the Soviet Power, is capable of preventing a return of fascist reaction.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Italy calls upon all workers and all anti-fascists actively to support their Austrian brothers. Italian fascism has been the chief instigator of the massacre of the Austrian workers carried out by the Dollfuss government. Italian fascism bears a large share of the responsibility for the workers' blood spilt in Vienna, Linz, Steyr and Innsbruck. Italian fascism, which oppresses the German population of Southern Tyrol, the Slovenes and Croats in Venezia Giulia, concentrated and is still concentrating large bodies of troops on the Austrian frontier in order to be ready to derive advantage from the international situation and to satisfy its imperialist greed.

Never was the war danger so great as at present. Italian fascism is increasing its intrigues in Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, and in the Balkans in order to find a pretext for intervention, for commencing war.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Italy calls upon all its organisations, all toilers of Italy and all anti-fascists to exercise the greatest vigilance and to organise and launch the struggle against any attempt by Italian fascism to intervene in Austria, against all its intrigues and preparations for war. The C.C. of the C.P. of Italy calls upon all toilers and all anti-fascists to support the right of the population of Austria to decide their own fate, to support their demand for the disbanding of the fascist organisations and for the freedom of the workers' organisations. The C.C. of the C.P. of Italy calls for an intensified struggle for the rights of the Germans and Slovenes suppressed by Italian fascism in Venezia Giulia and in South Tyrol; it calls for a fight for the withdrawal of the Italian troops from the Austrian frontier, against the mobilisation, against any concentration of troops. The C.P. of Italy appeals to the soldiers whom the Italian fascists wish to send to Austria, to fraternise with the Austrian workers, to go over to their side and to support their struggle.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Italy calls upon all workers and toilers of all political persuasions to form a united front against fascism and against war. They must unite in the factories and in the residential districts for the fight against their own exploiters, who are cutting their wages and worsening their conditions of life, but who at the same time spend millions on subventions to the fascist bands

of Dollfuss, whilst millions of unemployed Italian workers do not receive any unemployment relief whatever.

The example of the social-democratic workers of Austria who, betrayed and left in the lurch by their own leaders, have, on the barricades, found in the Communist workers their truest and bravest comrades in arms, must inspire all toilers to form the united front for mass actions which alone are capable of overthrowing the fascist fiend for ever and putting an end to the capitalist regime of exploitation and war.

## Concerning the "New Era" in Indonesia

By K. R.

On all sides zealous voices are proclaiming that a new era has set in for Indonesia. The fat and greedy bourgeois of Holland feel that they are being threatened by their imperialist rivals; they are talking, therefore, in a clear voice about transplanting the Dutch textile industry to Indonesia and declaring that they need a more stable local support. In reality they need cheaper labour and the more active assistance of the local landowners and the comprador-bourgeoisie, in order to carry on the imperialist plunder of the oppressed colony more smoothly and with less friction. The Dutch social democrats of all shades are vieing with each other in their offers to act as go-between. *Sneeuvlit*, the trusted friend of Mr. Trotsky, who is asking for an armed struggle against the proletarian dictatorship, assumes in the parliament of the Dutch slave-owners a "revolutionary" attitude. If Dutch capital develops industry in Indonesia, then fresh cadres of the working class will arise, and then—then the struggle in Indonesia will assume an almost European character. The political calculations of this pedlar of counter-revolutionary junk, deceiving the Dutch workers with radical phrases, differs only by a few millimetres from the general course of Dutch capital.

*Sutoimo*, leader of the "Bangsa Indonesia" party, a typical agent of the comprador-bourgeoisie, solemnly proclaims:

"The crisis has led to the closing of a great number of enterprises belonging to non-native owners, and has compelled many foreigners to return home. In this way the exploitation of the population is coming to an end and a new sphere of activity is being thrown open to the natives. *The crisis is a fertiliser for the national spirit.*"

The hundreds and thousands of unemployed in town and country, living in profoundest misery and in slave-like outlawry, the ruined and starving peasants, who are being robbed of their last piece of soil, the impoverished urban population, the home-workers and artisans, from whom the last penny is being taken—they will not say that the crisis is a "fertiliser for the national spirit." Such a thing can be said only by marauders who, shoulder to shoulder with the imperialist robbers, use the cruel and constant oppression by these robbers to enrich themselves. These marauders turn to their own account the expropriation on an immense scale of peasant land, the financial distress and chronic starvation of the population in town and country, the devaluation of labour. The marauders accommodate themselves to the imperialist system and see their national existence in hanging on the towrope of imperialism.

One section of the national-reformist bourgeoisie in Indonesia is beginning more and more decidedly to turn to the support of Japanese imperialism, which is casting an eye at the island of Borneo and its rich oil-wells, so desirable for the Japanese navy. The bourgeoisie of Indonesia is trying to turn to its own account the frictions between Dutch and Japanese imperialism. One section of the bourgeoisie, to which the crisis has brought increased profits, is seeking friendship with Dutch capital, and wants to prove to it its indispensability. Another section, exposed to the pressure of those groups of the native bourgeoisie, landowners and large farmers, which are affected considerably by the crisis, and nervous at the growth of the mass revolutionary movement, wants to make capital out of the differences between the imperialists; it fears, however, that a too unrestrained co-operation with Dutch imperialism might not achieve the desired result. For the very same reason *Hatta* grovels before the Mikado and before *Araki*. For the very same reason "Sarikat Islam" declared itself for . . . collectivisation in Indonesia with the help of Japanese capital.

The national-reformist traitors and capitulators want—just like *Sneeuvlit*'s adherents—to paralyse the revolutionary influence exerted on the masses of the Indonesian workers and peasants by the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. This compels them to adopt an attitude that combines promises to lead enslaved Indo-

nesia along the "Socialist" (!) way with belly-crawling before the bloody hangman-imperialism of Japan, which is ready to attack the colonial people's main support in their struggle and is already lacerating oppressed China.

The toiling masses of Indonesia have already given a proper rebuff to the attempts of the national-reformist traitors to make advances to Araki, and these are now obliged to obliterate their tracks. The disintegration in the national-reformist camp is increasing. *Sukarno* swore solemnly to the Dutch oppressors that he would abandon his former rejection of a collaboration. Attempts are being made to remove him. But the game is transparent enough. National reformism is snatching at every expedient, because its staff and its cadres are splitting and are wavering between the effort to offer themselves to Dutch imperialism and the fear of selling themselves too cheaply, of not being able to make the most of the imperialist differences. *The bankrupts of national reformism are in the grip of the pre-war speculation fever.*

The social-democratic lackeys of imperialism, including *Sneevlit* and his like, are exerting on the other hand all their efforts to support the rule of imperialism and its slave-owning policy by drivelling about a "new era," about the "decolonisation" of Indonesia. They are trembling at the growing revolutionisation of the anti-imperialist workers' and peasants' movement in Indonesia. They are longing for the stability of the rule of their bourgeoisie in Indonesia. For this purpose they must draw closer to themselves the bankrupts of national reformism, whose influence over the masses relies upon the regime of torture chambers and persecution of all the mass organisations of the workers and peasants, or the horror of banishment to Digul.

The social imperialists sketch alluring prospects of an industrial and economic revival in Indonesia, while the general capitalist crisis and Dutch-imperialist rule weigh more and more heavily on Indonesia. They are equipping their imperialism for a *new imperialist world-massacre* and are waxing enthusiastic over the "new era."

Their role is the role of the most abject servants of capital, who are endeavouring, by means of further oppression and exploitation of the working class of the imperialist countries as well as of the oppressed peoples of the colonies, to postpone the downfall of capitalism and to ward off the sword of the Revolution drawn without mercy against the Dutch slave-owning bourgeoisie.

## To the Toiling Masses of the Philippine Islands

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which, from its formation in 1927, has never slackened its interest in the national liberation and class emancipation movements of the Philippine people, is likewise at present concerned with recent developments of those movements.

*Quezon* has been successful in his real mission. The Hawes-Cutting Act, which, although it did not provide for independence, did provide trade relations injurious to the Philippine bourgeoisie and relatively favourable to the raw-material exporting feudal clique represented by *Osmena-Roxas* and Co., has been rejected in Manila and allowed to die without benefit of clergy in Washington.

No "better bill" was obtained or will be obtained by *Quezon*. But, then, he never intended to obtain another bill. Why should he, when the old and existing trade relations were more favourable to the Philippine bourgeoisie whom he represents, than either the Hawes-Cutting Act or any substitute he could possibly obtain. In like manner, why should American imperialism propose new terms, when by the Hawes-Cutting Act it could, without costing it a penny, restore its somewhat damaged reputation for "altruism," maintain its domination in the Islands, and after the question of independence has been "settled" by the rejection vote of very wise bourgeois "representatives of the Philippine people," attain the aim of crippling sugar imports from the Philippines by the simple device of lowering the tariff on Cuban sugar, in which five members of *Roosevelt's* "liberal" cabinet are personally and financially interested.

The fervent aspiration for national independence on the part of the Philippine masses, having thus been swindled and deceived by a conspiracy between imperialism and the Philippine exploiting classes, the Philippine bourgeoisie, when it finds that the bribe it has taken—the retention of the present trade relations—must be finally cashed at a huge discount, due to a Yankee trick, will

attempt to take the difference between the New York price of Philippine and Cuban sugar out of the sweat and blood of the Philippine toiling masses. To this dolorous end has come the national-reformist illusion that the independence of the Philippines can ever be won by diplomatic and legal dickering, or any other way than by revolutionary action of the million masses of Filipino toilers, workers, toiling peasants, artisans and intellectuals, led by the revolutionary proletariat with the Communist Party at its head.

Furthermore, the cause of Philippine national liberation will never triumph unless and until the worker and peasant masses of the Philippines, by revolutionary action, themselves take possession of the independence movement, and push aside the traitorous landlord-bourgeois cliques who seek for nothing more noble than a share in the spoils of imperialist oppression and nothing more honourable than wearing the livery of tyranny as police persecutors of the revolutionary masses.

It is not surprising that, at such a time of trial, while the majority of such leaders, like *Evangelista*, *Feleo*, and *Capadocia*, and their comrades, have bravely stood the fire of the persecution, that a few concealed traitors and cowardly careerists, such as *Jacinto G. Manahan*, who have been hiding in the movement, should show their true colours by going over to the camp of imperialism and its native bourgeois agents.

Necessarily, there is no place in the revolutionary movement for cowards and traitors, and with good reason the Communist Party expelled the renegade *Manahan*, and the National Confederation of Peasants removed from its leadership one who openly worked as a police informer.

But, as *Manahan* and his bourgeois-landlord-police employers well know, the usefulness of a spy and traitor is ended when he is exposed and expelled from the organisations of the masses. Hence we observe the attempt of this scoundrel to re-establish himself among the masses by holding a bogus "peasant congress" at Mexico, Pampanga, last September, and setting up a new organisation called the "National Confederation of Workers and Peasants," in an evident attempt to mislead the peasant masses and to split the National Confederation of Peasants.

Therefore, if the inclusion of the word "workers" in the name of the organisation set up by the renegade *Manahan* means that he invites workers to become members, he adds to his first offence of trying to split the N.C.P., another attempt to split the ranks of the proletariat and its revolutionary trade union centre, the K.A.P., which is the Philippine section of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. That *Manahan* has no intention of using his organisation for struggle in the interests of the workers or the poor peasants is evident from the fact that he mixes both wage workers and peasants in the same organisation, where effective struggle demands separate but closely allied organisations of the one and the other.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat appeals to the toiling masses of the Philippines to rally their forces to defeat the effort of the imperialist oppressor and the native exploiters to behead the national independence mass movement by the imprisonment of its bravest and best mass leaders. New, young and courageous leaders, tested in the fire of strike battles and peasant disputes, must unhesitatingly be advanced to take the place of those whose imprisonment makes *Bilibid* the shrine of all that is noble and heroic and vital in the Philippine nation, as the halls of the Legislative Assembly represent all that is base, venal and treacherous.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat appeals to the Philippine proletariat to unite for improvement of its wages and living conditions and for final class emancipation from wage slavery, under the leadership of the K.A.P. The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat appeals to the poor and middle peasants to rally round the leadership of the N.C.P., forming their own peasant committees of action in the barrios to lead their struggle against impoverishment by rents, tax robbery, and usury by landlords, the exploiters State, and the caciques. The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat appeals to all students and intellectuals, as well as to artisans, workers, and peasants, to organise and ally their forces to carry forward the national revolutionary movement to victory. Down with all traitors! Down with imperialism! Forward to revolution for rice, land, and liberty!

American Bureau Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.



## Germany

# The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany on the Situation in Germany

By M.

The Pol-Bureau of the C.C. met together for a conference lasting for several days. After a report on the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the C.C. heard the reports of leading functionaries on the situation in the various districts of Germany, as well as on the work of the proletarian mass organisations. The discussion of all political problems resulted in complete unanimity of the C.C. in regard to approval of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum, the appraisal of the situation in Germany, the perspective of the proletarian revolution, the counter-revolutionary role of social democracy, and the tasks to be put forward for the Party and the German working class.

In the decision, which was carried unanimously and which represents an important historical document in laying down concrete directions for carrying out the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum, the Pol-Bureau has given to the Party functionaries practical instructions for the strategy and tactics of the fight for the victorious proletarian revolution. Pursuing a Bolshevik strategy, the Pol-Bureau decided to issue again in a more concrete form the social and national emancipation programme drawn up on the initiative of Comrade *Thaelmann*, the leader of the Party, to carry it in the fight among the masses and to make the slogans, watchwords and the aim of taking over power the common property of the German working class and its toiling allies.

The social and national emancipation programme of the C.P. of Germany is the programme of freedom of the working class, the salvation of all toilers from the threatening catastrophe; it is the programme of the people's revolution, the programme of the Soviet power. As a result of the growing revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement under the leadership of the Communist Party, the social democracy also recognises the threatening danger of a Bolshevik revolution in Germany. Therefore it wishes to place itself at the head of the fighting masses by means of "radical," deceitful manoeuvres, with a sham-radical programme. The Communist Party therefore calls upon the masses to exercise the greatest vigilance. It exposes the sham-radical "declaration" of the social-democratic party executive as a method of concealing the social-fascist aim, to serve up the Weimar "democratic" dictatorship of capital in a new edition or to set up a military dictatorship. The C.C. of the C.P.G., on the other hand, gives to the workers, who are filled with deepest hatred against the capitalist regime, and to all toilers the programme of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The decision of the Central Committee, after expressing approval of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum, begins with the statement: "Only Communism brings salvation, the Communists must come into power!" There then follows a serious critical analysis of the fascist dictatorship and its aims, which are leading to imperialist war and to catastrophe; the decision then enumerates the results of the increased exploitation of the toiling masses under the fascist dictatorship of capital in order to show to the working men and women the path to freedom, well-being and Socialism.

The Central Committee of the C.P.G. emphasises that only the Soviet power can ensure the carrying out of the programme of rescue, that only the Soviet power means a real change of system, in which the broadest democracy for the workers, peasants, soldiers and all toilers, the unrestricted right of self-determination of the toiling people is ensured, because only the Soviets, as the *elected organs* of the working class and all toilers, are the parliament and at the same time the executive organs of the masses.

The all-round growing resentment and discontent of the masses of the people, which is changing into revolutionary hatred, the movements of resistance of all sections of the toilers, which are flaring up more and more, against the measures of the fascist dictatorship, in particular, however, the strike struggles in the factories and industrial districts, *signalise the maturing of a revo-*

*lutionary crisis, which will be broader and stronger than it was in the year 1918.*

Hence an ideologically united, granite-like Bolshevik Party is necessary to lead the masses, a Party which is permanently connected with the masses, which constantly formulates their demands in the daily struggles and organises the struggle, a mass Party which is capable of mastering every situation—only such a Party will lead the masses in the maturing revolutionary crisis to decisive class battles, to victory.

Only an ideologically united Party can conduct the sharpest fight against the treacherous social democracy, against their deceitful manoeuvres to split the working class, against their policy of diverting the workers from the necessary daily struggles, as well as against the aiders and abettors of the social fascists, the Trotskyists, Brandlerists and the socialist labour party menshevists. Hence the appeal of the C.C. is directed to all Party workers: make an end to every conciliatory attitude to the social democracy, which even as an illegal party remains the main social support of the bourgeoisie among the working class and which represents an organisation against the proletarian revolution.

Only the Communist Party is the Party of the working class. It must become the only Party of the proletariat. In order to realise our main strategic aim—the winning of the majority of the working class—it is necessary to win the social-democratic workers, the members of the young socialist league, the social-democratic women and employees as well as the members of the christian trade unions for our Party, for our programme; for our revolutionary struggle, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Soviet power.

Hence it is necessary that we develop the united front from below still better than hitherto, that we unwearingly and tenaciously seize the initiative for launching and organising the daily struggles, that we realise the organised united front by means of the struggle against the reactionary "labour law," against the unrestricted dictatorship of the employers in the factories, for the setting up of illegal shop stewards and factory groups of independent class trade unions.

The Central Committee emphasises in particular that one of the most important prerequisites for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship is the accelerated development of the independent class trade unions. These class trade unions can be set up as broad illegal mass organisations only if our Party knows how to draw the revolutionarily-minded social-democratic and christian trade union members into these organisations and to secure their collaboration in the practical setting up of the same. Former social-democratic trade union members must actively collaborate in every shop steward group, in every workshop united front committee, in every leading body of the independent class trade unions.

The reactionary "labour law" which is to come into force on May 1 must be defeated. It is necessary that the Party and the R.T.U.O. already now commence a broad enlightenment campaign regarding this law by means of agitation material and concrete measures and mobilise the masses for the fight. All factory, trade union and Party papers, all the organs of the mass organisations, must raise this matter of the enslavement law in order to induce the factory workers to take up the revolutionary struggle against it. Under the leadership of the illegal united front organs the factory workers are preparing for the defence of their elected factory councillors, against the capitalist-dictatorial employer. The factory workers have to set up their own independent body of shop stewards. In any case the revolutionary workers are fighting against the employers' "councils," and the mass power of the factory workers must prevent the election of such "councils," or where they do not succeed in this direction to make use of the election for a demonstration against the regime. Under this "labour

law" the collective agreements will be abolished and fresh reactionary "workshop regulations" will be introduced. Hence the struggle for the collective agreements and workshop regulations has suddenly come to the fore. The workers in each factory and each branch of industry will be called upon to fight for the maintenance of the collective agreements, against any reduction of wages and for wage increases.

The session of the Pol-Bureau of the C.P. of Germany stated in a self-critical manner that it will depend mostly on the improvement in our mass policy, on the development of the united front policy of our mass organisations, but in particular on the mass work in the fascist "labour front," in the sport associations, labour service camps, to what degree the rate of the revolutionary upsurge is accelerated. The whole work of our Party must be strengthened in the sphere of our mass work. Every effort must be made in order to win away from fascism the young people who have been won by means of the greatest demagoguery. The Party, in collaboration with the Young Communist League, can by means of good mass work among the socialist youth league and in the Catholic youth organisations greatly accelerate the development of the Y.C.L., and thereby of the Party, into the most influential organisation of the young proletariat. We shall only achieve this if we know how to offer to the youth through our salvation programme the bright perspective of a socialist future, if we continually agitate in the factories, in the labour service camps, among the unemployed youth for the struggle for their partial demands, if we know how to link up these struggles with our increased mass enlightenment against the chauvinistic incitement, whilst we continually propagate the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

The C.C. expressly declares in its decision that the Party is fully responsible for the whole mass work of the Young Communist League, and therefore it has to ensure, by its active help and directives given by the Party members within the Y.C.L., the leadership of the Y.C.L. and thereby of the masses of young workers.

The C.C. of the C.P.G. particularly emphasises the importance in the present situation of strike struggles, which tend to forge the militant anti-fascist united front as firm as steel. This is the decisive factor for drawing the workers, who are influenced by fascism into the struggles against fascism. Through the strike struggles the whole class struggle in Germany is raised to a higher stage of the mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship. Most of the successes in the proletarian class struggle have been achieved recently by strike struggles. In order to organise the strike struggles the best united front tactics from below must be applied for the purpose of creating leading cadres of workers in the factories and leading the factory workers into the strike.

Our united front tactic is the instrument for forming the revolutionary army of millions which, with the help of the illegal class trade unions, will more than hitherto employ the strike struggle as the most important fighting method against the fascist dictatorship and in order to undermine this dictatorship, in order to make it clear to the toiling sections, who are our allies, that the proletariat is the decisive force for the overthrow of the fascist regime. This united front tactic enables us to seize the leadership in the struggles which are spontaneously breaking out, to propagate the idea of the general strike still more, and to organise this general strike in the course of the further revolutionary upsurge, so that the victorious revolt of the proletariat shall destroy the rule of the millionaires and emancipate all the toilers.

Political strikes against the reactionary "labour law," for the right of the workers to elect independent factory councillors, against the arrest of functionaries of the workers, for the release of the political prisoners, against the fascist terror, for freedom of assembly and demonstrations of the workers, against the torture and killing of prisoners in the concentration camps, against the executions of revolutionary anti-fascists—these are the main political slogans of our mass actions and strike struggles which are bringing us nearer to the general strike and revolt. The propaganda of the general strike and revolt must always be linked up with the daily fighting slogans.

Our struggle for the release of Dimitrov and Thaelmann must develop into a mass struggle for the release of all political prisoners, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. It is illusion and defeatism to think that Hitler and Goering can permanently secure

the rule of the bourgeoisie by means of barbarous bloody terror. The terror, especially if we indefatigably fight against it, will and must more and more affect the fascist dictatorship itself, and is bound to lead to its own disintegration; it arouses the revolutionary hatred of the people and is the greatest driving force for the accelerated courageous fight for power. Our Party will best prove its faithfulness to the brave fighters from the ranks of the Central Committee, who have been shot by the murderers, and all other heroes who have been foully murdered, by making use of the fascist terror in order to increase the hatred of the people to such a degree that the fascist beasts will be unable to escape from it.

German finance capital is in fact preparing more and more openly and demonstratively for imperialist war. The attempt to conceal the increased war armaments by hypocritical pacifist peace phrases of Hitler and his pretorian guard has been copied from the methods of social-democratic ministers. The burden of armaments is crushing the toiling people. The German bourgeoisie have been able to squeeze surplus profit out of the armaments and, already before the war, to convert its "love for the fatherland" into good sound business.

Whilst the bourgeoisie are converting the Austrian and the Saar problems into an imperialist problem of war in the centre of Europe, as a result of which a new world conflagration may arise, they at the same time offer themselves to the foreign imperialists for the common campaign against the Soviet Union.

In view of the threatening imperialist war in Europe and the still more threatening robber war against the Soviet Union, the C.C. declares: We Communists are always for the defeat of the class enemy by the proletarian revolution. Hence we are organising the proletarian revolution, and in this sense are launching a broad ideological offensive against chauvinism and for the Soviet power, because we wish to prevent the murderous imperialist war and catastrophe by the victorious proletarian revolution, or should it break out prematurely, convert it into the class war against our own bourgeoisie. Proceeding from this session of the C.C., the struggle against the chauvinistic pest is to be launched with increased strength and in this sphere particular stress is to be laid on wresting the masses of youth from chauvinistic influence.

Since October, 1933, no less than 25,000 misguided S.A. proletarians have been conveyed to concentration camps and the prisons on account of mutinies and violation of the fascist discipline, where they are feeling on their own bodies the "blessings" of the fascist dictatorship. They must become hundreds of thousands who mutiny in the police, Storm Troops and Reichswehr and march with us in the common fighting front to the great class battles against the fascist dictatorship. Therefore, we have to launch our ideological offensive on a large scale. Proceeding from the material requirements of these masses whose revolutionary consciousness is awakening, it is necessary to connect their fight with that of their class comrades in the factories, at the Labour Exchanges and in the labour service camps.

The C.C. further points out that it is necessary to exert great efforts in order to train the *cadres of the Party* theoretically, also in the period of illegality, and particularly in this period, to consolidate their ideology and to extend the cadres of the Party by drawing in fresh young forces, in particular from the camp of social democracy.

In this connection the C.C. considers as one of the most important tasks the *systematic fight against provocateurs*, against treachery and the spy pest. The chief method used by the secret police to secure the arrest of Communist functionaries is bribery and corruption of individual workers. In order to bring about the necessary effective mass defence it is before all necessary to carry out a social boycott of such despicable creatures. The most varied methods must be applied in our struggle in order to render the provocateurs harmless. By emphasising the great power of the illegal press for the class army of the proletariat, the Pol-Bureau of the Party records that in this sphere, in particular in regard to the organising and leading power of the worker correspondents, there still exist great weaknesses in the development of struggles.

The decision of the Central Committee of our Party is not only written for the Party members but also for the masses. We must bring it to the knowledge of the masses. The will of our Party must become the mass will of millions, then we shall be victorious!

## We are Marching Towards the Revolution!

### Frustrate the Social-Democratic Counter-Revolutionary Manœuvres!

By Mueller (Berlin)

#### I

Even in December, 1933, the German social democracy and the Second International denied that there was a new revolutionary upsurge in Germany, spoke of a "whole epoch of reaction," predicted that Hitler's rule would last as long as that of Mussolini, designated the slogans of the C.P. of Germany for the partial struggles of the proletariat as "criminal," and derisively declared that our Party was only committing suicide by encouraging the bold and heroic struggles of our cadres. At the end of January, however, the German social democracy suddenly issued a "Declaration" intended to have the appearance of a revolutionary programme and entitled: "The Battle Waged by Revolutionary Socialism and its Objective."

The publication of this sham-radical declaration is proof that social democracy is compelled to recognise the fact of a revolutionary upsurge which is visible to everybody; that it is now hastening, in the interest of the bourgeoisie (at the same time offering its services to oppositional groups of the latter) to improve its reputation among the masses by means of radical manœuvres. The masses are to be prevented from choosing the only real revolutionary programme, and the path of Bolshevism. The social-democratic party wishes to play again its role as the saviour of the bourgeoisie from the Bolshevik revolution.

We wish to remind the workers of a few facts. When, in November, 1918, the revolutionary upheaval of the German proletariat was threatening, the social democracy, headed by Scheidemann, likewise resorted to "Left" manœuvres in order to get the leadership of the masses.

In the year 1919, when the German workers were more and more inclined to take up the struggle for the Soviet power, the social democrats caused the greatest of all mass demonstrations in front of the Reichstag to be fired on—while simultaneously they passed the factory council law in the Reichstag as a concession to the fighting masses in order to divert them from the struggle for the Soviet power.

In the year 1920, at the time of the Kapp putsch, when the proletariat gained the upper hand in the Ruhr district and the Red Army was victoriously advancing, the social democrats once again succeeded by means of cunning manœuvres in rendering possible the victory of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. On behalf of the social-democratic government the social democrat Severing concluded the Bielefeld Agreement, the 15 points of which contained almost word for word the very same "programmatical demands" which the social democrats are now putting forward in their declaration. But the social democrats had hardly succeeded in confusing, deceiving and splitting the armed working masses of Rhineland-Westphalia by means of their so-called "socialisation agreement" concluded at Bielefeld and induced them to lay down their arms, when the bourgeoisie wreaked bloody vengeance on all the revolutionary Ruhr workers and in particular on the Red Army men.

In the year 1923, when the factory councillors proceeded to prepare for the general strike in order to bring about the final overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the social democrats made use of the grave opportunist mistakes of the Brandler people in Thuringia and Saxony in order to crush the insurrectionary movement in these two States by military forces and to choke the proletarian revolution in blood.

And at the present time, when a fresh revolutionary upsurge under the leadership of the C.P. of Germany has set in, social democracy again comes forward as the aider and abettor of the bourgeoisie in order by means of radical phrases to place themselves at the head of the masses.

#### II

The "revolutionary declaration" of the social democrats starts with three falsifications of history. In the second sentence it is stated:

"The triumph of the German counter-revolution has completely transformed the structure and functions of the German labour movement."

To this we reply: Firstly, counter-revolution, with the assistance of German social democracy, triumphed over the proletarian

revolution not only when Hitler came into power, but already in 1918. Secondly, Hitler's victory over the Weimar "democracy" is not a victory of counter-revolution over revolution, because Weimar was not the proletarian revolution nor did Hitler's seizure of power take place in a period of revolutionary crisis. Owing to its being split and weakened by the social democracy, the proletariat was unable to raise the question of power in the spring of 1933. Thirdly, it follows from all this that the aims, the nature and the tasks of the German revolutionary labour movement have not been completely transformed, but they have remained the same: i.e., fight for socialism by means of the proletarian revolution.

This falsification of history is continued by the following assertion:—

"By subjugating all the organisations of manual and non-manual workers and completely depriving them of any power, the dictatorship has handed them over to the tyranny of Big Business, at the service of which it has placed all the authority of the State. This weighting of the scales threatens the working class with a progressive worsening of their standard of life."

Firstly, there is no one-sided weighting of the scales. Never has the working class, as the social democrats wish to make out, shared power with the bourgeoisie in the Weimar Republic. Krupp, Thyssen, Kloeckner and Siemens ruled supreme also under the Weimar bourgeois democracy. The social democracy was only temporarily entrusted with exercising this power, together with other bourgeois parties, on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Also at that time the concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie placed the State power exclusively at the service of Big Business. The fact that the social democrats attempted to make out that there existed a division of power between workers and the capitalists led to a discrediting of Marxism, as a result of which large sections of the workers were fettered to the bourgeoisie, and at the same time the most backward sections of the proletariat fell victims to the demagog of Hitler. Do we not perceive the same thing in England, Czechoslovakia, in Austria and in the Scandinavian countries?

The falsification of history is further continued:

"The Empire of the Kaiser was not overthrown as a result of an organised, planned and determined fight of the working class, but owing to its defeat on the battle fields. The social-democratic party, as the only organised force left intact, took over control of the State without opposition, sharing it as a matter of course with the bourgeois parties, the old bureaucracy and even with the reorganised military forces."

The social democrats reckon upon the short memories of the workers, but the revolutionary workers know that there existed a Spartacus League and a Left wing in the independent social-democratic party, and that these organised a munition workers' strike already in 1917; that the strike struggles increased during the year 1918 against the will of the old social democracy; that mutinies of the soldiers took place more and more frequently and that in 1918 this revolutionary work led to the big class battles against the imperial government which was overthrown as a result, and not owing to its defeats on the battle fields. It is true, the defeats on the Western front facilitated the agitation and propaganda of the revolutionaries in the country. But the workers know that the Kaiser-socialists strenuously resisted all these actions right up to the last moment, that they organised a regular denunciation of the revolutionaries to the generals of the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, the social democrats lie once again in regard to the division of power. They allege that they, as the only organised force left intact, took over control of the State and then voluntarily shared this power with the bourgeois parties, the old bureaucracy and the military forces. Although the social democrats practically admit their treachery, euphemistically describing it in the declaration as "a great historical error," they nevertheless deliberately misrepresent the facts. The social democrats, with the knowledge and the will of the bourgeoisie, took over control of the State, supported by the whole upper stratum of the bourgeoisie and its military apparatus against the Spartacus League. Social democracy never shared power with anybody, but exercised power on behalf of the big bourgeoisie. Thanks to the November treachery of the social democracy, the big bourgeoisie retained power and the control of the State. The social democracy was the courtesan and the saviour of the bourgeoisie.

#### III

At the conclusion of the "declaration" the German social democracy states:

"We are the heirs of the imperishable traditions of the Renaissance, the Humanist Movement, the English and French revolutions. We will not live without freedom and we are determined to achieve freedom—freedom from the domination of any class."

By this the social democrats state quite openly what they wish to achieve: no proletarian revolution, for in France and England the bourgeoisie is ruling; no proletarian revolutions have taken place there. They glorify the liberal bourgeois revolution and set it as an aim for Germany. But Karl Marx opposed to this bourgeois revolution the Paris Commune, and declared the latter to be the aim of the working class.

Freedom from the domination of any class is their slogan; against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, however, is the setting up of the class rule of the propertyless over the previous big property owners, the smashing of the parasitical State apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat can never achieve socialism without these measures. It is bourgeois democracy, a new edition of the Weimar "democracy," which social democracy is striving for. Here it is plainly seen that the social democrats are acting in agreement with some groups of the bourgeoisie, that they are cringing to them. At the same time they offer themselves to the home and foreign capitalist groups, as is most clearly expressed in their statement on the war and armament question, where they say:

"The democracy of Germany has demanded equality of rights in the League along with the great democracies of the West as a means of organising and ensuring peace."

Who is this "democracy of Germany" which raised this demand? It was the same German bourgeoisie, under the leadership of Chancellor Stresemann, who used the social democracy as their main social support among the working class; and these same sections of the bourgeoisie believe that they can already now utilise the social democrats better than last year. But on the question of the demand for equal rights there exists no difference with the Hitler dictatorship. The social democrats are in favour of the capitalist slogan of equal rights, and are therefore in favour of capitalist armaments both against the foreign enemy and against the people at home. Thus on the one hand they support Hitler's imperialist armaments for war and on the other hand they state:

"Firmness and vigilant determination on the part of the democratic nations under the influence of their Labour parties can still prevent war, but if war should nevertheless break out the social democrats of Germany will be unalterably and irreconcilably hostile to the dictatorship."

As if the bourgeois-democratic countries were a guarantee of peace. Are not the democratic countries also feverishly preparing for war? "Democracy" against despotism is the slogan of the social democrats. But the workers want the proletarian revolution, for only the proletarian revolution will guarantee peace; only the Soviet power is the guarantee of peace. The social democrats are against the proletarian revolution, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the Soviet Power. In a war of "democratically" governed countries against countries ruled by a fascist dictatorship, the social democrats allegedly side with the "democratically" governed countries. Even though this also is an act of class treachery, we doubt whether the social democrats would act in this manner. On the contrary, the social democrats will stand faithfully at the side of their bourgeoisie, even of their fascist bourgeoisie, foster chauvinism by their social-imperialist theories and actively fight against the revolution.

The social democrats have published a sham revolutionary programme in order to deceive the masses and to divert them from the correct path, the path of Marx, Engels and Lenin. There has been no change in the social democracy. It is and remains a bourgeois party even when in the opposition, even when in illegality, a bourgeois party which to-morrow will again be prepared, in the interest of and in order to save the bourgeoisie, to have such revolutionaries as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht slaughtered.

In accordance with their political line the social democrats set themselves the following tasks:—

"The ineluctable needs of the working class thus create a demand for political rights and a struggle for freedom of democratic organisation. . . . It can only come about by the act of the masses themselves. This struggle is only a stage in the revolutionary conquest of the whole power of the State."

Thus first "bourgeois democracy" as a stage in the revolu-

tionary conquest of the whole power of the State, i.e., first half of the State power, again allegedly sharing it with the bourgeoisie, and only then can a conscious movement of the masses be developed leading to socialism.

We, however, are of the opinion that when these bourgeois social democrats, who are extremely dangerous for the proletarian revolution, as well as their aiders and abettors, the Trotskyists and the Brandlerists, are defeated, we shall be able, in spite of illegality, to create a revolutionary mass movement which will win legality and beyond this the whole State power—a mass movement which will not take over the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, but destroy it and set up a new form of the State power, the class form of the proletariat, the Soviet power. The proletariat can temporarily share the power with the bourgeoisie during revolutionary struggles only in countries in which the bourgeois-democratic revolution is on the order of the day and is to be transformed by us into the proletarian revolution. In Germany, however, the bourgeois revolution is a thing of the past; the proletarian revolution is on the order of the day. Even a temporary sharing of the power with the bourgeoisie is quite out of the question. The proletariat will have sole power! It is only by means of the sole rule of the proletariat, in alliance with the toiling sections of the population and the masses of the peasants that we shall achieve socialism.

#### IV

Let us glance at the individual "radical" demands contained in this programme of the silk-hat revolutionaries. Already the first "revolutionary" demand: "sentencing of all traitors and their fellow-criminals in politics . . . on the ground of the violation of the Constitution," that is to say, the sentencing of the murderer Hitler and Co. for violating the Weimar Constitution, clearly proves that the social democracy aims at the restoration of the Weimar bourgeois republic, and conceals this behind revolutionary phrases. We shall sentence the Hitler and Co. not on the ground of their violation of the Constitution, but on the ground of murdering the workers and because they are the hangmen on behalf of the big capitalists.

The second demand: "abolition of the irremovability of judges," shows that they are not aiming at establishing a class court of the workers. They only wish "to fill all the important posts in the judicial system by men who have the confidence of the revolutionary government" and not the destruction of this whole rotten corrupt judicial apparatus of the bourgeois. They declare themselves to be in favour of a "thorough reorganisation of the judicial system by the strengthening of the lay element" in order better to mask the judicial machine as a class instrument of the bourgeoisie.

They further demand the "purging of the bureaucracy and immediate filling of all the leading posts with new officials." Thus the whole struggle is conducted for the leading posts, for bureaucratic positions. They further demand "the organisation of trustworthy military and police forces and the complete replacement of the corps of officers," instead of the setting up of a Red Army and a proletarian militia.

Let us now take two further programmatic slogans: "Complete and equal civil rights for all without distinction of race or creed. . . ." "Only after the authority of the revolution has been firmly established . . . will the process of building up the new organisation of the State on the basis of freedom be begun by the convening of a National Assembly, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage in single-member constituencies."

This is the old Weimar hash. The Communist programme gives the capitalists, the former ministers, generals and similar bands no civil rights, no suffrage. The suffrage under the proletarian dictatorship is a class suffrage in favour of the working class. Equal civil rights will exist only for the toilers and is limited to a class. The Soviet power will transfer the election to the organs of the State and of the municipalities to the factories, without, however, excluding the toiling sections of the small traders and artisans and of the poor peasants.

In Section IV of the declaration, headed "The Economic Revolution," there are repeated all the deceitful manoeuvres of the social democrats in the years 1918 and 1919 and of the Bielefeld Agreement. We read:

"The socialist organisation of the economic system will put an end to the anarchy of the capitalist methods of production."

How is this to be achieved?

"The control of this reorganisation will be the function of the supreme socialist planning authority."

Further it is stated:

"The establishment of an administrative organisation for the nationalisation of the various branches of industry" and the "preparation for further socialisation of branches of industry under capitalist control."

Thus it is the aim of the "new revolutionaries" to set up at first a supreme socialist planning authority. This body will draw up plans for the reorganisation of economy, so-called socialisation plans. Whether the socialisation plans will be finished in one or two years is not said. A similar game was played in the years 1918 to 1923. The "socialisation commission" of the Reichstag declared each branch of industry, one after another, to be not yet ripe for socialisation. By talking of the "preparation for further socialisation of branches of industry" the social democrats show that their whole conception of a revolutionary programme only serves the purpose of deceiving the masses.

We shall not need a separate socialist planning authority and administrative organisation for the reorganisation of economy. The workers themselves are the organisers of this reorganisation. This reorganisation will proceed in the struggle to drive the owners and directors from all the factories and big landed estates. Only when the working class will have forcibly taken possession of the factories, big landed estates and banks, when it will have conquered the political power, will the workers, with the assistance of their class State, the Soviet power, set up the leading bodies for the regulation, control and direction of economy, the socialist planning commission.

The proletarians who are propertyless to-day will become the collective owners of all factories. It is only in this way that the socialisation of production and the building up of socialism can proceed, but never through the medium of a State socialisation commission. In a capitalist society, State factories are by no means socialist factories. State factories become socialist factories only under the class rule of the proletariat. The social democrats, by designating the capitalist State factories as socialist factories, falsify Marxism.

The following formulation clearly shows that the social democrats have no faith in the workers and consider them incapable of running any factory or branch of economy themselves:

"The reorganisation and control of production will enhance the importance of the work of technicians and administrators. Industry in the socialist economic system will require co-ordinated and highly skilled management. The emancipation of these leaders of industry from the domination of capitalism and their transformation into servants of the community will give their work a new significance and a new value."

This means firstly, that no worker may presume to be able to manage a factory; secondly, the old managers and directors are to remain. They will be converted from capitalist managers and directors into socialist managers and directors; thirdly, these managers and directors are the control organs of production. Ninety per cent. of the red directors in the Soviet Union come from the ranks of the workers. The same will be the case in Germany, in spite of and against the social democracy.

In the year 1928, when the social democrats declared themselves to be the physicians of sick capitalism, Tarnow, the chief speaker of the social democracy, declared at their party congress:

"The capitalists of to-day are no longer the capitalists in the old sense. They are only the administrators of social capital."

Thus not only the leading business heads, the managers who receive salaries of from 120,000 to 400,000 marks a year, but also such men as Krupp, who has a yearly income of four million marks, are already "socialists without knowing it" according to this theory of Tarnow. This fraud is now being repeated by the social democrats, and introduced into a "revolutionary programme."

## V

Why do the social democrats carry out this deceitful manoeuvre just now? They themselves furnish the answer:

"The rule of the national socialists means an unprecedented exacerbation of the conflicts within society, a further overheating of the boiler by a forcible shutting down of every safety-valve."

Yesterday the social democrats denied the revolutionary upsurge, and to-day they admit it in words. The boiler needs a safety-valve. They think, perhaps, they will be able to overcome Bolshevism and prevent the really threatening revolution. It is necessary to open a safety-valve. They therefore declare:

"A free choice of what the new forms of organisation should be is denied to us. . . . As the internal conflicts within fascism and the class struggle within capitalism develop and become steadily more acute, as discontent and disillusionment shake the hold of the national socialist dictatorship upon the masses, as movements of opposition arise and spontaneous mass movements come into being, it will be the task of the picked revolutionary troops to guide their development, to influence their direction. . . ."

This means: the social democrats will never organise the revolution. But if spontaneous mass struggles break out and the danger of a proletarian revolution threatens, then they want to place themselves at the head of the movement in order to divert it into the channels of bourgeois "order" and to confine its aim to re-establishing Western "democracy." This is the whole essence of this "radical" declaration.

This document of the social democrats is a counter-revolutionary document directed against the proletarian revolution. It is a "radical" deceitful manoeuvre, which must be viewed in the light of the revolutionary upsurge which is taking place in Germany under the leadership of the C.P.G. The document does not contain a word about general strike, or revolt.

All the workers of Germany must study the social and national emancipation programme of the Communist Party, the Party of Thaelmann, and compare this programme with the treacherous declaration of the social democracy. If the proletariat wants to free itself from capitalist oppression and exploitation, if it wants to achieve socialism—then it must proceed on the path of the Third International, the path of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. There exists only one Marxism and Socialism, this is the theory and practice of the Soviets. The slogan, All power to the Soviets, will also become the slogan of the proletarian revolution in Germany.

## The Situation of the Working Peasants in Germany

The Nazis are never tired of shouting about "saving the German peasants." What the fascist dictatorship has actually done for the German peasantry is shown by some data which were published recently. These data show to what a terrible extent the masses of peasants are being ruined and driven from their farms. According to the figures for the year 1933, there were 3,040,000 farms with an area exceeding 0.5 hectares.

According to the figures for the year 1925, there were 2,949,000 small peasant holdings up to 2 hectares. But according to the statistics for the year 1933, this figure had dwindled in the meantime to 834,600. These figures, it is true, do not include the holdings up to half a hectare. According to other calculations the number of these peasant farms must have declined in this period by at least 250,000. As regards the farms over 2 hectares we have the following picture:—

Size	Number of farms		Changes since 1925	
	1933	1925	in thousands	in per cents.
2-5 hectares	785.2	837.5	-52	-6.3
5-20 hectares	1,066.9	1,006.1	+61	+6.0
20-100 hectares	319.8	314.4	+5.3	+1.7
Over 100 hectares	32.9	35.7	-2.8	-7.7

The number of these farms has thus increased by about 11,000 as compared with the year 1925. But it must be taken into account that in the period from 1925 to 1932, as a result of the law of inner settlement, 42,261 new peasant farms were established with an average area of 11 hectares and 53,800 farms received additional land averaging 2 hectares.

It therefore follows that 52,000 peasant farms (the number by which the group from 2-5 hectares has diminished) have for the most part gone over to the following group, and this explains the increase of the latter. On the other hand, in spite of the 42,261 newly-created farms, the farms of this large class have increased in all by only 11,500, which means, therefore, that over 30,000 peasant farms have disappeared again.

If one sums up the results of the agrarian policy of the Ger-

man governments, including the fascist government, in the course of the last six years, we find that 230,000 to 300,000 peasant farms have disappeared. Thus in the time, when, under the law for inner colonisation, 42,000 new farms were established, 5 to 6 times this number were destroyed.

What has become of the promises which the fascist Hitler government made to the peasants? Have these thousands of peasants who have lost their holdings been given fresh land? By no means. Has anything been done to aid the small peasants in order that they shall not find themselves in a similar position? By no means. This overwhelming majority of the peasants do not even come within the scope of the farm inheritance law, which only applies to farms of 30 acres and upwards.

With regard to the entailed farms, however, it is necessary to say a few words. The Nazis lyingly tell the peasants that now, in so far as their property is recognised as entailed, they have escaped the danger of ruin. They declare that the property of the peasant must not be forfeited. Nevertheless, the farm inheritance law had hardly been passed when the first limitations were announced. These are called the "limited distraint on peasant property." But what, in reality, is this "limited distraint," which can be carried out even in the case of entailed farms? It is said that no distraint may be levied on entailed farms, but according to the law the entailed farm includes only the actual land and what is necessary for its cultivation, the livestock, farm buildings, and implements. But the farm products are protected from distraint only insofar as they are necessary for the maintenance of the peasant and his family until the next harvest. This fact, however, exposes the whole swindle of the inheritance law. The products of the peasants which are intended for the market are still subject to distraint. All other property of the peasant, for example, money, securities and other articles and objects of value can be distrained upon. Thus the peasant whose farm is registered as an entailed farm is not protected from distraint, but is still at the mercy of the banks and money-lenders. And this is what the Nazis call "saving the German peasants!"

But how are the small peasants, the great bulk of the working peasantry, faring who are unable to satisfy their land hunger even under the fascist dictatorship? The "Vossische Zeitung" of 9th January wrote regarding the distress among the poor peasants in Spessart, that "the grain crop does not suffice to meet the needs of the peasant and his family. The stock of cattle is declining at an increasing rate from year to year. In the best cases the peasant has only one cow. A peasant with two or three cows is considered rich. The fodder which is given to the cows is so poor that in the Palatinate or in Baden it would hardly be used as straw. The peasant of the Spessart very rarely sees meat on his table. His food consists for the most part of potatoes and salt."

## ***Fascism***

### **Appeal of the C.P. of Italy on the Occasion of the New Fascist Plebiscite**

To the Workers of Italy!

Comrades! The fascists have prescribed a new plebiscite for the 25th March next. They say that this new plebiscite shall prove that the working masses and the whole population support the fascist regime, that they are satisfied with and attached to this regime.

Workers and peasants, workers of all categories, young workers, honest, active anti-fascists! The Communist Party of Italy calls upon you to give the lie to fascism, to demonstrate and fight against it, to go to the polling booth and vote with "No" against it!

No! We do not want the fascist regime! It is the fascist regime that has exploited, oppressed and terrorised us for twelve years! Fascism is the regime of slavery and misery of the toilers!

Do not have any illusions as to the value of the Plebiscite! Fascism has robbed the toilers, and before all the working class, of every liberty. Fascism has abolished all the free organisations of the workers; it has destroyed the class trade unions, the peasants' unions and the Labour Chambers. Fascism has forcibly destroyed the factory organisations of the workers, the factory committees, by which the workers endeavour to defend themselves in the factory itself against the attacks of the employers. Fascism

forcibly occupied the co-operative societies, the workers' circles and workers' club premises.

Fascism has deprived the working people of every possibility, however slight, of knowing what is done with their money, and has taken the administration of the municipalities into its own hands.

Fascism renders it impossible for the working youth to put forward even the most modest demands. Militarisation, unemployment, misery and slavery is what fascism brings the young workers. Fascism converts the toiling women into slaves, who are deprived of every right.

Fascism means fresh attack, new acts of violence, added to those which the rulers, the capitalists, the exploiters and their lackeys have from time immemorial committed against the working people.

The workers and peasants have not the slightest possibility of putting up their own candidates, the representatives of labour and of the oppressed classes against the candidates of the fascist Grand Council, i.e., the candidates of the capitalists, the bankers, the industrialists and agrarians, the priests and the corrupt fascist bureaucracy. The house of deputies which is to result from this plebiscite will, like its predecessor, be a contemptible and ridiculous tool of the fascist dictatorship.

No! We do not want the fascist dictatorship, which is the dictatorship of capitalism over the toiling classes!

We want to win back all the liberties of the working and peasant masses. We want freedom of organisation, the restoration and free activity of the Red class trade unions. We want freedom of meeting and of the press, free sport and cultural organisations of the youth. We want the right to strike!

We want the right to elect a workers' committee in every factory and workshop, which shall see that the employers observe the agreements made with the workers, conduct negotiations on these agreements, fix piece-work rates, and compel the employer and his agents to have respect for the worker.

We want the municipal administration to be in the hands of the working people.

But the liberties of the toiling masses can only be won through struggle, through the revolutionary fight against capitalism. There is only one country where the working masses are no longer slaves, where the workers and peasants enjoy every liberty and are prosperous, where wages are rising and where there is no unemployment, where there is a broad path open to the working youth, where the woman is emancipated from economic, political and domestic slavery. This country is the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the working people. In the Soviet Union the working people are free, they are well off, for they have overthrown capitalism by a revolution, wrested power from the industrialists and big landowners, and taken power into their own hands.

We want to replace the capitalist regime by the proletarian regime also in Italy! We want a workers' and peasants' government; we want Soviets in Italy! This, and this alone, is the way to our emancipation.

Those who oppose to the fascist plebiscite the old parliamentary elections and to the fascist regime the so-called democratic regime, do so in order to deceive you. Even the freest bourgeois republic is a dictatorship of the capitalists over the working people. Fascism was born and has developed in the womb of the democratic regime. The representatives of this regime paved the way for it, armed it and summoned it to power. It was parliament which, in the year 1915, drove the toiling masses to the shambles of the world war. It was parliament that sanctioned Mussolini's power.

Social democrats and democrats who talk about a return to a bourgeois democratic regime do so because they wish to prevent us from going forward to the Soviets, to the proletarian democracy.

Workers and peasants! The fascists say that the plebiscite will express your approval of the corporative system.

What is the corporative system? It is a great campaign of lies in order to make you forget everything that the fascists have done in the interests of the employers.

There is talk about the end of capitalism. They say that Italy is not a capitalist country! But in the twelve years in which they have been in power everything they have done has been to the advantage of the capitalists, the bankers, the agrarians and against the working people. They have torn up all the agreements which the class organisations had wrung from the em-

ployers. They have torn up all the economic and tenancy agreements which preserved the interests of the small shopkeepers and tenants. According to their own figures, they have reduced wages on an average by about 40 per cent. They have rendered unemployed millions, who do not receive any benefit or relief and are forced to live on charity. They have increased the taxes to such an extent that the taxpayers have been ruined. The miserable wages received by the workers are taxed 8 per cent. They have ruined tens of thousands of small existences. They cause women and children to work like beasts for a piece of bread.

Meanwhile the capitalists are doing well. The industrialists, who have been able to reduce wages just as they please, are now, in the time of crisis, realising big dividends. The bankers are subsidised by the State with money that it takes from the small saver. The big landowners and rich peasants are sucking the blood of the rural toilers.

Not only that. To-day, in view of the exceedingly serious economic situation, fascism is about to adopt fresh measures against the working people, to introduce further wage cuts, to raise the taxes still higher, to introduce fresh starvation measures. The lying campaign of corporativism is intended to cloak these measures.

Down with the lie of corporativism! We want the women and young workers to have equal pay for equal work! No, we do not want to pay more taxes in order to fill the gaps in the military budget, in order to prepare for a fresh world slaughter. We want all the unemployed to be given support at the cost of the State and the employer during the whole period of unemployment. We want the debts of the poor and middle peasants to be annulled, the military budget cancelled.

Working people! Fascism demands of you that you approve its foreign policy. The foreign policy of fascism is an imperialist policy in the interests of the capitalists and not of the toilers. Fascism is stirring up war in the Balkans, in Austria, in Africa and in the Far East. Fascism takes part in the reactionary expeditions for the overthrow of the Soviet power which is offering successful resistance in China. Mussolini intrigued and is intriguing with Hitler in order to prepare the attack on the Soviet Union.

The working people have no other fatherland but the Soviet Union, which they wish to defend and will defend against any extortionate demand, against any attack. The working people have no interest in the conquest of new territory nor in the oppression of other peoples.

No! Down with Mussolini's imperialist policy! Down with imperialist war which Mussolini is preparing and provoking! Down with the militarisation of the youth!

We are fighting for the right of all peoples to determine their own fate. We wish to do away with the oppression by Italian imperialism of Slovenes and Croats in Venetia Giulia, and of the Germans in South Tyrol. We want the Slovenes and Croats of Venetia Giulia and the Germans of South Tyrol to have the right to separate from the Italian State and to decide their own destiny.

For the defence of the Chinese Soviets! For the defence of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the toilers of all countries!

Workers of Italy! Those who tell you there is no need to bother about the plebiscite and that you should stay away from the poll are deceiving you, they are playing into the hands of fascism! To stay away from the poll means to renounce the opportunity of demonstrating and fighting against fascism. Those who tell you to stay away from the poll are the spokesmen of the Aventino policy which has shamefully collapsed because it aimed at hampering the fight of the masses against fascism. This is what the social democrats and democrats, the leaders of the Maximalists, have always done. The Communists alone have constantly raised before you the flag of the anti-fascist fight, of the class struggle, and they will carry it also in the future.

To take part in the plebiscite and to vote No means to fight for our demands, for bread, for work, for freedom.

In Germany also, under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party, three million toilers voted No at the fascist plebiscite and thereby demonstrated the force and the inflexible fighting determination of the working class. Let us follow the example of our German comrades!

Reformist and Maximalist workers! Join the united front with the Communist workers in the fight for your class demands.

The reformist leaders and the Maximalist leaders are against the united front because they are against the revolutionary fight of the toiling masses, because they are concerned about saving capitalism from the revolution. Like Rigola and d'Aragona, they are ready to conclude a compromise with fascism, if necessary on the basis of the corporative system itself. In all countries the social democracy betrayed and betrays the interests of the working class and the cause of the proletarian revolution. They work together with the reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie in order to bar the way to revolution.

Reformist, Maximalist, anarchist, and Catholic workers! Young workers! In order to defend your class demands and achieve victory for them, in order to organise your resistance to fresh wage cuts, in order to organise your participation in the plebiscite by voting No, you must, together with the Communist workers, elect united front committees, fighting committees against fascism! Form propaganda groups which shall convince the broad masses of toilers that they must not stay away from the poll; that they must go to the polling booth and vote No. In the factories, at places where the unemployed meet together, in the villages, everywhere where it is possible and by every means, by painting on the walls, by personal conversation, by demonstrations, make propaganda for voting No at the plebiscite. Organise in order to vote in masses with No.

Toilers! Write on the voting paper the name of Antonio Gramsci, the leader of the C.P. of Italy, who has been pining in prison for seven years and whom the fascists wish to kill. Demonstrate in this way for: the abolition of the Special Tribunals; for the abolition of the Exceptional Laws; for an amnesty for all political prisoners; for the victory of the Communist Party; for the victory of the Communist revolution throughout the whole world!

Down with fascism! Down with the lie of corporativism! Down with the capitalist regime!

Long live the revolutionary fight for bread, work, freedom, for the overthrow of fascism, for a workers' and peasants' government, for a Soviet Italy!

## The Fascist Convention in Ireland

By Aodh MacManus (Dublin)

"The size and spirit of the United Ireland party's first annual convention are an encouraging portent." Thus the most candid of British imperialism's organs in Ireland, the "Irish Times (9-2-34), comments in its editorial on the gathering of the fascist Blueshirts in Dublin, on February 2 and 3.

Over 1,000 delegates attended this Blueshirt convention: ranchers, big farmers, but with finance-capital's avowed representatives in the background and the convention packed mainly by O'Duffy's uniformed storm troops.

The masks came off at this convention, and fascism's face protruded from all the principal speeches. Imperialism's ideologues in Ireland clearly have burned the midnight oil in company with Mussolini and Hitler. Here is O'Duffy striking the dominant note:

"Already parliamentary democracy, even in countries where capitalism is not yet very noticeably on the decline, has shown itself unable to cope with the economic problems which are being thrust upon it by the *very inability of capitalism to solve them in the old way.*"

Saul among the prophets! This is not the Thirteenth Plenum speaking! O'Duffy continued:

"For example, in England there is a general consensus of opinion, even amongst conservatives, that parliament needs to be thoroughly overhauled. There is no reason why we should make an idol of parliament."

With a clarity that revealed how usefully the mentors of this braggart had prepared his speech, O'Duffy outlined the Blueshirt policy: (1) the tying of Ireland to the British Empire; (2) the destruction of the working-class movement; (3) the erection of Mussolini's Corporate State façade as a cover for finance-capital's terror dictatorship.

The United Ireland party, he said, will secure such "an agreement with the British government as will enable the Irish farmer again to enter the British market unhampered by quotas and restrictions." Then follows the maintenance of Ireland as an agrarian hinterland and war base of England.

"The terms 'grazier' and 'rancher' have been held up to

opprobrium. They have been referred to as representing a class whose existence and occupation is undesirable. My purpose is to show that stock-raising is undertaken because of its suitability both from the production point of view and because of the Free State's proximity to a market which is at once remunerative and easily reached."

The policy of imperialism's mercenaries towards the working class movement was advanced in the orthodox fascist fashion. The Young Communist Party of Ireland, like the head of the 'royal martyr' that found its way into all Mr. Dick's memorials, featured prominently and luridly in the majority of the speeches. Professor Hogan, for instance, complained that Sean Murray, the leader of the Communist Party that was calling repeatedly for united mass action against the Blueshirts, was a free man, while he, a respectable Christian citizen, was being raided by detectives. About the fascist policy towards the Communist Party there was no shilly-shallying: it must be stamped out, root and branch. But the economic organisations of the workers will be destroyed through the medium of the Corporate State. Said O'Duffy:

"Every employee will be a member of a union; every farmer or manufacturer will be a member of an employers' association.

"In every industry the men's union and the employers' association will be closely combined in a federation of which the two bodies will be merely two wings or branches. This federation of employers and employees, acting through its permanent joint council and under the supervision of the National Economic Council and of the appropriate Minister of State, will be given statutory powers to make agreements in regard to the industry which it represents.

"Those agreements will be binding on all workmen and on all employers. . . .

"Wage agreements made by a corporation or sub-corporation will be binding on all the members of the body making it, and disputes which cannot be settled by agreement will be determined by an industrial court; so that strikes and lock-outs, which cause so much waste and suffering, will altogether cease."

The workers' trade unions, therefore, built up by so much sacrifice, are to be replaced by the sham unions of Mussolini and Hitler. It will also be illegal to take strike action; the workers are to have their chief economic weapon taken from them.

That the masses were not deceived by O'Duffy's demagogy about a "truly Christian social programme" that "must avoid the pitfalls of Communism on the left and capitalism on the right," was shown by the events immediately following the fascist convention. The Blueshirts held a parade and meeting in Dundalk and Drogheda (both quite close to each other) on February 10. For two days both towns were in turmoil, despite all the efforts of the police and troops to protect the O'Duffy Blueshirts. In Drogheda the hatred of the masses—men and women—rose to such heights that all the trappings of war were called upon to save the Blueshirts. De Valera's organ, the *Irish Press* (12-2-34) thus describes the scenes:

"Despite repeated baton charges, in which many people were injured, the Garda (police) were unable to restore order. Eventually after detectives had fired shots over the heads of the crowd without effect, military, who had been drafted into the town put on gas masks and hurled tear-gas bombs to disperse the crowd. It is also reported that soldiers used their bayonets later in the day."

Despite the batons, shots, tear-gas and bayonet charges, the workers still fought back, meeting the troops with cries of "Murderers!" and "Green and Tans!"

Significant also was the anti-fascist meeting at Dundalk, addressed by the chairman of the Trades Council, while the Tralee branch of the Irish Transport Workers' Union has passed a resolution calling on the workers to resist a fascist dictatorship. These developments, coupled with the big meeting held in Dublin by the Labour League Against Fascism reveal a growing realisation on the part of the Irish working masses of the necessity for organised anti-fascist activity. The task now of the *Communist Party of Ireland* and the *Labour League Against Fascism* is to overcome the opposition of the Labour reformists and Republican leaders to this united front, and to drive the anti-fascist front into the trade union branches and to all the main provincial areas.

## China

### The C.C. of the C.P. of China on the Coup de Main in Fukien

*The following appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of China issued on December 13, 1933, regarding the setting up of the "independent" government of Fukien, which, as is known, has in the meantime been liquidated, has, owing to technical difficulties, only just reached us. We nevertheless publish this document as it clearly shows the attitude of the C.P. of China to the events in Fukien.—Ed.*

#### To the masses of China!

All facts which have occurred since the Japanese occupation of Manchuria up to the present day have exposed the anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist slogans of the Kuomintang as empty shouting, as downright deception of the people. The Kuomintang is exposed as the tool of the Japanese and other imperialists and is openly preparing the way for the partition of China. The broad masses of China have realised from their own experience that it is impossible to overthrow the imperialist rule in China and to restore China's independence without shattering the Kuomintang regime by the organisation and arming of the mass of the people. At the same time the magnificent victories of the Soviets and of the Red Army in the fight against the imperialists and the Kuomintang show clearly and unambiguously that the path of the Soviet, anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang policy is the only possibility for China's emancipation from imperialist fetters.

And in fact, the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses against the imperialists and the Kuomintang has advanced a big step forward. Everywhere the masses are demonstrating their sympathy and support for the Soviets and the Red Army. The broad masses of the people are deciding in favour of the revolutionary way out of the political and economical crisis. This is only natural under the conditions of the further sharpening of the political crisis and the decay of the Kuomintang rule.

A clique of Kuomintang leaders in Fukien, who perceived the revolutionising of the masses and the bankruptcy of the Kuomintang, broke with the Kuomintang and founded a so-called "Party of the Toiling Masses." In place of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang regime they set up a so-called "People's Government" and proclaimed a new programme. All this only proves the decline and decay of the Kuomintang power. A month has passed since the setting up of the "People's Government" and, apart from the mouthing of some anti-imperialist, anti-militarist, anti-Tuhao landowner and anti-capitalist phrases, the leaders of the new government have done nothing. They promised freedom of speech and meeting, the right of combination and to strike, but in actual practice they imposed a state of siege in order to prevent the mass of the people from exercising these rights. The main plank of their platform was the protection of the hand and brain workers, but they have nothing concrete in order to realise this. They have not moved a finger in order to improve the situation of the workers and peasants. The "division of land per head" means nothing else but the prevention of the confiscation of the land of the big landowners by the masses of militant peasants. No concrete measures were adopted in preparation for the necessary fights of the toiling peasants. The so-called "armed volunteers" is in reality another name for the armed militia of the Tuhao and the landowners. Nothing was done to promote the arming of the toiling masses. As the experience of the past month has proved, the Fukien government is neither for the people nor revolutionary.

The Communist Party of China and also the broad masses have no confidence in verbal promises and sweet revolutionary phrases; facts and actions alone prove whether a government is revolutionary or not. Instead of destroying the rule of the imperialists, landowners and the bourgeoisie in China as promised, the People's Government on the contrary maintained the rule of the imperialists, landowners and bourgeoisie in order to keep the masses from rapidly going over to the revolution and the Soviets.

The Communist Party of China is firmly convinced that only by their own revolutionary actions can the broad masses of China shake off the yoke of the Japanese and other imperialists and overthrow the counter-revolutionary rule of the Kuomintang. The Communist Party is firmly convinced that the masses will find themselves seriously disappointed if they hope and expect that a



group of the ruling class will stage a revolution, instead of the masses themselves taking up the revolutionary fight.

The Communist Party calls to the broad masses of Fukien: Organise, found at once revolutionary trade unions, peasants' committees and peasants' associations; draw large masses of workers and peasants, as well as revolutionary students and intellectuals, into the anti-Japanese associations; organise a people's army against the Japanese imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek, organise volunteer corps; immediately demand weapons and ammunition from the "People's Government" and fight shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary soldiers against Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Fukien and prepare for the fight against the intervention of the Japanese or other imperialists. The masses of the people in Fukien must have confidence in their own strength in order to take back the Japanese concession areas and the Japanese customs autonomy, to declare all unequal treaties with Japan invalid, to develop the anti-Japanese boycott, to confiscate the undertakings and property of the Japanese capitalists, to drive out all Japanese land, sea and air forces from Fukien, to arrest all traitors, to suppress their activity, to confiscate their property and hand it over to the funds for the anti-Japanese or anti-Kuomintang war or distribute it among the toiling masses. The workers must fight by means of strikes against the cruel exploitation as well as for the legal eight-hour day and wage increases. The peasants must fight for the improvement of their situation by launching a fight against ground rent and taxes, disarming the troops of the landowners and arming themselves, expropriating the land of the landowners and thoroughly carrying out the agrarian revolution.

Demand immediately of the "People's Government" support for the unemployed in town and country and improvement of the lot of the soldiers. Working masses of Fukien, demand immediately of the "People's Government" that they reply to the declaration of the Soviet government and of the Red Army, in which they propose a common fight against the imperialists and the Kuomintang. Demand that the "People's Government" shall direct no attacks against the Soviets and the Red Army, who are conducting an inexorable fight against the imperialists and the Kuomintang; that they conclude an alliance with the Soviets and the Red Army by signing a military treaty for a common fight against the imperialists and the Kuomintang, especially against the Nanking government which is under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. The masses of Fukien will learn from the experience of this struggle to what extent the "People's Government" is a revolutionary government, and whether it is not a fresh swindle from the counter-revolutionary camp.

The Communist Party of China declares to the whole population that there are only two paths: the one leads to the worst colonial enslavement of China under the rule of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, the other leads to the final emancipation of the people through unrelenting fight against the imperialists and the Kuomintang. Only the victory of the revolution, achieved by the workers, peasants, soldiers and exploited masses, can secure the emancipation of the Chinese people. There is no middle course. He who seeks a middle course between revolution and counter-revolution is doomed to defeat and supports the counter-revolution.

Masses, unite in the fight against the imperialists and the Kuomintang! Broad masses of the people, arm yourselves; Down with the Japanese and other imperialists!

Down with the treacherous Nanking and all other Kuomintang governments!

Long live the independence of China!

## The Situation in the Chinese Soviet District

From the Annual Report of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic on the Occasion of the Soviet Elections on November 8, 1933.

To all Soviet Electors!

Comrades! The 7th November, 1933, is the second anniversary of the proclamation of the Provisional Government of Soviet China. Under the correct leadership of the Communist Party, the Central Soviet Government, supported by the masses of militant workers and peasants and the victorious Red Army, has advanced and still continues to advance successfully forwards on all fronts. We will briefly outline the present position in the Soviet District.

In the past year the central task of the revolutionary war consisted in shattering the fifth campaign of the Kuomintang

and in fact great victories have been achieved in all the Soviet Districts of China. According to incomplete statistics to hand, in one year alone the Red Army captured 100,000 rifles from the enemy troops. In the period from January to June the Red Army annihilated 41 regiments, six battalions, and ten companies (each consisting of 100 men) of the enemy troops. We defeated eight divisions, 33 regiments, 19 battalions and nine companies; we captured 31,700 rifles, 1,000 machine guns and automatic rifles. We made numerous prisoners, including 20 division, brigade and regiment commanders. It was precisely because of these successes that the sixth campaign was organised against us. But, as a result of the offensive policy of the Party and thanks to the enthusiastic support of the broad masses of workers and peasants in the Soviet and also in the white districts, we succeeded right at the commencement in delivering a powerful blow against the sixth campaign when we defeated the enemy troops at Lientzen (South-West Fukien), Yankau (North-West Fukien), and Litchuan (East Kiangsi) and captured 8,000 rifles. As a result of the mass influx of workers and peasants we now have a Red Army twice as strong as it was last year. In uninterrupted bloody fights the Red Army has become a disciplined and efficient fighting force. The Red Guards, the Young Advance-Guard and the partisan troops have also greatly increased in strength. The Soviet government has made it its central task to smash the campaign of the enemy. Our lives and our work are wholly and entirely subordinated to the revolutionary war.

In the past year the Soviets have captured seven more districts, situated to the North-East of the central Soviet region, namely, Jien-Nin, Tai-nin, Litchuan, Kwangtse, Dsetchi, Jin-chi, which have been united into a new Soviet province named Minkan. The new victories of the Eastern Red Army brought a great strip of territory, extending from Lungai to Yaiping in North Fukien, under the Soviet power. In Kiangsi the Soviets increased their territory by several hundred square li\* in the districts of Nanfung, Thuang, Tsungsen, Lo-an, Yuenfung, Shinkin (the region in which the fifth campaign was defeated), etc.

Apart from the increase of territory, a considerable consolidation of the Soviet region is to be recorded. The mistakes which had been made have been corrected, the class line is carried out in a persistent, determined manner, new labour laws have been enacted, the situation of the workers and peasants is improving. Workers' trade unions exist everywhere, the land inspection movement has developed, which means an annihilating blow to the remnants of feudalism. The revolutionary struggle of the toilers in the village has increased considerably; the union of poor peasants has further developed, new cadres of workers and peasants have been drawn into the work of the Soviets, the Soviet apparatus has been purged of class-alien elements which had crept in. The form of Soviet leadership and the improved methods of work created a firm connection between the Soviets and the broad masses. The administrative units of the Soviets were reduced in size, thereby establishing a closer contact with the masses. On the basis of the experience of the past Soviet elections and Soviet work, the Central Soviet government has enacted a new election law and a law on the local Soviet organisations in order to make the Soviets a government apparatus of the masses themselves and to place this apparatus at the service of the revolutionary war.

The exploited and the oppressed of the whole country render the Soviets and the Red Army their enthusiastic support in the conviction that they are the only government and the only force which is really fighting for national peace and independence and which is alone capable of saving China.

The inexorable and unceasing civil war renders it imperatively necessary that the Soviets devote the greatest attention to economic construction, in which respect agricultural production occupies the first place. Under the correct leadership of the Soviets, and with the increased support of the toilers, the spring and summer sowing campaigns resulted in a rice harvest 50 per cent. larger than that of last year, and in the case of other crops the increase was still greater. Co-operatives for the common use of draught animals and agricultural implements and mutual aid societies for tilling the soil have been founded in many localities. The development of agricultural production alone will suffice to meet the big requirements of the Red Army and the masses in the way of food and to exchange for industrial goods imported

\* A li is about a third of an English mile.

from outside. The development of industrial production is the second task in the sphere of economic construction. Here the production of agricultural implements and fertilisers is closely connected with the development of agrarian production. The Soviet districts themselves produce many articles of daily requirement which are made by hand. A certain decline is to be recorded in the production of tobacco, paper and building timber, linen cloth, ore and copper. The Soviet government intends to develop these branches of industry, and is already able to record good initial success. The third task in the sphere of economic construction is the development of foreign trade.

The Central Soviet government issued loans for economic construction which were rapidly subscribed to by the enthusiastic masses. Up to the present three million dollars have been subscribed. One can reckon on a total of five million dollars. The progress of economic construction renders it possible to strengthen the material basis of the revolutionary war and considerably raise the standard of living of the masses of workers and peasants.

The Soviet government has made Marxism-Leninism the main pillar of the cultural and educational policy of the Soviets. We are preparing an elementary school system and concrete measures for socialist education.

We wish also to point to the shortcomings in the work of the Soviets and indicate our tasks for the immediate future. All electors, under the leadership of the Soviets, must do their utmost possible in order to overcome these shortcomings.

In order successfully to oppose the enemy troops, who are numerically overwhelmingly superior to us, we must further increase our Red armed forces. Therefore, it is our task to strengthen the Red Army at all costs.

The past year showed a rapid increase in the work in the new Soviet districts, but we must employ still more forces and send tried and trusted cadres of workers and peasants from the Central Soviet district to work in the new districts. We must carry out labour legislation on a larger scale than hitherto and guarantee the protection of the daily interests of the workers. We must extend and develop the land inspection in the districts in which feudalism has not yet been entirely eradicated, but we must not make the mistake of directing our attacks against the middle peasants and placing them on the same level as the rich peasants and landowners. The co-operative movement must be promoted. We want to recruit a million members and found numerous new consumers' co-operative societies. Greater attention must be paid to external trade, to breaking through the enemy blockade, and to overcoming the difficulties in regard to salt. Roads and bridges will be built on a larger scale in order to facilitate the work of construction. In order to be able really to fulfil the above tasks we must do away with all bureaucratism in the Soviets.

Comrades. Every one of the above-mentioned tasks involves work and struggle, is an indispensable prerequisite for the defeat of the sixth campaign. We are faced with the biggest attack by the enemy on our Soviet territory. In face of this threatening war we must do our very best in order to fulfil our tasks. In its decree on the general war mobilisation the Central Soviet government has called upon all Soviet functionaries to take up work with the strongest spirit of offensive and to place the whole Soviet work in the service of the revolutionary war. Smash the sixth campaign of the Kuomintang and the imperialists. If we work in this spirit we are bound to gain the decisive victory!

#### Relief Action for the Austrian Workers

The European Bureau of the International Red Aid has resolved to organise immediate aid action for the families of the workers who have fallen in the conflicts in Austria, for the political prisoners and their families, and for the political refugees.

The International Red Aid gives a first contribution of 10,000 francs, to be distributed among the widows and orphans of the fallen.

The International Jurists' Association has resolved to send a delegation of lawyers to defend the proletarians brought before the courts martial, and the International Red Aid is contributing 5,000 francs towards the expense. It appeals to all organisations to follow this example.

The I.R.A. will make use of the 18th March—the International Day of the I.R.A.—for organising special collections in aid of the victims of Dollfuss fascism.

## Camp of Social Democracy

### The Foundation Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia

On February 3 there commenced the first national congress of the social-democratic party of Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia no party is permitted which refuses to place itself at the service of the military-fascist dictatorship. The law on the formation of political parties contains such provisions that only such parties can be founded as are supported by the police apparatus of the dictatorship. Hence, up to now not a single bourgeois-oppositional party could be formed, not to speak of the legalising of the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat and of the oppressed nationalities. Nevertheless the social-fascist party is allowed to set up its organisations.

All the oppositional politicians of Yugoslavia are persecuted, exiled, interned, sentenced, imprisoned, tortured and murdered. But the leader of the social democrats, *Dr. Zivko Topalovitz*, has not been subjected to a single house-search or arrest. Nay more, the fascist dictatorship commissioned him to attend the international conferences in order to defend there the interest of the Yugoslavian State.

The party congress showed that the social-fascist leaders are not only in the service of the fascist dictatorship, but also speak the same language as the latter. *I. Petejan*, member of the central committee, attacked the former bourgeois parties "because they conducted a personal and party policy, but not a State policy." "The socialists," he said, "have directly and indirectly promoted the establishment of Yugoslavia, and they will not permit Yugoslavia to be destroyed." He also protested against the general opinion (very well-founded) that they "are a party of the existing regime" and that the delegates to the foundation congress were sent from the district governors (police chiefs).

*J. Jacksic*, another member of the central committee, opposed even the most modest demands of the bourgeois-oppositional parties for a federative-autonomous constitution of Yugoslavia. He openly supported the standpoint of the Pan-Servian dictatorship in regard to "unity" and the present Constitution of Yugoslavia, which implies the further suppression and exploitation of the enslaved non-Servian nationalities.

*Dr. Topalic*, the leader of the party, proclaimed the party's "programme of action." The party had drawn up an economic plan, the carrying out of which must be entrusted to the State and its organs (!) An internal loan must be issued for the carrying out of public works and for the revival of economy, and by this means the unemployment question would be settled. He demanded the "socialisation" of money" (?) and of the big factories.

The party congress was also attended by *Winter*, the representative of the S.P. of Czechoslovakia, and *Dr. Renner*, the representative of the C.P. of Austria. The latter declared:

"Events are ripening in Austria, but up to now the issue of the fight between democracy and fascism has not yet been decided. Austrian social democracy will not perish. It will continue to fight for the independence of Austria and for economic collaboration of the Danubian States. The Yugoslavian social-democratic party must become the connecting link between the fraternal peoples in Yugoslavia." (The dictatorship needs this connecting link, because its bloody police have proved to be too weak to maintain this "unity."—Ed.)

The representative of the S.P. of Czechoslovakia declared:

"I declare quite frankly that we are directly interested in supporting the Yugoslavian social-democratic party. We are supporting the policy of the Little Entente, and this not because we are partners of the government but from conviction. . . . It is necessary to strengthen the international position of the Little Entente, for we consider the Little Entente to be an instrument for safeguarding the independence of the small nations. On the other hand, the social democracy will in any event be in favour of Yugoslavia's active policy in regard to the Balkan Pact. This pact is very important for us, for if it is concluded, it will protect Yugoslavia in the rear."

All the representatives of the foreign social-democratic parties spoke as the agents of national capital of their countries regarding the necessity of economic collaboration between Yugoslavia and their own countries.

## In the International

# Platform of Action of the C.P. of Korea

The Japanese imperialists, since the actual seizure of our country (1905) and its conversion into their colony, basing themselves on their economic and political domination, have not ceased to plunder and oppress our toiling people. The Korean toilers live in the condition of slaves, deprived of any right to decide independently the question of their fate and govern the country. The entire political power is concentrated in the hands of the Japanese Governor-General who has at his disposal the army, the police, the gendarmes, the courts, the jails, the reservist league, etc., and whose duty is in the interests of Japanese robbers to oppress and plunder the Korean people. "Koreans must either submit to our laws or die." (Terauchi.) The White Terror is raging in the country and the slightest attempt to protest against the violence of the Japanese imperialists is crushed by military force. Special laws exist to suppress the national liberation movement—the decrees of 1907 of the Taisho governor, the laws on the preservation of public order and the law on dangerous thoughts, etc. All the political and economic life of the country is managed to derive profit for Japanese imperialists and increase national oppression of the Korean people and treat it as a lower nation—as is seen in the creation of special organs for Koreans, the prohibition to use the Korean language, inequality in wages. Privileges and rebates are reserved for the Japanese, while for Koreans there exist plenty of hindrances, etc.

The Japanese imperialists have converted our country into a market for their goods, a source of cheap raw material and labour, a place for capital investment and a strategic military point in the Far East.

The Japanese imperialists are holding back the development of our country. They control the national economy of our country, and maintain the feudal relics, especially in the village.

Owing to the domination of the feudal exploiters and Japanese imperialism, native industry develops very slowly and in a distorted way, and only to the extent permitted by the interests of the Japanese imperialists. Native industry consists of small workshops adapted to the primary manufacture of agricultural raw material for Japan. The share of native capital in industry is insignificant and is chiefly concentrated in light industry. Native capital plays a subordinate role to Japanese capital.

The same is seen in commerce (out of 1,547 commercial undertakings, 1,263 are Japanese or combined Japanese-Korean). The Japanese policy of national discrimination so far as taxation, excise, credit, etc., is concerned, is clearly to be seen both in industry and trade. The urban petty bourgeoisie—artisans, handicraft men and small traders—suffer very much from this. Unable to bear the burden of the taxes and the competition of the protected Japanese capitalists, they are being rapidly ruined. Most of them become unemployed paupers.

The Korean working class suffers most of all. It lives in the condition of slavery. On the average the workers work 13 to 16 hours a day and get beggarly wages. They get about half of what the Japanese worker, and even the Japanese youth, get for equal work. Wages vary between 10 and 70 sen per day, which is far from sufficient to support a worker and his family. Their wives and little children are therefore compelled to work. The women and children are subjected to the most brutal exploitation. Wages are not paid in full or on time. In all factories workers suffer from the system of fines, deductions, "presents" to the foremen, compulsory "savings," delays in the payment of wages, payment by checks instead of money, which are later exchanged for money at 30 to 40 per cent. below nominal, etc. Among the seasonal and building workers, etc., where piece-work is in operation, the workers are robbed by the foremen, *sidauke*, *siagada*, etc. At the time of unemployment the Korean workers are doomed to death from starvation, the threat of which compels them to submit to the worst forms of exploitation and slavery of the moneylender and speculator.

The Korean workers suffer from chronic mass unemployment, constantly increasing, with the complete absence of any assistance from the government and the employers. The Korean workers have no rest days. There are no labour laws. In the factories a

prison regime exists and the workers are at the mercy of the employers and their agents. The insanitary conditions of the workers' houses and the complete absence of safety devices lead to tremendous growth of sickness and accidents at work, for which neither the employer nor the Japanese oppressors take any responsibility. The women textile workers and the workers employed on work "for assisting the poor" are particularly exploited.

The poor development which is a result of subjugation of our country, render the lot of the Korean intellectuals extremely wretched. They cannot find employment and therefore are compelled to walk about unemployed or to take the shameful hireling path of becoming officials in the Japanese military occupational regime, and thus be utilised to oppress and plunder the Korean people.

Japanese capital in Korea is almost entirely used to plunder the Korean people, especially the peasantry. The Japanese agricultural and irrigation companies, money leagues, big landlords (*latifundias* and plantations), plans for increasing the sowing of rice, etc., are in the hands of the Japanese colonisers powerful means to drain super-profits out of the country while the Japanese colonisation forms the foundation of the military occupational regime in the country.

The Japanese imperialists own the best land, forests and unoccupied land in the country, control agriculture through the banks, companies (Eastern Colonisation Co., *Sokusan Ginko*, money leagues). They maintain simultaneously the domination of feudal-landlord landownership that leads to greater exploitation, ruin and oppression of the peasantry, chiefly the poor. The insignificant development of capitalism in agriculture connected with the domination of Japanese imperialism does not improve the conditions of the peasants but on the contrary makes it worse and increases their dependence on the Japanese imperialists and their allies—the Korean landlords, moneylenders and speculators.

Low monopolist prices of agricultural products, high tariffs and the compulsory distribution of seeds, fertilisers at high prices, etc., is a scourge for the Korean peasants. The Korean peasants are compelled to hand over their produce to the Japanese imperialists at the existing low monopolist prices, less than half of the market prices, while they are forced to take Japanese goods at prices increased three or fourfold. The peasants are crushed by all kinds of taxes and exactions. In our country there are 52 different kinds of exactions, of which eleven are in the form of direct taxes. The land tax has increased from 1919 to 1933 by 60 per cent. Local taxes for the upkeep of the apparatus of the governor-generals are growing and have increased during the last twenty years forty-three times, while the head tax had increased 240 times in eighteen years.

The Japanese imperialists have ruined our villages. The peasants, especially the poor and middle peasants, cannot bear the burden of the taxes, exactions and rents, and are rapidly being ruined. The ruined peasantry is either compelled to remain in the villages as enslaved tenants or to flee to Manchuria, where they again become serfs of Japanese and Chinese satraps. Some are forced to go to the towns where they remain unemployed or sometimes hire themselves as workers in Japan where they are subjected to the most cruel exploitation and are forced to play the role of strike-breakers. If they remain in their villages they have to try to cultivate new land, though as soon as they start they are again driven out by the Japanese imperialists. The land of the ruined peasants passes into the hands of the Japanese companies and Korean landlords, who possess over 54 per cent. of all the ploughed area. The Japanese companies and the Korean landlords do not cultivate the land themselves, but rent it out to the peasants on unbearable conditions. Rent in kind dominates in our country and amounts to 50-80 per cent. of the harvest. In addition to rent, the tenants have to pay land and water taxes to the landlord and for seed and fertilisers. They pay the same amount of rent in years of bad harvest. The recently introduced law on rent conflicts does not improve the position of the tenants. It legalises the existing op-

pressive conditions and entirely defends the interests of the landlords.

As a result of the mass ruin of the Korean peasantry, the central figure in our villages are the poor peasants, who form over 50 per cent. of all the peasants. Most of them live in perpetual want in years of good harvest as well. The harvest of the poor peasant does not remain for his own consumption, and very often does not even suffice to pay rent. Failure to pay rent in time brings often the confiscation of the whole harvest and property of the peasant and deprives him of tenant rights. When bad years come, then the peasants are doomed to death from starvation.

The middle peasants who form a relatively small section of the peasants are in a very difficult and poverty-stricken situation. Most of them are being ruined and turned into poor peasants, and only a small number of them become kulaks. The middle peasants are also oppressed by all kinds of taxes and exactions, including the water tax for the irrigation company. The middle peasants of Korea live in constant danger of being ruined for not paying rent and taxes in time. Owing to agrarian overpopulation, caused by the policy of the Japanese colonisers and owing to the increasing poverty, most of them have already become semi-tenants and are being turned into poor peasants.

The agricultural labourers are in specially difficult conditions. Owing to the domination of pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, which is the result of the weak development of capitalism in agriculture, the agricultural workers are subjected to unheard-of exploitation. Although they are workers like the town workers, they work unlimited hours. They have the most varied duties to perform, working as household servants as well, receiving 20 to 25 sen per day, which is about 1/5 of the wages of Japanese workers.

In addition to being plundered by the Japanese imperialists, the Korean peasants are severely exploited by the Korean landlords, rich peasant exploiter, moneylenders and speculators who are supported by the whole existing system. Poverty drives the Korean peasants, especially the poor peasants, to accept every kind of slavery and oppression by these parasites. The present total indebtedness amounts to 700 million yen.

In our country, owing to the robber policy of the Japanese colonisers, based upon landlord ownership, agriculture is on the downgrade. During the last ten years it has not emerged from a state of chronic agrarian crisis. The position of the Korean peasants and toilers is getting worse year by year.

Since the present world crisis, especially since Japanese invasion of China, the conditions of the Korean toilers have greatly deteriorated. Japanese imperialism, torn to pieces by the contradictions of the growing crisis, tries to find the way out of it by increased reaction, fascism, and an attack on the standard of living of the toiling masses of Japan and its colonies, by a new imperialist war and intervention in the U.S.S.R. The war in Manchuria has already ruined and worsened the position of the toilers of Korea, Japan and China. The real purpose of the war is not the defence of the Koreans in Manchuria, or improvement of the life of the masses of the people in Korea and Japan, as is falsely stated by the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys. It is an attempt to get out of the deep crisis by forcibly seizing new territories and plundering new millions of people. This war will bring new sufferings and evils for the toilers of Korea and Japan. Since the war of Japan in Manchuria, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasants, especially the poor and middle peasants, has been greatly ruined. Every day the property of the toilers and the peasants is sold by auction because they are unable to pay taxes, debts, rent, etc. Besides this the Japanese imperialists, under the pretence of "emergency times," prohibited the export of Korean rice to Japan, imposed high tariffs on lentils from Manchuria, made the subscription to government loans compulsory, etc., which are additional forms of robbery of the toiling masses.

The wages of the Korean workers have fallen by 32 per cent. during the last year and the working day has lengthened by one to two hours. At the same time unemployment is growing, not only owing to the closing of factories, but as the result of the reduction in the number of workers because of the greater exploitation of those who remain and as the result of the replacement of adult workers by low paid underaged youths. The number of unemployed at the present time amounts to 700,000, which is over 50 per cent. of the number of workers in the country, while there are six million starving peasants. The toilers of town and village are being ruined in masses, the unemployed Koreans are being forcibly sent back

from Japan and refugees from Manchuria are concentrating in large numbers in the country.

The Japanese imperialists not only do not help the Korean toilers, who are starving and unemployed, but on the contrary take advantage of their helpless conditions to engage them as cheap labour on the construction of military works in the country. There the workers are subjected to a prison regime. And all the expenses for this are again transferred to the toilers of Korea and Japan.

In connection with the crisis and the war of Japan in Manchuria, the reaction and terror have increased against the revolutionary movement of the toilers of Korea and Japan. Workers' and peasants' organisations are suppressed, the anti-popular laws are reinforced. Strikes of workers and conflicts of peasants are suppressed by police and the army. Thousands of revolutionaries are pining and dying in the jails.

While the masses of the people are starving and facing ruin, Japanese imperialism makes every effort to support the Korean aristocracy and landlords. It has introduced the rice law, which gives help to the aristocracy.

The Korean bourgeoisie, in spite of their different status from that of the landlords and their contradictions with Japanese imperialism, are more and more adapting themselves to the system of the colonial regime. Their contradictions with Japanese imperialism are contradictions arising from the monopolist possession of the right to exploit and plunder the masses of the Korean people, and above all, the workers. Although Japanese imperialism appropriates tremendous profits and the surplus product squeezed out of the toiling masses of Korea, the Korean bourgeoisie also have the possibility of exploiting the Korean workers.

The noose on the neck of the Korean people is drawing tighter and tighter. This will continue as long as the Japanese imperialists rule in our country.

Only the revolution of the Korean toilers in alliance with the Japanese and Chinese toilers can save the Korean people from the yoke of the Japanese imperialists. For the complete destruction of the unbearable slavery of the Korean toilers it is necessary to win the independence of Korea by the revolutionary overthrow of the economic and political rule of Japanese imperialism. It is necessary to raise the banner of the national liberation revolution, which by its character will also be anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, directed against the rule of the Japanese imperialists and landlord ownership. The agrarian revolution (bourgeois democratic) forms the axis of the national liberation revolution of the Korean masses. For the struggle against the oppressors and the victory of the revolution, it is necessary to organise the struggle of the revolutionary forces of the country, forming a united national revolutionary front against the Japanese imperialists and their allies.

In our country there is not a united nation, but there are classes which are not all interested in the revolutionary smashing of the existing system and regime.

The Korean landlords who plunder the Korean toilers under the protection of the Japanese imperialists and who are their allies, against whom the revolution will be directed, are in the camp of the imperialists, are struggling and will struggle against the people's revolution.

The position of the Korean bourgeoisie is somewhat different. Objectively, it is in their interests to get rid of Japanese rule, and establish their own rule so as to plunder our people as monopolists. This circumstance puts them against the Japanese imperialists. But at the same time, being considerably connected with Japanese capital directly and indirectly, with landed property, usury, they fear the revolution of the toilers which will destroy all landlord ownership and money-lending capital, and will destroy imperialist and feudal property. Therefore, they manoeuvre between the revolution and imperialism and take up a national reformist position. They try to strengthen their position by reforms, utilising for this purpose the national liberation movement of the masses. On the other hand, they try to take advantage of the contradictions and conflicts between Japanese imperialism and its competitors so as to bargain for better conditions for themselves.

In March, 1919, at the time of the highest rise of the opposition to Japanese imperialism, the Korean bourgeoisie tried to limit the anti-Japanese movement among the masses of Korea, orientating them on Versailles and the U.S.A. But when the mass movement against their will began to grow into an armed revolt, the Korean bourgeoisie fearing the revolutionary revolt of the masses betrayed their struggle and accepted the reforms of 1919.

The position of the Korean bourgeoisie in the succeeding years is characterised by ever-greater capitulation to the Japanese imperialists and desertion of the national revolutionary front. The determining factors of their political position are: (1) the growth and development of the peasant movement in the country; (2) the rapid growth of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., which is rousing ever new sections of the toiling masses of the whole world, including the toilers of Korea, in the struggle against their enslavers; (3) the Korean bourgeoisie have drawn their conclusions from the great Chinese revolution which not only sweeps away the foreign imperialists but also the native exploiters.

In the present conditions of crisis and the growth of the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses in Korea, the Korean bourgeoisie have linked up their fate with Japanese imperialism. The contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the toilers of the country have become the chief ones which determine their political positions. They are trying in every way to slur over the contradictions between them and Japanese imperialism. This explains their defence of the robber war of Japan in China, their support of the open plunder of the toiling masses of Korea, and the struggle against the revolutionary movement.

The support of the Japanese imperialists by the Korean bourgeoisie at the time when the imperialist Powers, above all Japan, are waging or preparing a new imperialist war and intervention in the U.S.S.R., the basis and stronghold of the world revolutionary movement, shows that the bourgeoisie has no desire and is unable to carry on the anti-imperialist struggle.

The path of the Korean bourgeoisie is the path of systematic betrayal of the national liberation struggle of the Korean toilers. In future, they will do everything to disrupt this struggle. All the bourgeois political organisations, such as Chen-Do-Gio, the group of the paper *Ton-a-Ilbo*, *Chosen-Ilbo*, etc., have taken this line already.

The Korean bourgeoisie, in spite of their reformism and treachery, have not lost their influence on the Korean toilers. And the possibility of manoeuvring once more and betraying their struggle still exists. They try to keep control over the National Liberation Movement of the Korean people through their agents, such as the group of the journals "*Bifan*," "*Sin-Kadea*," etc., which by using "left socialist" phraseology, try to win over the toiling masses, above all the workers.

In these conditions the historic task of the complete liberation of the Korean people from the Japanese yoke and the carrying on of all revolutionary democratic changes can be carried out, as was shown by the experience of the October Revolution in Russia and the Chinese Revolution, only by the revolutionary struggle of the Korean toilers under the leadership of the working class and in alliance with the Japanese and Chinese toilers. The working class of Korea is the only consistently revolutionary class. It has already entered into the struggle against its enslavers as an independent social force (Genzan strike). Its struggle is growing year by year and at the present time already contains the elements of a counter attack. If the struggle of the workers is properly combined with the struggle of the peasants against the landlords, which is rapidly increasing also, it will form the basic link for leading the Korean toilers in the approaching revolutionary struggles.

In order to organise the working masses, to crystallise the proletariat as a special class force which realises its special class interests, able to lead the national liberation movement, in order to bring about the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat, in order to liberate the Korean toilers from the influence of national reformism and correctly direct their revolutionary struggle, the working class needs its proletarian Communist Party.

The **Communist Party of Korea** is the Party of the working class, the final aim of which is to bring about socialism and then the complete Communist society. It struggles for the socialist path of development, for the complete destruction of all exploitation and the oppression of man by man. At the present bourgeois democratic stage of the development of the Korean revolution, it fights for the complete independence of Korea, for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet government in it, for the liquidation of landlord ownership.

The only government which can look after the interests of the majority of the Korean population—workers, peasants and toilers in general—is the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet government. The Soviets, formed in the course of the revolutionary revolt of the

toilers, under the leadership of the proletariat, as the organ of revolt and the overthrow of Japanese rule, are the only genuine organ of power, elected by the workers, peasants and toilers, able to carry out the confiscation of the land of the landlords, confiscation of the enterprises of the imperialists and the fulfilment of the basic interests of the toiling masses.

Taking this position, the Communist Party of Korea puts forward the following chief slogans for the present bourgeoisie democratic stage of the Korean revolution:—

(1) Complete State independence, by the violent overthrow of Japanese rule. The abolition of all government debts, the expropriation and nationalisation of all the Japanese factories, banks, railways, sea and river transport, plantations and irrigation equipment.

(2) The establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet government.

(3) The confiscation, without compensation, of all the land, forests and other property of the landlords, monasteries, governor-generals, officials and moneylenders, handing them over to the toiling peasants. The annulment of all oppressive agreements and all the debts of the peasants to the moneylenders, banks, money leagues and companies.

(4) The 8-hour day and a radical improvement in the conditions of labour, the increase of wages, introduction of social legislation, insurance against accidents and sickness and State provision for the unemployed.

The Communist Party of Korea, struggling for these basic demands, expresses the interests of the masses of the people. The carrying out of these demands will create the prerequisites and ensure the further development of our country in the direction of the construction of socialist society, with the aim of developing the mass revolutionary struggle of the toilers, at the same time putting forward a series of partial demands, the struggle for which will help to mobilise the masses for the revolutionary revolt for the independence of Korea.

(To be concluded)

## Proletarian Mass Organisations

### American Friends of the Soviet Union

By A. G. Bosse (New York)

The first national convention of the American section of the Friends of the Soviet Union was held in New York on January 26-28, with 980 (220 more were unable to raise the fare) delegates present from nearly 796 organisations. It was a mass demonstration of solidarity for the defence of the Soviet Union, built up on a united front basis. It laid down a broad programme, which if properly carried out will mean a real turn from the narrow, sectarian organisation the F.S.U. has been since it was founded in 1929.

The delegates came from twenty States, with fraternal delegates from two other countries. One hundred and twenty-one were trade unionists, thirty-eight of them from A.F.L. locals, fifteen from opposition Left-wing (minority) groups in A.F.L. locals, forty-three from the Trade Union Unity League, and twenty-five from independent unions. Seven each came from the C.P. and S. P., six from the Y.C.L., twenty-five from the Workmen's Circle (sick and death benefit society), and 111 from F.S.U. branches, three from the American Legion and Democratic Party. Revolutionary, fraternal and defence organisations sent 325.

The agenda included: The Progress of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union; the War Danger and Soviet Peace Policy; the Work of the F.S.U.; New Tasks and Plans for Building a Mass Organisation; F.S.U. Worker Delegations to the U.S.S.R.; Trade Unions and the F.S.U.; Soviet Russia To-day—Building a Mass Organ. A nation-wide broadcast over the stations of the National Broadcasting Co., the largest in the country, was a feature of the convention. It was of an address on: Recognition—and After, made to the delegates on the last day by Prof. Corliss Lamont, son of a partner of J. P. Morgan and Co. Other speakers represented the C.P., the S.P., leading trade unionists, Negroes, and Liberals. A new constitution was adopted and National Committee elected, half of whose members are active unionists, many from the A.F.L., a number of Socialists.

Despite the fact that F.S.U. locals, with few exceptions, failed to carry on a broad campaign for delegates from A.F.L. and S.P.

organisations, the considerable representation of such delegates showed the possibility of successful work in these organisations. Work among the Negro masses and among the youth was also shown to be very inadequate. The election of five Negro members to the National Committee and a decision to establish at once a youth department in the National Office are expected to overcome this backwardness.

The organisational report to the convention reviewed the chief campaigns of the F.S.U. during 1933. These included that for recognition of the U.S.S.R., during which several hundred thousand persons were reached, hundreds of mass meetings held, 100,000 leaflets distributed, and 20,000 copies of a special pamphlet sold. The campaign against the preparations for war on the Soviet Union was a second major one; the organisation reacting promptly, if not effectively (due to its weakness and rather poor composition at the time), to the Japanese menace.

The workers' delegations sent to the U.S.S.R. in the past few years have totalled 150 members, though many were not from important industries, especially in war production branches.

The membership is now 8-10,000, a very small figure for the U.S., and in view of objective conditions and the fact that the F.S.U. should be one of the broadest mass organisations in the revolutionary movement. The convention proposed to strengthen the existing branches, to establish at least 200 more, and to institute a new category of associate members. These latter will consist of sympathisers who cannot be active but are willing to support the F.S.U. Collective affiliation of unions and other organisations of workers and farmers, professionals and intellectuals was also decided upon.

The delegates set as the basic tasks for the year 1934 the following: To increase the active membership to 10,000 and to recruit 10,000 associate members; to secure the collective affiliation S.P. and trade union members to the total of 100,000; to increase the circulation of the monthly organ of the organisation, "*Soviet Russia To-day*," to 32,000 by May 1 and 50,000 by December (it is now 22,000); to organise 200 new branches; to send a workers' delegation to the Soviet Union for the May 1 celebration, consisting of at least 10 workers from the basic industries (steel, chemical, rail, mining, marine, textile) and elected in such a manner that they genuinely represent the workers electing them. Each shop represented must have a minimum of 500 workers, must finance the delegate, and include among the delegates Negroes, women, youth, an S.P. member, an unemployed worker, and a farmer.

A programme of action was adopted to carry out these tasks, so as to develop the organisation as rapidly as possible into a broad mass one, capable of rendering maximum assistance to the U.S.S.R. as the danger of attack nears with terrific speed.

## American Students Becoming Politicalised

By Oakley Johnson (New York).

During the final week of December, 1933, four national student conventions were held in Washington, D.C.

The convention of the *National Student League* was held at Howard University, the world's largest Negro college.

The N.S.L., during four days of organisational and programmatic planning, had time to show in action the meaning and the resoluteness of its aims. The forbidden inter-racial dance was held in a hired hall off the Howard campus, and a considerable number of Negro students, both men and women, attended. The N.S.L. supported the League for Industrial Democracy in picketing a Washington store which refused to hire Negro help though its trade was largely with Negro customers. The N.S.L. held a demonstration jointly with the L.I.D., under the auspices of the Youth Section of the American League against War and Fascism, in protest against the R.O.T.C. (Reserve Officers' Training Corps) and other measures of militarisation of the colleges. About 350 students (mostly N.S.L. members) marched through the streets, carrying placards, accompanied by a motor-cycle police escort, to the White House, where a delegation of five—two each from the N.S.L. and the L.I.D., and one Negro student—interviewed President Roosevelt's secretary, Colonel Louis Howe. At the same moment that these students were demonstrating in the streets, the reactionary National Student Federation was being entertained at lunch in the White House by Mrs. Roosevelt.

Though the police tried to prevent speaking, the delegates addressed the students when they returned to the street, two of them giving a report.

The N.S.L. has a five-point programme: (1) Against retrenchment in education; (2) against the R.O.T.C.; (3) against the discrimination directed toward Negro students; (4) against fascism; and (5) for academic freedom of students and teachers. Its history has been marked by an inter-collegiate students' delegation to investigate mining conditions in Kentucky; by a student strike at Columbia University, which forced the reinstatement of Reed Harris, an expelled student; by militant demonstrations against the dismissal of two teachers, Oakley Johnson (City College of New York) and Donald Henderson (Columbia University); and by a struggle for the reinstatement of thirty-one students expelled from C.C.N.Y. It sent a delegate to the Amsterdam Congress against War, to the Latin-American Congress against War, to a congress of Latin-American students in Costa Rica, and to investigate conditions in Cuba.

For the coming year the N.S.L. has determined upon three points of concentration, each with its special task: (1) In New York, the fight against the R.O.T.C.; (2) in Chicago, the fight against retrenchment; and (3) in Washington, against discrimination and for equal rights to Negro students.

A total of 237 student delegates attended the convention, representing 44 colleges and 17 high schools.

*The League for Industrial Democracy* held a two-day convention in a Friends' (Quaker) Meeting Place, with closed sessions. Some 50 or 60 delegates attended, representing about 25 colleges. Much of the time was devoted to the N.S.L. proposal for one united student organisation, which the leaders, Monroe Sweetland, William Gomberg, and others, were determined to reject, though nearly a quarter of the delegates were in favour of it. The proposal was voted down on the first day; it came up again the second day in the form of a proposal for a referendum, and despite efforts to rule it out of order it was again voted on, but voted down. The L.I.D. agreed to a united front with the N.S.L. on specific issues, such as the fight against the R.O.T.C.

The L.I.D. is not a purely student organisation. The college section is now called the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and has branches in 125 colleges. The *Student Outlook*, edited by Joseph Lash, is its organ.

The reformist character of the L.I.D. is shown both by the vague, formless "resolutions" which they adopt, and the hesitant "activities" which they engage in. For instance, in adopting a resolution condemning the discrimination against Negroes, the L.I.D. omitted the word "Negro" entirely, making it simply a general resolution against race-prejudice. A resolution against fascism, which included a pledge for help to the American League against War and Fascism, was on this account "referred back to the Committee" (although in some connections the L.I.D. declares support for the American League).

*The National Student Federation of America* was formed nine years ago by students who favoured American entrance into the World Court. It became a semi-official organisation of the Student Councils of 250 colleges, the Student Councils appointed in part by college deans and in part chosen at faculty-supervised elections, all removable at will by the college authorities. On the various campuses the Student Councils concern themselves with a showy "student government," occupied with enforcing "student traditions"—such as the wearing of "pots" (small round caps) by freshmen, smoothing out the relations between fraternities, promoting athletics, and advocating the "honour system." Their national convention dealt with these same "problems," and also announced an interest in public affairs.

The delegates had little chance to work out their own opinions. The speakers were politicians and professors. President Roosevelt sent the Convention a special greeting.

The sessions were held in the expensive Mayflower Hotel. Almost their first act was to dissociate themselves from the Conference on Students in Politics, to which they had at first agreed,

because a Radical group (*i.e.*, the N.S.L.) was taking part, and because Robert Minor, Communist leader, was on the programme.

The N.S.F.A. organ is the *National Student Mirror*, to which A. M. Bingham, editor of the demagogic Farmer-Labour weekly, *Common Sense*, contributed articles on "Revolution and the Student." Material for a student-fascist movement undoubtedly lies ready to hand in the N.S.F.A.

The ten participating organisations in the *National Conference on Students in Politics* were the N.S.L., the L.I.D., the League of Nations Association, the Student Christian Associations, the Y.M.C.A. (student section), the Y.W.C.A. (student section), the American Student Union (a part of "Young America," promoted by *Common Sense*, the War Resisters' League (student section), the International Student Service, the Committee on Militarism in Education, and the Inter-collegiate Council on International Co-operation. Not all of these have a mass membership, but about 500 delegates were at the Conference, representing thousands of students in these organisations. While the Conference was initiated by religio-reformist and social-fascist groups, it was none the less a most important affair.

The sessions were addressed by more than a dozen prominent speakers, including Norman Thomas, Socialist, and Robert Minor, Communist.

In the Saturday night session students were allowed to address the convention, but the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, in whose auditorium the Conference was held, had decreed, with the consent of the L.I.D. and the other non-revolutionary groups, that no resolutions should be adopted. The N.S.L., invited after the arrangements were made, discovered this only at the last minute. The first topic on the agenda was Organisation, and the second, Policy.

A few students dutifully discussed Organisation. Then Stevens, secretary of the N.S.L., declared that the convention was being strait-jacketed. This broke the barrier of official rule. Student after student denounced the scheme to form an organisation before settling upon a policy. Finally the chairman, after a whispered conference, permitted discussion on Policy. J. Cohen presented the programme agreed upon by the N.S.L. and the L.I.D. The vote was overwhelmingly in favour of adopting "a policy."

But what policy? Although he allowed a vote *in favour of having a programme*, the chairman refused to allow a vote *on any specific programme*. At this point the L.I.D. wavered, breaking the united front. The drawing up of a programme was put into the hands of the Executive Committee, which had made the arrangements in the first place! But so clearly were the students shown to be in favour of the programme against retrenchment, R.O.T.C., fascism, and Negro discrimination, that a simulation of this programme was actually drawn up by the Executive Committee.

On the whole, the week was successful for the N.S.L. Its minimum programme—however weakened in form—will now go to colleges all over the country. N.S.L. prestige has gained. New members have signed up, new contacts been established. The L.I.D., by voting in the final meeting against student support of the American League against War and Fascism, and by repudiating even its own anti-N.R.A. plank, damaged itself before the revolutionary students in its own ranks.

However, the N.S.L. victory is largely formal and meaningless unless it is to be followed up by deepening student political understanding of the formulated issues; unless the students thus loosely organised can be involved in actual struggle in alliance with the working class. The N.S.F.A., whose defection from the Conference probably gave the N.S.L.-L.I.D. combination a chance to dominate the proceedings, was not touched by N.S.L. argument. The American Student Union group—the student branch of "Young America," which is the Youth Section of "New America," a newly-formed, extremely demagogic, semi-fascist organisation—tried, unsuccessfully, to get a following.

Much work remains for the National Student League.

## Proletarian Youth Movement

### The Fascisation and Militarisation of the Youth and the Tasks of the Young Communist Leagues

(Resolution unanimously accepted by the January Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. on the Report of Comrade Chemodanov.)

The Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. fully associates itself with the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which determined in a Leninist manner the basic tasks of the international proletarian revolutionary movement.

The world economic crisis arising on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism, which is becoming more profound, has shaken the foundations of the entire capitalist system and intensified the class and other internal imperialist antagonisms. The bourgeoisie mobilises and makes use of all the reactionary forces and methods in the feverish search for a way out of the crisis. Fascist oppression and exploitation of the working class is increasing. There is an unbelievable increase in the want and misery of the toiling masses. The imperialist countries are frantically preparing for a new armed division of the world. But at the same time throughout the world there is an increase in the indignation of the toiling masses and their readiness to overthrow the unbearable oppression of the exploiting classes. Socialist construction is victoriously developing on one-sixth of the globe; the power of the basis of the international proletarian revolution, the U.S.S.R., is steadily strengthening.

The contrast between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world is deepening more and more.

"At the present time the world is approaching more closely to a new cycle of revolutions and wars." (Resolution of Thirteenth Plenum, E.C.C.I.)

During the years of the economic crisis, an army of millions of unemployed youth has grown up in the capitalist countries. There is a greater and greater increase in the section of the youth who have never had a job anywhere. The plunder of wages from the employed youth is taking on unprecedented forms. A slavish system of apprenticeship is being established. The toiling peasant youth, especially the farm labourers, are in a state of complete exploitation by the landlords and money-lenders. Their situation is approaching nearer and nearer to that of the colonial youth. Uncertainty as to the morrow is more and more felt by the student youth, the children of the intellectuals and also the petty-bourgeoisie who are being ruined under the blows of the crisis. The youth in capitalist countries are compelled to defend their economic and political rights by a fierce struggle.

In the conditions of the extreme intensity of class relations and the approach of new revolutions and wars, the political activity of the youth is growing. Their rôle in the class struggle is rising. The bourgeoisie also, like their chief social buttress, social democracy, are unable to keep the broad masses of the youth under their influence by the old bourgeois-democratic methods. It is everywhere going over to terrorist, compulsory State methods of fascisation and militarisation of the youth.

The bourgeoisie is depriving the youth of all political rights. With brutal violence it is attacking the revolutionary organisations of the youth. The Y.C.L. of Germany has been driven underground and is subjected to unheard of persecution. By means of arrests and prison sentences, the bourgeoisie is trying to completely paralyse the political activity of the Y.C.L. of Czechoslovakia and Austria, which have already been suppressed. The slightest manifestation of discontent and the slightest demands are most vigorously combated by the bourgeoisie in all countries. However, the reorganisation of the bourgeoisie in the struggle for the youth is not only characterised by clear terrorist methods (arrests, jails, concentration camps, torture, shooting).

Both in the fascist countries and in the so-called democratic countries, the bourgeoisie is taking advantage of the political inexperience and insufficiently developed class-consciousness of the youth and is increasingly inflaming chauvinist and nationalist feelings among them. The bourgeoisie in Germany and Japan is trying to put forward "racial" tasks as an offset to the growth of proletarian internationalism. Demagoguery on the national duty of the youth, on their patriotic obligations, the defence of the

fatherland, war, etc., is becoming more and more unrestrained, with the aim of lulling the class-consciousness of the youth.

In conditions of "prosperity" in the capitalist countries the bourgeoisie was able, by means of bourgeois democracy, to get into their hands a widespread network of youth organisations containing the basic strata of the youth. However, irrespective of whether they belonged to these organisations, the youth are taking a more and more active part in strikes, in revolutionary demonstrations and the actions of the unemployed and the peasants. Communist influence is spreading more and more to the youth. The strivings of the youth towards unity in the struggle for their economic and political demands is becoming clearer and stronger.

In all capitalist countries the bourgeoisie are taking a determined line for still more organisationally consolidating their influence on the youth. The leadership of the mass bourgeois youth organisations is passing from the hands of separate political parties directly to the government and is being centralised in the government apparatus. The youth are more and more being driven compulsorily into the bourgeois youth organisations. In all the countries of capitalism, forced labour is being introduced for the youth, at the basis of which, both in the countries of the fascist dictatorship and those of bourgeois democracy, lies the slavish exploitation of the youth, both employed and unemployed (Germany), the preparations of cadres for war and the compulsory training of the youth in the spirit of bourgeois fascist ideology.

The Young Socialist International, in all its treacherous policy, carries out the line of the Second International—a line for weakening, disarming and splitting the working class, training its young generation in the spirit of the defence of the bourgeois fatherland and bourgeois democracy. The Y.S.I., like the whole of the Second International, as the experience of Germany showed, helps the bourgeoisie to establish the fascist dictatorship and prepare for imperialist war. The process of the ideological and organisational bankruptcy and disintegration of the Y.S.I. becomes intensified and accelerated under the conditions of the intensification of the imperialist class contradictions, the growth of Communist influence and the class consciousness of the youth. In spite of the wishes of the leaders, the rank and file members of the Y.S.I. are more and more collaborating with the Young Communists for a joint revolutionary struggle against fascism and war. The social fascist leaders are compelled to use ever more "Left" manoeuvres and sham revolutionary phrases to keep the youth under their influence. Under the flag of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the so-called "Left" socialist youth organisations, in a bloc with the Trotskyite counter-revolutionary foremost detachments of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, are trying to frustrate the establishment of the united front of the toiling youth in the struggle against capitalism and the rallying of them around the revolutionary vanguard—the Communist Parties. They are trying to form a new youth international, the chief task of which is to be to make it easier for the bourgeoisie to struggle against the Communist International and its influence among the masses of the youth.

The Y.C.I. was formed by the great leader and teacher of the international revolutionary proletariat—Comrade Lenin. It was and is the only revolutionary organisation of the youth, not in words, but in deeds. Despite the fascist terror, despite persecution and oppression, it carries on and will continue to carry on a decisive and uncompromising struggle against capitalism, against imperialist wars, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism.

In the U.S.S.R.—in the struggle for socialism; in China—in the struggle for Soviet power, against feudal-landlord and bourgeois oppression and international imperialism; in Germany, Poland and Italy—in the conditions of brutal terror, in the heroic struggle against the bloody fascist dictatorship; in Japan—holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism; in Spain and Cuba—everywhere the Y.C.L.ers have shown themselves to be

worthy assistants of the Communist Parties in their heroic struggle for the cause of the working class and the toiling masses.

#### Tasks of the Young Communist Leagues

The approach of decisive class struggles, the danger of the outbreak of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. and new imperialist wars, the growing danger of fascism and the sharpening class struggle for the youth puts before all Sections of the Y.C.I. new and still more difficult and responsible tasks.

The Y.C.L. is the closest assistant of the Communist Party which carries its influence to the broad masses of the youth. The chief task of the Y.C.L. is to rally the masses of the youth around the Communist Party and to educate them in the spirit of confidence in it, in the spirit of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism.

1. The Y.C.L. will only be able to fulfil this task if it undeviatingly carries out the line of the Comintern in practice and conducts a most merciless struggle against concrete manifestations of opportunism and sectarianism in practice, "in the first place against Right opportunism (Guttman, Remmele and Neumann) and the defeatists in other countries in the estimation of the perspectives of the German revolution" (Plenum, E.C.C.I.), if it deeply studies Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and its Bolshevik application in the struggle against the social and national oppression of the youth.

The Y.C.L. must decisively increase its rôle as the revolutionary organiser of the youth, fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party for improving the economic situation of the youth, for increasing wages, resisting wage-cuts, for unemployment relief for the youth, against any worsening of the conditions of its labour and life.

The Y.C.L. must mobilise all its forces, energy and initiative for the struggle against the chauvinist and nationalist propaganda of the bourgeoisie. This requires from the Y.C.L. that it should increasingly propagate Leninist revolutionary teachings among the broadest strata of the youth as well as intensify the struggle for the smallest economic needs and demands of the youth and against their compulsory fascistisation and militarisation.

Without forgetting for a moment that the chief task of the Communist Party is to win over the majority of the working class and consequently also the working-class youth, in every way strengthening the work in the mills and factories, it is necessary to carry on wide mass economic, political and organisational work in the forced labour camps, in the mass bourgeois, fascist and reformist organisations, in the universities, the schools, the plantations, the villages—everywhere where the youth are to be found.

Arming itself and the youth with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Y.C.L. must give revolutionary perspectives to the youth.

This can be achieved if our propaganda is linked up with the struggle of the working class and the toilers against the exploiters, with the struggle for the smallest economic interests and political demands of the youth. The Y.C.L., by seizing on the economic interests of the youth, must draw them into the strike struggle of the working class on a wide scale, making the greatest use of strikes as a tried weapon in the struggle against the attack of the employers, against capitalism, linking up the struggle for economic demands with the preparation of the toiling youth for the struggle for power.

In the economic struggle the Y.C.L. must widely popularise and make concrete its programme and the programme of economic demands of the Y.C.I. In organising the youth for the struggle against every attack of the employers on wages and conditions of labour, the Y.C.L. must see that this struggle is raised to a higher political level and must take an active part in mass and general political strikes, in the decisive class struggles against fascism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(To be concluded.)

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