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Fifteen Years of the Communist International

By P. R. (Paris)

The Communist International was founded fifteen years ago, at its first congress in Moscow in March, 1919. It arose after long years of fierce fight against opportunism and social-chauvinism in the ranks of the Second International, which has converted this body into a counter-revolutionary agency of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class. The Communist International opposed to the Second International, which at the end of the imperialist war took over the task of saving the capitalist system which had been shaken to its very foundation by the war, the programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the programme of fight for the Soviet Power as the only way to the victory of the socialist order of society.

"The Third International was actually created in the year 1918, when the process of struggle, extending over years, against opportunism and social-chauvinism had, especially during the war, led in a number of countries to the formation of Communist Parties. The Third International was formally founded at its first Congress in Moscow in March, 1919. And the characteristic feature of the Third International, its mission to fulfil Marx' testament and to carry it into life, to realise the eternal ideals of socialism in the labour movement—this characteristic feature of the Third International from the beginning was expressed in the fact that the new, the Third International Association of Workers has already begun to a certain extent to be synonymous with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

"The Third International laid the foundation for the fight of the international proletariat for socialism.

"The Second International was an epoch of the preparation of the ground for a further mass extension of the movement in a number of countries.

"The Third International took over the fruit of the work of the Second International, cut away its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty bourgeois excrescences and began to realise the dictatorship of the proletariat."

That is how Lenin, at the time of the founding of the Third International, defined its historical importance, its "place in history." The fifteen years of fight of the Communist International at the head of the whole world proletariat are fifteen years of realisation of the great world-historical task set by Lenin. These fifteen years are fifteen years of growth and extension of the Communist movement over the whole globe; fifteen years of fight for Leninism and the building of really firm, battle-ried Communist Parties; fifteen years of victorious building up of the socialist order of the Soviet Union, which has become the impregnable fortress of the whole of the world proletariat.

Based upon the teachings of Lenin, upon the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist International has shown the international proletariat the only way out: the fight for Soviet power. Fifteen years of struggle have brilliantly confirmed this perspective of the Communist International. As a result of the world war, after the Soviet Power had been set up on a sixth

of the globe, the general crisis of capitalism developed, which crisis can no longer be solved on the basis of the capitalist system. The general post-war crisis of capitalism, which is specially characterised by the fight between two systems—the capitalist and the socialist system, represented by the Soviet Union—has, in spite of all the endeavours of the bourgeoisie, in spite of the support given it by the Second International, become continually deeper and in the course of these fifteen years has led to the maturing of a new, international world crisis of the capitalist system. In these years the bourgeoisie has drawn up hundreds of plans in order to save its system. The peace treaty of Versailles, the Young Plan, the Washington Agreement, the Kellogg Pact, the Locarno Treaty, these are only some of the most important of these plans which were intended to secure the existence of the capitalist system and save it from the proletarian revolution. What has become of all these plans? In spite of the fact that the Second International hailed all these plans as a way to organised capitalism, as a way to the overcoming of the capitalist world crisis, they have all been brought to nought by the course of the objective development. They have in fact helped further to deepen the inner contradictions of capitalism. They have, as Comrade Stalin predicted long before the collapse of the temporary capitalist stabilisation, led to the profoundest and acutest crisis of the capitalist system. This bankruptcy of all attempts to find a capitalist way out of the crisis means the triumph on a world scale of the teachings of Bolshevism and its great leaders, Lenin and Stalin.

Supported by the teachings of Leninism, the Communist International has in these fifteen years conducted an unrelenting fight against the treacherous social democracy and its international organisation, the Second International. After the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, when, at the end of the imperialist war, the broadest strata of the proletariat were prepared to take up the fight for the socialist order, the leaders of the Second International, by means of deception and bloody terror, prevented the victory of the proletariat. Whilst Noske, in alliance with the monarchist generals, murdered the Berlin revolutionary workers and their heroic leaders, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, whilst the leaders of the Hungarian social democracy undermined the proletarian dictatorship of the Hungarian proletariat from within, other leaders appeased the militant proletarian masses with the lying slogan of socialisation. Kautsky and Co. deceived the masses of workers with the theory of the "peaceful way" to socialism, and Otto Bauer came forward in the garb of "Marxist theoretician" with his "proofs" that the Russian way could not be followed by the proletariat of Western Europe.

The base treachery of the social democracy in these years was able to prevent the fight for the proletarian dictatorship, because in the majority of countries no Communist Parties existed and the Communist Parties which were formed in the course of the revolutionary crisis had not yet won the majority of the proletariat, and on many questions were still loaded with the ballast of social democratic traditions. But precisely because the treachery of the Second International was revealed at that time in such a classical manner, the revolutionary workers have drawn from this development the correct Leninist conclusion that the victory of the proletariat can be attained only in the fiercest fight against the treacherous social democracy, the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Stalin, who became the leader of the Communist International and of the world proletariat after the death of Lenin, developed systematically the Leninist teachings concerning the social democracy and demonstrated how the social democracy was developing into social-fascism. As early as 1924 he declared that "fascism and social democracy are not antipodes, but twins." Based on this analysis of the role of the social democracy the Communist International has carried on the sharpest struggle against social-fascism whilst applying the tactic of the united front to win the masses of the social democratic workers. The Communist International has exposed all the renegades, like Brandler and Trotsky, and all the opportunists in its own ranks who wished to replace the revolutionary policy of an irreconcilable struggle against the social democracy with the demand for a block with the social democracy; in other words, in effect a going over on the part of the Communist International into the camp of the social democracy. And to-day now that the bankruptcy of the social democracy has been made completely clear by its capitulation before Hitler fascism and cannot be whitewashed by any new attempt at deception with

"new revolutionary" programmes, to-day when the social democracy in the "democratic" countries is carrying on the work of fascism, the correctness of the path taken by Lenin and Stalin in the struggle against the social democracy is completely corroborated.

Based on the teachings of Leninism the Communist International has, during the past fifteen years, taken the path of the struggle for a unification of the proletarian movement in the capitalist countries with the revolutionary-democratic movement for freedom on the part of the colonial peoples. In this connection Lenin was the only logical and persistent pupil of Marx and Engels. Long before the war he pointed out the tremendous world historical importance of the awakening of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa for the struggle of the industrial proletariat for its emancipation. The alliance of the proletariat with the colonial movement for emancipation has become one of the fundamental principles of the policy of the Communist International. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, after the death of Lenin, the Communist International destroyed the counter-revolutionary attempts of Trotskyism to liquidate the Leninist policy towards the struggle of the Chinese working masses to emancipate themselves. The declaration of Comrade Stalin that only the Soviets can save China has already found its embodiment in the existence of the young **Chinese Soviet Republic**, whose power already extends over a large area, which has destroyed no less than five counter-revolutionary military campaigns in a series of heroic struggles and which at the moment is obtaining new successes in the fight to repulse the sixth military crusade of Chiang Kai-shek against the Soviet areas.

Based on the teachings of Leninism, the **Communist Party of the Soviet Union**, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, has achieved unparalleled world historical successes during the past ten years on the front of the building up of socialism. The remnants of the capitalist classes have been destroyed and their role in production has been reduced to nil. The Soviet Union has developed from an agrarian country into a country having a powerful large-scale modern industry, a success which could only have been achieved on the basis of a new socialist economic system whose victory was made certain by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. On the basis of the successes of the first Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union is now proceeding to carry out the second Five-Year Plan within the framework of which a tremendous programme of socialist construction is to be carried out and the classes and the class struggle finally liquidated. In contradistinction to the development of the capitalist world, this development of the Soviet Union leads to the liquidation of mass poverty and to real socialist well-being for the broadest masses of the proletariat and the peasantry as pointed out by Comrade Stalin in his world-historical speech to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The world-historical successes of the Soviet power, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, upon the basis of the brilliant analyses of Comrades Lenin and Stalin, are to-day the most important basis of the movement of the international proletariat for its emancipation. Proceeding from the fact that the capitalist system has been shaken to its foundations by the world economic crisis which is leading to the development of a new revolutionary world crisis, the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has made the question of the struggle for Soviet power into the pivotal point of the whole policy of the Communist Parties in all countries. Fifteen years of the existence of the Communist International have proved that the policy of the social democracy leads to slavery and bloody fascist repression against the working masses, and that the policy of Lenin and Stalin leads, via the proletarian revolution, to socialist well-being and to the final emancipation of the working masses. To-day the central task of the Communist Parties in all countries is to show to the broad masses of the proletariat in particular and to the broad masses of the toilers in general the necessity of this struggle for Soviet power.

But the victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and against its main social support, the social democracy, can be won only by real Bolshevik mass Parties which are internally consolidated and in the closest connection with the proletarian masses, Bolshevik Parties which are capable of putting the teachings of Leninism into revolutionary action. Therefore the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. has placed these questions in the centre of attention for all Communist Parties, and therefore Comrade

Stalin addressed the following warning at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communists of all countries:

"Some comrades believe that in any case a revolutionary crisis will soon develop and that the bourgeoisie must necessarily slide into a blind alley from which it will be unable to find any way out, and that the end of this situation is predestined to be the victory of the proletarian revolution, and that therefore nothing else remains for them to do but to wait for the fall of the bourgeoisie and to write victorious resolutions. That is a serious error. The victory of the revolution never comes automatically. It must be prepared and organised. It can be prepared and organised only by a strong proletarian revolutionary party."

The Leninist teachings of the leading role of the Communist Party in the struggle for the proletarian revolution formed a part of the fundamental basis of the policy of the Communist International during the last fifteen years. The Communist Parties, which for the most part developed out of the ranks of the pre-war social democracy, were hampered with deeply-rooted social-democratic traditions fifteen years ago. In many cases the Communist Parties were even led by unprincipled and opportunist leaders who have since left the ranks of the Communist International. Therefore, during the past fifteen years, the Communist International has organised a tireless struggle against all forms of opportunism, against all the right-wing and "left-wing" groups and groupings which set themselves against the policy of Leninism. It has exposed and destroyed these movements. The result of this fifteen years of struggle which offers rich material for the political training of all Communists, is an iron unity and consolidation of the ranks of the Communist Parties such as never before existed. The heroic struggle of the Chinese Communists for the victory of the Soviet power in their country, the heroic and death-defying struggle of the German Communists against the bloody Hitler dictatorship, these are two of the most brilliant examples of the tremendous development of the Communist International during the past fifteen years.

The fifteenth anniversary of the foundation of the Communist International faces all Communists with the task of increasing their study of this fifteen years of development under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin and to draw new strength from the lessons of the past for the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation. The tasks which face all Communist Parties on the fifteenth anniversary of the Communist International and in the struggle to carry out the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are an increased exposure of the role of social-fascism, an increased struggle for the internal consolidation of the Communist Parties in their fight against all forms of opportunism, and an increased propaganda for the Soviet power based on the conditions in each particular country and utilising to the full the world-historical successes achieved in the Soviet Union.

Politics

Mr. Eden's Mission

By L. M.

Hitler Germany is arming. All that is left of the Versailles Treaty is the frontiers and the fact that German fascism is arming half secretly and denies that it is arming. The Reichswehr has already been doubled and now numbers 200,000 well-trained soldiers, an army of great military value. The S.A., S.S., Stahlhelm, and other military organisations are being trained at a feverish pace. About 500,000 men can now be regarded as trained troops. This means, however, that the peace basis of the German army has now reached the pre-war level. Germany has all the prerequisites in order to wage chemical and bacteriological warfare; and the rising profits of the I.G. dyeing industry show that these requisites are being fully utilised. The output of pig-iron and steel is increasing, while at the same time there is no increase in the output of the engineering industry and the production of the means of production. Iron and steel are therefore being utilised for the production of means of destruction. The output of automobiles and motors is increasing because the mechanisation of the army and the development of the air fleet are being proceeded with at a feverish pace. Fascist Germany already has an air fleet of 1,500 to 2,000 aircraft. With regard to heavy artillery, Germany has already caught up to and passed Poland. The production of armoured cars and tanks is being developed,

although the "achievements" in this sphere are still relatively small. The girdle of fortresses on the Pillau line in East Prussia has already been completed. It is significant that there is no unemployment in Pillau and the neighbourhood. The fortification of the region of the river Oder is now being carried out.

To arm Germany, however, is no easy problem. In order to arm a million men, one needs 1½ to 2 million tons of steel. In order to arm a million men, one needs about 1,000 million German marks. Not only actual warfare but also armaments demand money, money, and again money. Fascism has the task of accelerating the accumulation of "national" capital and squeezing out of the working class the sums necessary for armaments. As it is a question of raising many milliards, Germany can hardly carry out its armament programme without resorting to inflation.

There is the further fact that nearly the whole of the chemical industry and more than half of the German armaments industry—about 60 per cent. of the productive capacity—lie within the reach of the French artillery and aircraft. Germany is arming, but wishes to gain time. It has to gain time because its armaments will not be completed before the end of 1936. By that time, however, Germany's military strength will be six times as great as it is now. For this reason Hitler has become a "pacifist" and Goebbels, Goering and Roehm sing hymns of peace.

France and its allies and vassals are to-day militarily still stronger than the possible opponents of the Versailles system. Assuming Germany, Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Bulgaria, as the possible and probable opponents of the Versailles distribution of the world, come to an understanding, and assuming that France, the Little Entente, Belgium and Poland unitedly oppose the possible and probable anti-Versailles bloc, the relations of military power would be to the disadvantage of the German-Italian bloc. France and its vassals could put twice as many infantry divisions and more than twice as many cavalry divisions into the field as Germany, Italy, and its allies. Also in regard to machine guns, tanks, armoured cars, artillery, and aircraft, the French group would have a superiority of three to one over the Italian group. And for this reason Mussolini has also become a "pacifist." Moreover, the Austrian question is another cause of conflict between German and Italian imperialism. Time is needed in order to be able the better to prepare for war.

In the Far East Japanese imperialism is preparing for counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. Araki's resignation does not mean an easing of the situation, but rather the reverse. An attack by Japan against the Soviet Union in the Far East could, however, create a new situation in Europe and increase the possibility of the formation of an imperialist anti-Soviet bloc. Therefore, British imperialism is striving to come to an understanding with Japan; therefore, Hitler concludes his Eastern Locarno with Pilsudski; and, therefore, British imperialism promotes Germany's arming. The arming of Germany would weaken the position of France, undermine French hegemony in Europe, and create a certain "balance of power" in Europe, enabling England again to hold the scales and play the part of arbitrator. France's long-range guns, her submarines, and in the first place her air fleet, have deprived England of all the advantages of her insular position. And England is thinking of the possibility of a collision with the United States.

A war in Europe between the imperialist Powers, between France and Germany, would not be the best war from the standpoint of British imperialism. A victory of France would be fatal to England's position, and a victory of Germany, on the other hand, would reproduce on a new basis the situation obtaining before 1914. British imperialism, therefore, is working in order to postpone the collision of the imperialist antagonisms in Europe. England, too, wants to gain time; time for the partial arming of Germany, time to arm itself, and, before all, time to organise the anti-Soviet bloc. British diplomacy is working, not without skill, in order that the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union shall break out before the imperialist war between the capitalist Powers. Mr. Eden is travelling from London to Paris, from Paris to Berlin, from Berlin to Rome, from Rome back to Paris in order to promote these sinister and criminal plans of British imperialism. England acts as mediator, proposes compromises, seeks new "solutions," not for the sake of peace, but in order to let loose the best war, the best war for British imperialism, namely, war against the Soviet Union.

In the Far East, where the fascist military clique of Japan is driving for a counter-revolutionary war, in Europe, where Hitler

wishes to sell his national-socialist henchmen for war against Communism—everywhere British imperialism is working in order to prepare the greatest crime in the world—war against the Soviet Union.

Mr. Eden's mission does not serve the cause of peace, but serves to prepare for war against the Soviet Union.

The National Union and the Fascisation of France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The reply of the toiling masses of France to the fascist menace was really magnificent.

On Monday, February 12, at least two million toilers took part in the general strike, among them being the officials of all categories including the teachers, who had never before taken part in a general strike, and before all the postal employees. If the reformist railway workers' union had not sabotaged the order to strike, the whole life of the country would have been at a standstill. Everywhere powerful street demonstrations took place in which the call for Soviets was raised. Wherever the armed forces attempted to prevent the toilers from dominating the streets, they encountered fierce resistance; in Boulogne-sur-Seine, in Gennevilliers, in Marseilles barricades were erected; in Muhlhausen the demonstrators stormed the prison; in Algiers the house of the governor was attacked; in dozens of localities the toilers repelled the mercenaries of capital at the cost of heavy sacrifices. More than one and a half million proletarians came out on to the streets on this day.

On February 17 there took place the funeral of the six workers who had been killed by the police on February 9 and 12. This provided the occasion for a powerful fighting demonstration at which 200,000 toilers marched in the funeral procession, whilst almost as many workers lined the streets and pledged themselves to avenge the proletarian heroes who had fallen in the struggle against fascism. Neither the police nor the fascists ventured to show their faces. It was the Communist Party which headed the demonstration of the masses on this day.

There is a powerful drive throughout the whole country for unity in action. The coming together of Communist, socialist and non-party toilers has made great headway. United front meetings, joint demonstrations, setting up of anti-fascist unity committees have become more frequent during the last few weeks. The socialist party, which only a few weeks ago expelled workers who were guilty of fraternising with Communist workers, is now compelled to yield to this irresistible drive for unity.

The socialist party is now attempting to manoeuvre by talking about "organisational, loyal unity," of abandoning "fratricidal struggle" and criticism. In some places the functionaries of the Communist Party were deceived by these manoeuvres and signed vague, sentimental decisions which quite conceal the face of the Party. But the Communist Party is undoubtedly again coming openly forward.

It must be recorded that in many towns the small shopkeepers and small artisans supported the strike by closing their shops and openly siding with the strikers. In numerous villages the small peasants organised meetings in support of the general strike and adopted resolutions expressing their confidence in the revolutionary working class. Petty bourgeois elements are sending letters of approval and contributing to the funds in support of the victims of fascism. It is perfectly obvious that the Communist Party is getting a firm foothold among the middle-class sections of the population, although fascism has conducted intensest propaganda especially among these sections.

The "Left" parties, before all the Radicals and the neo-socialists, have zealously flung themselves into the National Union. But great resentment prevails among their followers, as a result of which a disintegration has set in in these parties. Some organisations of the radical party in working-class districts vehemently demanded the convening of an extraordinary party congress in order to protest against Herriot's collaboration with Tardieu; leading committees of lower organisations participated in street demonstrations, and the executive of the radical party was compelled to adopt a resolution in favour of a 24-hour general strike. In spite of the efforts of a great number of its leaders, the followers of the neo-socialist party are against Marquet's joining the Cabinet; the majority of their Chamber fraction abstained from taking part in the vote of confidence in the government;

some of their deputies have resigned; their daily evening paper "L'Appell" is closing down. One hundred and thirty-two deputies of various "Left" Chamber fractions, in order to be better able to manoeuvre, signed a manifesto for the defence of the Republican liberties menaced by the "Right."

The attempts to establish fascism in France have been frustrated for the moment owing to the powerful resistance of the people, spurred on by the Communist Party. Of course the danger is not overcome, on the contrary, but French capitalism, which is in the grip of an economic, financial and foreign political crisis, is now endeavouring to carry out the fascisation of the regime by legal and "democratic" means. There is talk about a reform of Parliament, which means in effect a strengthening of the power of the government.

In these circumstances a demobilisation of the proletariat would be a crime. Every inclination to gloss over the tremendous responsibility of the "Left" parties and in particular of the socialist party for the development of fascism would likewise be a crime. It is now necessary to consolidate the united front from below, to organise it in the factories, to rally it round a platform of economic and political demands, and to initiate daily fresh actions which must be unceasingly developed and extended. The socialist party is now calling for calm and seeking to divert the toilers from the immediate struggle against the bourgeoisie by putting forward as the only demand: dissolution of the Chamber and appeal to the whole electorate.

To this demagogy the Communist Party of France opposes unity in action from below against any attack by the employers, for wage increases, for a real social insurance, for the disarming and dissolution of the fascist associations, against the murder government, against the policy of the "lesser evil," for the workers' and peasants' government.

The Devaluation of the Czech Crown and its Consequences for the Working Population

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The devaluation of the Czech crown and the lowering of its gold cover from 35 per cent. to 25 per cent. have now been carried out by the Czechoslovakian government in accordance with the proposals of the social democracy. This measure, the first stage in a great economic plan for the encouragement of industrial activity, the encouragement of export, and, as the social democrats contend, for the reduction of unemployment, hits the toiling masses from the very beginning with its full force. It is in fact, and in its effects, nothing less than a downright inflation.

Despite the fine words of the government and above all the promises of the social democracy, the initiator of the new economic plan, the devaluation of the Czech crown is being followed by a wave of rising prices. The textile, clothing and boot and shoe trades already announce that their prices must rise as a result of the fact that they must now pay 25 per cent. more for all raw materials imported from abroad. Further, immediately after the promulgation of the new currency law there was a rise of prices in the foodstuffs market. The declaration of the government to the effect that there was no reasonable basis for an increase in foodstuffs prices was without effect. This rise in prices affects not only cattle and other agricultural commodities imported from abroad, but also home-produced commodities. The agrarian "Venkov" announces quite frankly that no matter what the government may say, the prices of agricultural commodities must rise. In this way the income of the toiling masses of the population, already greatly diminished by the previous policy of deflation, will now be reduced by a further 25 or 30 per cent.

The working population whose real wages are reduced by the general rise in the cost of living are suffering from the effects of the economic plan put forward by the social democracy for the benefit of capitalism in other ways also. For instance, the tenants' protection provisions have been still further reduced, thus giving the landlords the possibility of increasing rents. Even for houses which still enjoy a certain amount of protection it will be possible for the landlords to increase the rentals to 130, 180 and 250 per cent. of the original basic rents. These rent increases can come into force on April 1 with regard to dwelling houses and on July 1 with regard to business premises.

With the assistance of the social democracy a new law has been drafted which grants a certain protection against distraint to peasants and unemployed workers. However, as far as the

unemployed workers are concerned, this protection does not apply to any unemployed worker who has not worked at least three months during the past three years. In other words, just those who are worst off are to receive no protection. The protection granted to the peasants is, thanks to its provisions, in fact little more than protection for the richer peasants and landowners. The law provides that its protective provisions shall not apply to interest and annuities, and also not to agreed payments for the amortisation of capital. However, as far as the workers are concerned, that is the chief reason why restraint is made against them.

The real character of the law is revealed in the provision which states that its protective provisions shall not apply to any case in which "the property and personal relations are such that obviously the debtor could not be rescued by a stay of execution." This means that the protective provisions of the law are not to apply to just those peasants who have been hardest hit by the crisis, the weight of taxation, the usury of bank capital, the competition of the rich landowners and the general fall in the purchasing power of the working population, and who are faced with bankruptcy and ruin. Further, the remaining provisions of the law contain so many limitations that as far as the working class, the unemployed and the poor peasants are concerned the law is practically ineffective.

The new economic plan contains also further provisions which will seriously hit the interests of the toiling population. For instance, in the immediate future the provisions of the sick and social benefit schemes are to be generally worsened. The contributions paid by the members are to be increased, the time of waiting for benefits increased and the financial support, etc., in time of sickness reduced, and in general the rights of the members limited.

The new currency law which depreciates the crown and greatly reduces its gold cover is only one of a series of projected financial and currency measures. The next measure to be carried out is the founding of a re-discount institution. This institution is to be constructed in such a fashion that it will be completely in the hands of Czech finance capital. The resources of this new institution are to be supplied by the State, and by various financial and insurance agencies. Amongst the tasks of this new institution are to be, the granting of bill of exchange and Lombard credits, the regulation of the market for State securities, and co-operation in the carrying out of State credit operations. With the assistance of the new law for the reduction of gold cover for the Czech currency this new institution is to lend money to the capitalists, keep up the quotations of State securities and, above all, to lend the treasury large sums of money.

The Czech treasury is faced with a deficit of no less than seven milliard crowns, a new deficit of two milliard crowns in the State Budget, and a deficit of five milliard crowns owing to the losses of State undertakings during the past four years. It is clear that the costs of "thawing capital" are to be borne by the masses of the toilers. The profits which will accrue from it will be pocketed exclusively by finance capital. In connection with the establishment of the new re-discount institution there is already talk of a new State subsidy for the banks to the tune of 1,300 million crowns.

The social fascists took up a monstrous attitude to the carrying out of these measures and plans. They are shouting loudest of all for the accelerated carrying through of the government plans, and the leadership of the social democracy and of the trade unions have adopted resolutions calling for the greatest possible expedition and despatch in carrying them through. They are carrying on a demagogic campaign to convince the workers that the government will take active and effective measures to prevent profiteering and usury, and they are co-operating in the drawing up of a bill to "prevent tendencies towards an increase of prices." This bill will contain very sharp provisions, including long terms of imprisonment, heavy fines, the confiscation of commodities exposed for sale at too high prices, the withdrawal of the official trading authority, etc., but in reality it is already clear that these provisions will affect at the utmost the small traders and business men and never the real initiators of the rising prices, the rich agrarians, the rich landowners, the powerful industrialists and the industrial cartels. At the same time the social-democratic and trade union leaders approve the prohibition of the official central organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, "*Rude Pravo*," and the suppression of all the legally permitted measures of the

Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions to mobilise the masses of the toilers against this new campaign of exploitation and plunder being organised by the capitalist class with social-democratic support.

The Communist Party opposes this plan of capitalist exploitation and puts forward its own plan for the salvation of the toiling masses. It is organising a counter-offensive against the capitalist offensive. The working masses are being organised by the Communists to oppose the increase in the cost of living by a campaign for higher wages for the workers, for higher unemployment support for the unemployed, for higher salaries (increases of from 20 to 30 per cent.) for the subordinate State officials and employees, for higher pensions for working-class pensioners. The C.P. of Czechoslovakia demands an increase of sick benefit payments and of old age pensions. It demands effective protection for small investors and savers who will be robbed of their savings by the concealed inflation. The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions are leading the counter-offensive against the new economic plan of plunder and exploitation organised by the social democracy on behalf of the bourgeoisie, a plan which is nothing more nor less than an attempt to place the whole burden of the crisis on to the backs of the toilers.

The Intensification of the Struggle between Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain

By Vicente Arroyo (Madrid)

The struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, the going over of broad masses of workers and hungry peasants to decisive actions, is taking place at a rapid rate. The fierce struggle of the masses against the fascist demonstrations and the fascist danger, against the brutal policy of oppression on the part of the **Lerroux-Gil Robles** government and for the defence of their economic interests and their political rights, is developing on an increasingly higher and better organised stage on the basis of the united front, which is being set up throughout the whole of Spain.

The actions of the workers of **Bilbao** and of the building workers of **Madrid**, which were carried out recently, are particularly characteristic of the development of the revolution in Spain. The workers of Bilbao and of the whole industrial and mining district of the province have carried out two political general strikes within less than one month. The first took place in order to prevent the fascist propaganda of **García Sanchez**, and did in fact prevent it. The second took place in defence of the right of assembly of the workers.

The provocations of the police at the conclusion of a Communist meeting aroused the indignation of the workers of the Basque province to such a pitch that they carried out a general strike on the following day in spite of the endeavours of the social fascist leaders to sabotage it. No less significant is the general strike of 40,000 building workers of **Madrid**, who struck out of solidarity with the workers on some building jobs and put forward a number of demands.

In this struggle, which lasted for more than a week, the strikers disregarded their leaders and strike leaders as well as bourgeois "lawfulness," and raided some food shops in order to satisfy their hunger; they also had collisions with the police. These facts are very significant, as most of the trade union organisations in Madrid are in the hands of the social fascists, who, however, are daily losing influence, as the above facts show.

These struggles, which are taking place not only in Bilbao and Madrid but throughout the whole of Spain, are met by the government with savage repressive measures, exceptional laws and special courts. The more openly the bourgeoisie of Spain, under the cloak of a Republican sham-democratic regime, resorts to violent methods of fascist terror, the more vehement the struggles of the workers and peasants become, the more they develop in organised and coherent forms on the basis of the united front, and the more the social democratic workers join the revolutionary struggle and the united front against the will of their leaders.

Not only has the slogan of the C.P. of Spain for a united front won the overwhelming majority of the proletariat—this is expressed in the organising of the united front and in the daily actions of the workers and peasants, and also in the fact that all traitors to the revolutionary labour movement, and before all the social fascist leaders, are at present compelled to talk of the united front—but also the slogan of the C.P., "Seizure of power by the workers and

peasants as the only way out of the crisis," is penetrating more and more into the masses and is reflected in the daily political actions which are stages in the decisive fight for power.

Spain is living on a volcano. A spark may suffice to bring about an eruption, and the C.P. of Spain must exert all its forces in order to push the movement forward.

The objective tendencies making for the maturing of the revolutionary struggle are developing in Spain at a more rapid rate than in the other countries. It would, however, be a fatal error of the Spanish Communists to believe that the collapse of capitalism will come about "automatically." In the present time it depends mainly on the militancy of the revolutionary workers and peasants and on the ability of the C.P. to organise and lead the struggle whether the crisis in Spain will be solved by a temporary consolidation of the fascist regime or by the victory of the workers and peasants over the capitalist system and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

The main tasks of the C.P. of Spain are to organise the revolution and to win the majority of the working class and of the broad masses of socialist, anarchist and non-Party workers for the struggle of the Communists by means of united front tactics.

In Spain we are in the midst of a sharpening struggle between revolution and counter-revolution. The C.P. of Spain must in particular combat the treacherous social fascist leaders, and win the working masses away from the influence of these leaders in order to achieve the victory of the proletariat.

The Belgian Communist Party and the Royal Succession

By F. C. (Brussels)

The solemn session of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies and the Belgian Senate in connection with the coronation of Leopold III. was preceded on the 22nd February by a session of the Chamber which was originally arranged to be a short session only. The voting of the special credits was to have been carried out in all haste, and in this the arrangers were just successful. After that a closed session of the Chamber was to be taken by surprise and faced with the immediate necessity of approving the address of welcome to the new king.

The Communist deputy, **Jacquemotte**, asked for the floor, at first without success. Then the Flemish nationalist deputy, **Bor-ginon**, succeeded under cover of a point of order in making the statement that the monarchy in Belgium had never done anything for the Flemish people and that Leopold III. would no doubt continue this tradition of uselessness. A lively exchange of words followed this statement, and Catholic, liberal and socialist deputies roundly abused the Flemish deputy.

At this point the Communist deputy, **Jacquemotte**, rose and declared with emphasis:—

"The 'sudden' and 'unexpected' death of King Albert under peculiar and mysterious circumstances, circumstances which are made still more mysterious by the diametrical contradictions contained in the official statements. . . ."

The President of the Chamber then interrupted **Jacquemotte** furiously, and solemnly pronounced an anathema on **Jacquemotte's** impious words.

Howls of abuse arose from the benches of the Catholics to those of the socialists, but **Jacquemotte** went on without permitting himself to be gagged. The socialists in particular howled at the tops of their voices, and such epithets as "Scoundrel!" "Villain!" were heard from the lips of socialists whose monarchical loyalties had been touched on the raw. **Jacquemotte** still managed to make himself heard with the shouts: "Down with capitalism! Down with the monarchy!" The session was then closed and the public galleries were cleared.

Before the closed session of the Chamber was opened guards were brought into the building in force. However, the President did not dare to throw out the members of the Communist fraction without more ado. In accordance with Paragraph 2 of Article 33 of the Belgian Constitution the Communist fraction demanded an open session, but the whole of the bourgeois forces, including the socialist deputies, rose and howled down the proposal.

Amidst the constant interruptions and shouting of the bourgeois and socialist deputies the Communist deputy, **Jacquemotte**, then read out the text of a **declaration of the Communist fraction** containing, inter alia, the following:—

"The death, under extraordinary circumstances, of Albert

I. and the succession to the Belgian throne of Leopold III. occur at a time of intense and steadily deepening crisis of the whole capitalist system, a system of which the monarchy and the royal privileges are the most prominent expression. . . .

"The death of King Albert and the succession of Leopold III. to the throne are being exploited to whip up an intense spirit of nationalism and chauvinism. . . .

"Both in Flanders and in Wallonia there is the utmost impoverishment and misery amongst the masses of the working people. The small tradesmen and the poor peasants are threatened with ruin. . . .

"The monarchy does not represent the interests of the toiling masses in general and of the working class in particular. It represents the capitalist interests of the possessing classes, whose instrument it is. . . .

"Only the seizure of power by the toiling masses, the formation of a workers' and peasants' government, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can, by smashing the State apparatus of exploiting capitalism, open up the way to freedom and well-being for all men, women and children, for peace and bread for all.

"Down with the hunger government and its allies, the socialists!

"Down with the monarchy!

"Long live the Socialist Soviet Republic of Belgium!"

The leader of the "left-wing" socialists, **Spaak**, then rose and declared in the name of the "opposition" that the "republican feelings" of the latter would not permit them to vote in favour of the address of welcome, but that at the same time they strongly condemned "the scandalous attitude and the declaration of the Communist fraction." A number of other "socialists" who had originally intended to withhold their votes would now vote for the address of welcome as a protest against "the scandal organised by the Communists." With this the comedy stage-managed by the "left-wing" socialists was at an end and the address of welcome was adopted.

On the 23rd February, following on the solemn "entry" of Leopold III. into Brussels, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate assembled jointly to witness the new king take the oath. With the exception of the Communists, all the deputies and senators, including the "socialists," had togged themselves up in evening dress. When Leopold entered all his Catholic, liberal and socialist lackeys rose to their feet, shouting: "Long live the King!" When the shouts had died down the members of the Communist fraction rose as one man and shouted loudly: "Down with capitalism! Down with the monarchy! Long live the Socialist Soviet Republic of Belgium!"

Leopold then made the oath as Leopold III. and held his first speech from the throne. He declared, inter alia, the following:—

"I shall be guided in all things by the august example of my great predecessors. . . .

"The institutions with which the wisdom of the constitutional assembly have provided us and which have proved their worth for over a century are far-reaching and elastic enough to be capable of constitutional and legal adaptation to the changing demands of the times.

"Everything possible must be done to secure social peace by reconciling contradictory interests and bringing the hearts of the people together. . . ."

In other words, Leopold III. announces that if necessary he is prepared to be the king of a "constitutional and legal" fascist monarchy. A demonstrative paean of praise was sung in the speech when "colonial questions" were touched upon. These questions were declared to be "bound up with the greatness of the fatherland." When "international questions" were touched upon the new king declared that "the participation of the heroic armies of France and Great Britain has deeply moved us." This passage would seem to indicate that in the future, as in the past, Belgium's foreign policy will be strongly under French influence, but also under British influence, or, in other words, that the differences of opinion with France have not been forgotten and will not be allowed to be buried.

The solemn session closed with a new demonstration of monarchist and nationalist loyalty on the part of the bourgeois and socialist Deputies and Senators, whilst the members of the Communist fraction again raised the Red banner of the Socialist Soviet Republic.

The Municipal Elections in Greece

By Kostas Grypos

The municipal elections which recently took place in Greece were marked by an atmosphere of acute political crisis. This serious political and financial crisis impels both bourgeois blocs—that of Tsaldaris and that of Venizelos—to engage in a fierce fight for power.

The biggest trump of the Tsaldaris bloc consists in the demagogic utilisation of the indignation of the toiling masses against the military-fascist putsch organised by the Venizelos general Plastiras. On the other hand, the Venizelists are taking advantage of the attempt to assassinate Venizelos, which was financed and organised by the Tsaldaris camp. The fact that the Parliamentary elections of March, 1933, thanks to the reactionary electoral system, resulted in the Tsaldarists obtaining a majority of parliamentary seats and consequently coming into power, although they in fact polled 22,000 less votes than the Venizelists, has also rendered the political situation more acute. The bye-elections which took place in the Salonica district some months ago and the present municipal elections are of great importance, as they will influence to a considerable extent the further political development.

The importance of these elections is all the greater because they took place in a period of growing revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses, and because the Communist Party of Greece, for the first time, set up its own list of candidates on a national scale and succeeded in gathering under its flag a third bloc, the bloc of the broad toiling masses, and opposing this to both bourgeois blocs.

The bourgeoisie attempted to smash the revolutionary election campaign by an unprecedented terror. In the red strongholds of East Macedonia and especially in Kavalla, all meetings were prohibited, so that the election campaign of the Communist Party had to be carried on under conditions which amounted to martial law. Nearly all the Communist candidates were arrested, and were only released as a result of the protest of the working-class electors. Many election committee rooms, including the central committee rooms in Athens, were closed or demolished. The Athens workers regained possession of their committee rooms after a heroic fight lasting several hours, in which 50 workers were wounded and mishandled. The terror did not prevent the "united front of the workers and peasants," founded and led by the Communist Party, from mobilising 200,000 toilers at its election meetings, and in many localities rendering the victory of the bourgeois blocs doubtful.

Exact details of the election results are not yet to hand. The government bloc, it is true, has gained the majority of mayoral offices. But the total number of votes polled by it was considerably less than at the preceding parliamentary election. In Kavalla, the capital of East Macedonia, the Communist candidate for mayor was elected, although in this town, as also in the proletarian suburbs of Salonica, the Venizelists and Tsaldarists united against the red candidates. The Communist mayor of Kavalla, a tobacco worker named Partsalidis, polled about 1,000 votes more than the candidate of the bourgeois bloc. Communist candidates for the position of mayor were also returned in Rhodolivos, Tsaritani, Pontokomi in Macedonia, Tyrnavos in Thessaly, and in dozens of villages in Macedonia and Thrace. The Communist Party increased its vote in Xanti, Serres, Drama and a number of Macedonian towns. In Salonica the Party maintained its former vote. It suffered losses, however, in Athens, Piræus and Volo, due, as the Party organisations in these towns admitted, to inadequate activity. The fact that the Party considerably increased its vote in the refugees' colonies, in which the Venizelists hitherto predominated, is to be regarded as an indubitable achievement.

These elections provided an opportunity of ascertaining the actual strength of the reformists, the Trotskyist "Archive Marxists," and the fascist organisations E.E.E. The reformists ran their candidates on the list of the two bourgeois blocs, and thereby undisguisedly showed the working masses their role as social buttress of the bourgeoisie. The candidates of the fascist organisation E.E.E. in Salonica received only 700 votes, and the Trotskyist organisation of the "Archive Marxists" suffered a complete fiasco. Whilst at the parliamentary elections in 1933 they polled 700 votes in Athens and 365 in Salonica, this time they polled only 350 votes and 150 votes in Athens and Salonica respectively. They did not even venture to publish the number of votes polled by them in other towns.

The elections, in which each of the two bourgeois blocs placed great hopes, have not resulted in giving the decided preponderance to either of these blocs. On the day after the elections the fight between these two bourgeois blocs was continued with sharper means.

As regards the Communist Party, it will make use of the positions captured by it in Kavalla and 30 other places in order to lead the fight of the toiling masses still better.

Hungary's Recognition of the Soviet Union

By Z. Gregor

The importance of Hungary's recognition of the Soviet Union lies not so much in the economic sphere, even if Hungarian industrial and export circles have certain hopes of obtaining orders in connection with the second Five-Year Plan. The importance of this step lies before all in the sphere of world politics.

Whether the Hungarian magnates wish or do not wish to take notice of the workers' power prevailing over one-sixth of the earth is a matter of little or no account. But the fact that they have been compelled to recognise it precisely at this moment is of great importance and witnesses to the greatly increased prestige of the Soviet Union in the world political arena. When the big Powers recognised the Soviet Union and hastened to resume economic relations with it, Hungary remained standing aside as part of that East-European group of small States which had the ambition to represent the last remnant of the "cordon sanitaire."

The accentuation of the imperialist antagonisms has, however, destroyed this solidarity. It was deliberately in opposition to the States of the Little Entente that the Hungarian government, according to the admission of its leading statesmen, announced its recognition of the Soviet Union. The fact that this step was taken on the basis of an agreement with the Soviet Ambassador in Rome shows that Italian influence also played a part here.

The Agram Conference of the Little Entente, which was to have dealt with the question of the recognition of the Soviet Union, has again postponed the decision of this question. Hence the Hungarian government, acting upon the advice of Italy, hastened to forestall its imperialist rivals by resuming diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Italy sees in this a strengthening of Hungary's foreign-political situation. It is a revenge for the defeat which Mussolini's foreign policy suffered as a result of the conclusion of the Balkan Pact in Eastern Europe.

On the other hand, the recognition of the Soviet Union by Hungary will have an effect on the Little Entente and hasten its decisions. The announcement by the press of Titelescu's intention to pay a visit to Moscow is already an indication of this.

The necessity of this recognition was received by the ruling class of Hungary with mixed feelings. Even members of the government, in giving reasons for this step, still expressed their antipathy towards the land of socialist construction by referring to public opinion, which, they allege, is opposed to the Soviet Union. The Christian social party and the liberal democrats give free vent in parliament and also in the press to their furious hatred of the Soviet power. Fabian, one of the leaders of the liberal democrats, writing in the Uj Csag, referred to the "demoralising effect of the presence of the Soviet Embassy and its institutions on the mind of the masses." In a sharp protest against the recognition of the Soviet Union, however, the "Awakening Hungarians" betrays the real reason for its concern. It declares that as a result of the severe economic crisis, Communist propaganda already has a good soil in Hungary. Nevertheless, Goemboes has had to recognise the Soviet Union and resume diplomatic relations with it. This is a new and important success of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Power.

200 Austrian Children to Find Homes in Czechoslovakia

Prague, February 26.

During the last few days a relief committee has been formed in Prague in aid of the victims of the heroic struggle of the Austrian working class. Aid is to be given first of all to the wives and children of the workers who have been killed, executed, or imprisoned, irrespective of their political tendencies. One part of the relief plan envisages the finding of homes at once for 200 children of Austrian workers in families in Czechoslovakia.

Among the leaders of the relief committee are prominent personalities of Czech public life.

Great Britain

The National Congress of Action and the Hunger March

By J. Shields

Over 1,400 delegates attended the great National United Front Congress of Action against hunger, fascism, and war, which was held in London on February 24 and 25. This Congress, which was representative of some 800 working-class organisations of which 227 were trade union branches, provided striking evidence of the rising fighting spirit and determination of the British working class and the rapidly growing unity of employed and unemployed workers in action against the capitalist starvation offensive.

From all parts of the country there were delegates in attendance elected from local Labour parties, trade unions and trades councils, Communist Party, I.L.P., Co-operative, and unemployed organisations, and many other working-class bodies. The keynote struck throughout the proceedings was one of resolute determination to go forward with the mass mobilisation of the forces of the working class in struggle to smash the infamous new Unemployment Bill and other attacks of the National government, and to rally the workers' forces in mass action for the achievement of a programme of immediate working-class demands.

There can be no doubt that this Congress together with the nation-wide Hunger March which had been organised in conjunction with it, marks the commencement of a new and important stage in the development of the rapidly growing upswing now manifesting itself on the part of the British working-class movement. The great mass enthusiasm and support which the Congress and March evoked despite the fierce sabotage and hostility of the reformist labour leaders, shows that the workers of Britain are increasingly breaking through the stifling hold which has been long exercised upon them by the leaders of the Labour party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. More and more the workers of Britain are realising that only along the path of intensified class struggle does there lie any hope for them in the future. And more and more widely is the recognition growing amongst the masses that the fighting united front of the working class capable of beating back the attacks of the bourgeoisie and launching a vigorous counter-attack which will win decisive success, can only be built up in opposition to and relentless struggle against, the disrupting class-collaboration policy of the reformist labour leadership.

Right from the first moment when the campaign for the Congress was initiated, the leaders of the Labour party and the T.U.C. have done all in their power to place every conceivable obstacle in its way. They deliberately berated and boycotted the National Hunger March which the whole capitalist press was denouncing as a Communist "stunt" to the accompaniment of a rascally provocative and incitement campaign.

Such Marches are futile, declared the reformist labour leaders. They made snivelling professions of being full of sympathy for the unemployed, but refused to lift a finger to organise a struggle against the proposed new *Slave Unemployment Bill* with its measures of labour conscription, harsher Means Test, and deliberately fascist essence, and advocated the return of another Labour government as the only way forward to a solution of the workers' problems.

But the working class refused to accept this. Its anger and hatred against the scoundrelly National government has been mounting by leaps and bounds. The workers, far from being willing to contemplate the prospect of making further "sacrifices," have been answering the blows of the capitalists with increasing mass struggle. They are determined to go forward for the smashing of the new Bill which is sharply levelled against the whole working class, and through their own militant united fighting strength compel a restoration of the wages and "economy" cuts, the withdrawal of all anti-working-class repressive measures, and adequate satisfaction with regard to living standards and vital working-class needs.

The proposal for the holding of the National Congress and the

Hunger March which was raised through the initiative of the *Communist Party*, met with immediate and enthusiastic response. A call for the March and Congress was issued over the signatures of prominent working-class leaders, including members of the Communist Party, Independent Labour party, the trade unions and labour movement.

Over 100 local and district conferences were organised in the main industrial centres to undertake preparations for the Hunger March, carry an intensive drive into the trade unions and all other workers' organisations, and secure the election of delegates to attend the Congress itself.

When the first Marchers' contingent took to the road on its way from Scotland to London on January 22, they did so in scenes of tremendous mass enthusiasm with the streets of *Glasgow* packed choc-a-bloc with workers at the starting point to give them a rousing send-off. The remarkable demonstration which *Glasgow* witnessed on this occasion was on a parallel with the great peak period of mass demonstrations which took place in the autumn of 1931, the period of the great *Invergordon* mutiny.

Scenes of a somewhat similar character were repeated in other districts as contingent after contingent of Marchers set out upon the road and advanced towards the metropolis, where the great *Hunger Army* of over 2,000 working men and women finally converged and were greeted along with the Congress of Action delegates by a monster rally of over 100,000 persons in *Hyde Park* on Sunday, February 25.

All along the routes which the Marchers traversed while on their way to London, the tide of mass support for the March and Congress grew ever greater as local Labour party and trade union branches one after the other burst through the barriers laid down by the National Joint Council Executive of the Labour Party and the T.U.C., gave the Marchers welcome, and openly identified themselves with the rising mass struggle, which the capitalist press and institutions were engaged in fiercely attacking.

So tremendous was the mass support which the Marchers rallied that the local Public Assistance Authorities, in the vast majority of instances, dared not attempt to apply the instructions specifically sent out to them by the Ministry of Health, to treat the Marchers as "tramps" and subject them to task work and other such restrictions, in event of the Marchers having to make application for a night's accommodation.

On the eve of the opening of the Congress of Action, to which the March contingents, then arrived at the outskirts of London, were also due to send their delegates, the workers were electrified by the news that the police had arrested *Harry Pollitt* and *Tom Mann*, the well-known Communist leaders, on a charge of having made seditious speeches at *South Wales* the week-end previous. Word of the arrests spread like wildfire, and demands were instantly made for their release.

This was the situation, in an atmosphere where working-class militancy was roused and keyed up to a very high pitch, in which the great *National Congress of Action* opened on February 24 in *Bermondsey Town Hall*.

Owing to the arrests, last minute alterations had to be made in the Congress arrangements, since Comrade *Tom Mann* had already been fixed to preside at the opening session and *Harry Pollitt* allocated to the task of making the introductory speech to the main resolution.

The Congress was therefore opened under the chairmanship of *Alex. Gossip*, secretary of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, with *William Gallacher*, of the Communist Party, appointed to deputise for *Harry Pollitt* in delivering the opening speech on the main Congress resolution.

As its very first act, the Congress of Action unanimously passed a resolution in connection with the question of the arrest of *Pollitt* and *Mann*, and in which it stated:—

"The Congress takes up the challenge flung down by the Government and declares that these measures and others in contemplation will not have the slightest effect in deterring it from carrying out its fighting policy.

"On the contrary the Congress calls on all workers to answer by the widespread intensification of the fight against the Unemployment Bill.

"We demand the immediate release of Comrades Harry Pollitt and Tom Mann, and call on the employed and unemployed to keep this demand in the centre of the struggle in the factories, labour exchanges and trade unions."

Following short speeches of fraternal greeting to the Congress delegates from representatives of the principal Hunger March contingents and a representative of the *Irish workers*, the Congress adopted a number of emergency resolutions in which it pledged support to the Austrian workers, demanded the release of Dimitrov, etc., and then proceeded to the discussion of the Congress resolution.

Comrade W. Gallacher read out the speech which Harry Pollitt had prepared to be delivered, to a hall crammed with delegates to its utmost capacity. When he mentioned the names of Pollitt and Mann in a few prefacing remarks at the outset, this at once became the signal for the whole hall to leap to its feet in a stormy outburst of applause in salutation of these two revolutionary working-class leaders.

The introductory speech, which was listened to with rapt attention, began with a brief survey of the existing international situation and the striking events characterising the rising growth of the militant working-class movement on a world scale.

It then proceeded to deal with the question of fascism and war, the economic and political situation in Britain, and the starvation capitalist offensive being conducted against the working class by the National government.

Drawing special attention to the reactionary sabotaging and disrupting role of the reformist bureaucracy and the need for struggle against this, it passed on to the question of the strengthening of the class fight and the building of working-class unity in action for the smashing of the new Unemployment Bill and the enforcement of working-class demands which were outlined in detail.

In this speech a list of schemes providing work of social value for over a million workless were tabulated for suggested inclusion in the Congress programme for united action, and it was shown how only along the path of class struggle, realising the fighting unity of employed and unemployed in the fight against capitalism, was it possible for the working class to make decisive advance along the road leading to the way out of the crisis through the working-class capture of power and the establishment of a Soviet Britain.

Speaker after speaker, who spoke in the discussion, emphasised the necessity for intensified struggle on a mass scale against the Unemployment Bill, elaborated on the conditions prevailing in the industries and localities, and related from their own experiences the reactionary activities being conducted by the reformist labour leaders. In the vast majority of the speeches heavy stress was laid upon the need for the Congress becoming the starting point of a still greater mass movement uniting the ranks of employed and unemployed workers in struggle in every area and locality.

The most outstanding and vital features of the discussion, however, arose upon the question of the attitude of the Congress with regard to the role of the Labour party leadership and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. On this issue the I.L.P. delegation put up Councillor Carmichael to oppose an amendment put forward by the Communist Party in which it was proposed that the draft Congress resolution be amended to include specific reference to the Labour party Executive and T.U.C. splitting policy and the need for struggle against this.

The I.L.P. viewpoint was that specific mention of the oppositional activities of the Labour party and the T.U.C. to the united front fight of the workers, etc., should be omitted. It is clear that had the Congress agreed to this proposition, then the most harmful effects from the standpoint of the development of the working-class struggle would have ensued.

Not to have specified the treacherous role of the Labour party Executive and the General Council of the T.U.C. in the resolution would have meant cloaking over the sabotage and disorganising activities of the reformist bureaucracy and would have blunted the struggle against this.

It would have given rise to the most dangerous unclarity in the minds of many of the delegates and throughout the ranks of the workers generally, prevented the dispelling of crippling and hampering illusions at a time when this was never more necessary, and would have actually resulted in placing barriers in the way of working-class unity instead of destroying them.

These facts were particularly brought out in the speeches of Comrades Kerrigan and Berridge, of the Communist Party, but the mood which the delegates displayed during the debate left no room for doubt in anyone's mind that the overwhelming bulk of the Congress supported the Communist Party's standpoint.

With the experiences of Germany and Austria and the role of social democracy in these countries fresh in mind, the Congress unhesitatingly demonstrated that it was prepared to endorse the viewpoint of the C.P. Finally the I.L.P. decided to support an agreed upon amendment, in which the Labour Party and T.U.C. were specified, and this was adopted by the Congress.

The resolution, with certain other amendments incorporated in it which strengthened it considerably in a number of ways, was ultimately adopted with unanimity, and now becomes a programme upon the basis of which, as Comrade Gallacher declared in closing the discussion:

"Everyone must carry into the districts, factories and unions the fight to unite the workers behind the Congress demands and against the Mondist unity of capitalism, the practice of the Labour party Executive and the General Council of the T.U.C."

The Congress at its final session, in the course of which Comrades Pollitt and Mann, who had meantime been released on bail pending trial, appeared and received a wonderful ovation, appointed a joint delegation of employed and unemployed to go as a deputation to parliament to place before it the demand for the withdrawal of the Unemployment Bill.

It also appointed a *National Campaign Committee* to co-ordinate and direct the campaign in co-operation with the regional and district action committees which are to be set up at a nationwide series of action conferences to be held as quickly as possible.

The chief task now facing the delegates who attended the Congress is to report back its decisions to the workers in their industries and areas and to take all possible steps to ensure that these decisions are widely popularised and carried into effect without loss of time.

With every active militant worker energetically carrying forward the struggle on the lines which the Congress of Action has set, the working-class fight against capitalism will become tremendously strengthened and developed in the factories, trade unions, at the Labour Exchanges, enabling a mighty class mobilisation of the workers' forces in united action to be achieved which can lead up to the complete overthrow of British capitalism.

The Trade Agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union

The Trade Agreement between the Soviet Union and Great Britain was concluded in London on February 16. This agreement, which constitutes a necessary basis for the development of normal economic relations between the two countries, can at the same time become a starting point for the improvement of relations between the proletarian State and one of the biggest capitalist countries in the world, it can become a factor making for peace.

The agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, which, through no fault of the Soviet Union, was concluded only after a long delay, is again proof of the uninterruptedly growing international importance of the Soviet Union.

The conclusion of this agreement undoubtedly upsets the adventurous plans of the diehards and also runs counter to the intentions of politicians of the type of Rothermere and Beaverbrook, who have not ceased to dream of an economic blockade and a war against the country of the proletarian dictatorship. The agreement is a warning to those who seek by means of a policy of provocations and adventures to disturb the trade relations with the Soviet Union.

The growth of the economic, political and military power of the Soviet Union is a fact which is no longer disputed even by its worst enemies. The Soviet Union, with its extended network of gigantic factories and works, with its collectivised agriculture, has become a powerful economic factor.

Broad circles of the British bourgeoisie are calculating on the advantages to be derived from a strengthening of economic rela-

tions with the Soviet Union. They have to reckon with the continually growing economic power of the Soviet Union, and as a result, with the growing importance of the Soviet Union in the sphere of international trade.

The hard facts themselves compelled the British bourgeoisie to reconsider its attitude in regard to the question of economic relations with the Soviet Union.

In the course of the last few years Anglo-Soviet relations were subjected to a severe test. It is obvious that broad circles of business men in Great Britain are endeavouring for various reasons to maintain normal relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. At the same time, Great Britain's policy during the last few years has been repeatedly influenced by certain political groups which display irreconcilable hatred and aggressiveness towards the Soviet Union and do not shrink from using any means in order to accomplish their aims. It suffices to call to mind the campaigns which were conducted not only in the reactionary English press but also in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords ostensibly against alleged "persecution of religion," Soviet dumping, etc. These campaigns, notwithstanding their different slogans, had only one content and aim: the struggle to organise the anti-Soviet front.

Since the middle of 1932 the diehards succeeded in bringing about a worsening of Anglo-Soviet relations. In this connection mention must be made of the anti-Soviet decisions made at the Ottawa conference, the denunciation of the economic treaty of 1930, which formed a very satisfactory basis for the development of economic relations between the two countries and rendered possible a threefold increase of British exports to the Soviet Union. The culmination of the "achievements" of the diehards in regard to the sabotage of Anglo-British relations was the notorious embargo on Soviet products to Great Britain which was imposed on the flimsiest of pretexts.

As is known, the imposition of the embargo very seriously damaged the interests of Great Britain. The British industrialists, those sections of the British bourgeoisie which are particularly interested in extending and developing economic relations with the Soviet Union, increased the campaign for the resumption of negotiations and the conclusion of a fresh agreement.

The English press repeatedly emphasised that the most important question in the negotiations was to reduce the unfavourable balance of British trade with the Soviet Union. This unfavourable trade balance was the natural result of the structure of Anglo-Soviet trade; in addition, the Soviet Union made a number of payments to Great Britain (in particular for freights) which are not included in the trade returns. The British press recognised that on this question, in which the British partner to the treaty is particularly interested, agreement was arrived at in the first period of the negotiations.

The delay in the negotiations did not prevent their successful conclusion, as a result of which the Trade Agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union has been signed. This result was predicted by Comrade *Stalin* in the interview he gave to Mr. Duranti, the correspondent of the "New York Times," on December 25, 1933:

"I assume," said Comrade *Stalin*, "that the commercial treaty with Great Britain will be concluded and that economic relations will develop, as the conservative party must realise that it did not gain anything by placing difficulties in the way of trade with the Soviet Union."

The country which is building up Socialism represents, with its enormous economic possibilities, a big customer for Great Britain, which is passing through a severe economic crisis.

The organisation of uninterrupted economic relations in which both countries are interested, has always corresponded to the interests of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has repeatedly furnished proof of its desire to maintain normal relations with Great Britain just as with all the other countries.

"Our foreign policy is clear, it is the policy of maintaining peace and strengthening our trade relations with all countries." (*Stalin*.)

The truth of this statement has been recognised by many countries, including the U.S.A., which after sixteen years of waiting has recognised the Soviet Union and drawn nearer to it.

At the Fourth Session of the Central Executive Committee Comrade *Litvinov*, the Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Union, emphatically declared:

"In so far as it depends upon us, we are ready to and

would like to have equal relations with Great Britain as with all other countries."

The policy of the Soviet government and the peoples of the Soviet Union is clearly and definitely directed towards the defence of peace. If the leading circles of Great Britain on their part aim at an improvement of relations they will have every possibility of showing this in practice.

In this respect the signing of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement can become the necessary precondition both for the development of broader economic relations and the improvement of general relations between these two States.

The toilers of the Soviet Union welcome this Trade Agreement with Great Britain because it serves the cause of peace. Nevertheless it would be a dangerous illusion to believe that the imperialist circles of Great Britain will abandon or even cease for a moment their war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Letter of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. to the Independent Labour Party

Moscow, February 20, 1934.

To the Independent Labour Party

COMRADES,—The National Administrative Council of your party has sent us yet another letter, this time signed by *Mr. Brockway*. This letter, which formally enquires about the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, consists for the most part, however, of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet slanders. This proves that the N.A.C., already at Derby opposing the line of assisting in the work of the C.I. which the Conference adopted, still continues its resistance against this line.

In our two letters answering the questions raised by the N.A.C. we have already stated our opinion in detail as to how the decision of the Derby conference could be carried out. But as the members of the Independent Labour Party, now discussing the question of affiliation, are particularly interested to find out the details about the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, we willingly explain this question.

A party that does not accept the 21 conditions and the programme of the Communist International is not a Communist Party and consequently cannot be accepted by the Communist International as one of its Sections. But a socialist workers' party, which has not yet become a Communist Party, like the I.L.P., may, according to the statutes of the C.I. (Clause 18), apply to the Executive Committee of the Communist International to become affiliated to the C.I. as a party sympathising with Communism, with the right to a consultative vote. The acceptance of such an application by the E.C.C.I. does not depend upon the recognition of the 21 conditions by this party, but upon whether the party in question is a workers' party that really sympathises with Communism. If the E.C.C.I. became convinced of this and found that the affiliation of such a party to the C.I. in a sympathising capacity would be expedient, it would be able to participate in all the Congresses of the C.I. and meetings of the Executive Committee through its delegates, with a consultative vote, to present its proposals and suggestions and to express its opinions. Such a party is not bound by the discipline established by the statutes of the C.I. for its Sections, but it has to prove in practice that it is assisting the work of the Communist International.

A party cannot be regarded as sympathising with Communism unless it carries on an irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeoisie and for this purpose participates in the organisation and development of the united front of the workers together with the Communist Party on the basis of a mutually agreed platform of class struggle demands.

A party cannot be regarded as sympathising with Communism unless it fights against the treacherous social democracy, against the Second International and the reformist leaders of the trade unions and comes out decisively against all attempts to create new internationals.

A party cannot be regarded as sympathising with Communism unless it sympathises with the slogan of Soviet power and supports the Soviet Union.

Without these political prerequisites the basis for the affiliation of a party to the C.I. as a sympathising party would be lacking.

We, of course, do not doubt that the majority of the working-class members of the I.L.P. really sympathise with the Communist International. But we know that among them there are still many who think that it is possible to sympathise with the C.I. and at the

same time to solidarise with "left" reformists like Mr. Brockway, who wants to collaborate with all sorts of open enemies of the Comintern.

If the members of the I.L.P. would make an attentive comparison between the content of the letters of the N.A.C. and the letters which we sent to the I.L.P., it will not be difficult for them to discover *two fundamentally different political lines*—the one revolutionary and the other reformist. It is possible politically to sympathise with one or the other, but *not with both of them*. We direct attention particularly to the following three main questions on which the Brockway letter reveals the position of the N.A.C. or its majority.

The first question: The acute danger of a counter-revolutionary war *against the Soviet Union* is of the most important international significance at the present time. As is known, Japan is openly preparing an attack upon the Soviet Union in the Far East, using the support of British imperialism, and fascist Germany, also encouraged by British imperialism, is developing pillaging plans for carving up the European territory of the U.S.S.R.

But what does Mr. Brockway say in the letter of the N.A.C. against the threatening war plots of the Japanese, German and British governments? Not a single word! Is that an accident, "forgetfulness"? No, that cannot be an accident. We already had to remark about this same "forgetfulness" on the part of Mr. Brockway in our last letter to the I.L.P. Besides that, he now continues, in the name of the N.A.C., the campaign of slander which he began in his notorious articles last summer against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International. Only he now replaces these insinuations with new and more up-to-date ones. Just as at that time he stated that we compelled our sections in the alleged interests of the U.S.S.R. to come out for "acquiescence in Japanese imperialism" and to contribute to the victory of Hitler, so he now alleges that we make them come out for acquiescence in *American imperialism and Italian fascism!* Is it not significant that the anti-Communist slanders that Mr. Brockway has brought up to date reflect the *present* interests of the foreign policy of the *British government*: its conciliation with Japanese expansion, its support of Hitler, its discontent with Italy's insufficient aggressiveness against the U.S.S.R. and its antagonism to the United States?

The anti-Soviet character of the slanders contained in the letter of the N.A.C. is not easy to recognise at first glance because they are brought out under the *mask of friendship to the Soviet Union*, and hid behind the phrase: "the defence of the U.S.S.R. by all means available." But we must ask: By what means is the U.S.S.R. defended in the letter of the N.A.C.? Instead of attacking the predatory war policy of Japanese, German and British imperialism, this letter contains an incitement against the Comintern because it supports the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Thanks to the brilliant successes of the Soviet Union in warding off the provocative acts of the imperialist powers, thanks to the unswerving peace policy of the Soviet government, its struggle for disarmament and the conclusion of numerous pacts of non-aggression, and thanks to the solidarity and support which the toiling masses of all capitalist countries gave to the U.S.S.R., it has been able to prevent the outbreak of a new world war. In England, too, the workers have clearly shown by their struggle against the war danger, against the embargo, etc., that they realise that the peace policy of the Soviet Union fully accords with the class interests of the workers of all countries and they are therefore enthusiastically supporting it.

But it is precisely this fact that does not please such a "left" reformist pacifist as Mr. Brockway. In full conformity with the anti-Soviet slanders of the counter-revolutionary traitor Trotsky, he is endeavouring to create a *contradiction* between the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the interests of the workers' movement in other countries. In the letter of the N.A.C. he tries to suggest to the members of the I.L.P. that the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and of the C.P.S.U. allegedly means "temporarily sacrificing the revolutionary movement" of other countries. He has the effrontery to make the slanderous assertion that "the C.I. is being driven to the position of holding back militants in some countries" and "of promising to repudiate the essential activities of its own sections in others."

Every Section of the Comintern knows that these assertions are nothing but shameless lies. We must ask who has empowered the N.A.C. to write such unparalleled slanders and what do the

members and the organisations of the I.L.P. say about it? Their elementary revolutionary duty demands that they should decisively dissociate themselves from these anti-Communist, anti-Soviet slanders.

The second question concerns the attitude of the N.A.C. to the chief slogan of the Communist International—the slogan of *Soviet Power*.

Mr. Brockway and others from the majority of the N.A.C. formerly fought for "a pacifist technique of revolution" and for the setting up of workers' councils without revolution, i.e., for the legal reform of the capitalist State. Without having dissociated themselves from this reformist principle, they now suddenly announce, in the letter of the N.A.C., the new high-sounding slogan: "Dictatorship of the proletariat expressed through working-class democracy."

What kind of a State form is this? The class-conscious workers of all countries know that no other form of the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible than that of *Soviet Power*. They know, too, that a genuine workers' democracy is only possible under the Soviet power. But obviously the authors of the letter of the N.A.C. did not mean that or they would have written: "Dictatorship of the proletariat expressed through the Soviet power."

The members of the N.A.C. by no means wanted to write that. Why not? Because they are not for but against the Soviet power which cannot be achieved through playing with revolutionary words, but only through real proletarian revolution.

A section of the British workers already realise that only revolution, only Soviet power will bring about the emancipation of the toilers. The majority of the British workers, however, do not yet realise this and support bourgeois parliamentary democracy. The reformist leaders conceal the truth from them that parliamentary democracy is only a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They are using all means to spread the illusion amongst the workers that the third Labour government will begin the democratic development towards socialism through parliamentary reforms. That is, of course, only a deception—that is the same thing which the German social democracy promised the workers while the bourgeoisie, with the support of the social democrats, transformed its parliamentary dictatorship into a fascist dictatorship.

But what does Mr. Brockway say to the British workers? Does he say to them clearly and unambiguously: "Instead of the parliamentary system—the Soviet power"? No, as a "left" reformist in the letter of the N.A.C. he intentionally does not say anything against the deceptive illusion that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established *without revolution*, through the reformist "pacifist technique of revolution" or legal workers' councils, but slanders the Land of the Soviets where the dictatorship of the proletariat has triumphed and where workers' democracy rules.

If the I.L.P. really wants to be a party that sympathises with Communism, it cannot possibly at the same time associate itself with this position of the "left" reformist opponents of the chief slogan of the Communist International—Soviet Power.

The third question refers to the struggle which the majority of the national council in its letter actually carries on against affiliation of the I.L.P. to the C.I. as a sympathising party. This object is, of course, not openly stated, but the caricature of the organisational centralisation of the C.I. made in the letter is intended to frighten away the members of the I.L.P. They say: the E.C.C.I. is only "a body controlled by the C.P.S.U.," "the desires of the national sections have been overridden" by the E.C.C.I. which has "narrowly circumscribed the latter's powers of initiative," removed their leaders "from office against the wishes of their members," etc. This gross perversion of the truth with regard to every point and at every step reveals the real aim of the authors of the letter.

We actually do stand for centralisation in our organisation, but this centralisation does not contradict, but presupposes inner-Party democracy on the basis of the constant drawing in of the entire membership into the whole life and activity of the Party. That is what democratic-centralism means. The Brockway letter, however, pointing to the twelfth condition of the 21 conditions governing affiliation to the C.I., states that in 1920 the C.I. insisted upon "a centralisation as complete as that of a military organisation," and since then this centralisation in the C.I. has become still worse. That is a falsification. In the 21 conditions, written by Lenin, the place referred to speaks about *discipline* (not cen-

tralisation) in the *Communist Party*; it must be an "iron discipline, bordering on military discipline." In place of this Leninist thought Mr. Brockway substitutes the assertion that in the relations between the E.C.C.I. and the National Sections no inner democracy will be tolerated by the C.I., but a centralisation "as complete as that of a military organisation" is insisted upon. This, of course, is not and could not be the case.

The iron discipline in the Communist Party is based upon the united revolutionary line of the Party. Without this discipline the Party would not be able to fulfil its leading role in the revolutionary struggles of the workers. But the first condition both for Party discipline as well as Party democracy is that all members of the Communist Party and all Party organisations should firmly carry out the decisions of the C.I., *congresses, conferences and higher organs* of the Party. Discussion prior to the decision, but after the decision the united carrying out of the decision adopted—that is the principle of Communist organisation.

In a Communist Party there could not take place such a thing as has occurred in the I.L.P., i.e., that after the party conference in Derby had adopted a decision in *one direction* (in the direction of approaching the C.I.) members of the N.A.C. worked for months on end in an *opposite direction*. In any case that is not democratic centralism. Mr. Sandham, a member of the N.A.C., had unlimited freedom openly to sabotage the decision for a united front with the Communists adopted by the Derby conference, but members of the I.L.P. who issued a statement in favour of affiliation to the C.I. are being threatened in the London district with expulsion from the I.L.P. The January meeting of the N.A.C., instead of condemning such an open reformist as Mr. Sandham, on the contrary, showed him the greatest confidence by approving his parliamentary candidature. And the same meeting of the N.A.C. approved the slanderous letter to the C.I.

Therefore it is clear why Mr. Brockway and others, in the letter of the N.A.C., are complaining in the name of freedom of criticism against the firm discipline in the C.I.; this is the usual method of opportunists (exposed by Lenin and Stalin long ago), i.e., to fight for the freedom of their reformist policy against the revolutionary policy of the Communist International.

It would be a welcome step if the forthcoming party conference of the I.L.P. would throw *clarity* on the question as to whether the members of the N.A.C. of your party will have the liberty to sabotage the decisions of your party conference, to break the proletarian united front of struggle against the bourgeoisie, as Mr. Sandham has done, or to make pacts with enemies of the Comintern.

The slanders against the Communist International contained in the letter of the N.A.C. are for the most part old scrap from the arsenal of the Second International and of such agents of the bourgeoisie who have been expelled from the C.I. as Trotsky, Thalheimer, Tranmael and Lovestone. From this source comes the statement in the Brockway letter that the Sections of the C.I. now have less influence than they had 10 years ago. This is also not true. Alongside of the gigantic growth of the C.P.S.U., the C.P. of China has a membership of 410,000 and the C.P. of Germany, which mustered almost six million votes in the Reichstag elections in 1932, has even under the present conditions of terror more than 100,000 members in its ranks apart from those tens of thousands of members of the Party thrown into prisons and concentration camps; the broad mass influence of the C.P. of France was indisputably brought to the fore in the mighty anti-fascist demonstrations on February 6-12.

A number of other sections of the C.I. have also been able considerably to extend their political influence, although there are among them sections which up to now have not been able to increase their membership or have even lost members. The Communist International is a world organisation with sections in 65 different countries, and these sections, which base themselves on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, are characterised by a political and organisational homogeneity. At the head of the Comintern stands a collective international leadership. But we do not even think of denying that the tried Bolshevik Party of the land of the victorious proletarian dictatorship plays, through its revolutionary experience and authority, the leading role in the Communist International. All sections of the C.I. consider this leading role of the C.P.S.U. as one of the most important guarantees of their coming victories.

The members of the I.L.P. have recently taken some practical steps along the path of co-operation with the Communists in

Great Britain. Your party has now the task of deciding for or against affiliation to the Communist International as a sympathising party, i.e., of choosing between the camp of the proletarian revolution and that of decaying reformism to which also the phrasemongering heroes of "left" reformism belong.

Those who really sympathise with the Communist International cannot but unequivocally reject the Brockway letter.

The most important thing for the British workers at the present time, not only for many members of the I.L.P., but also the members of the Labour party and the trade unions, is to liberate themselves from the influence of reformism of the right as well as the "left." Only this can guarantee the victory of the British proletariat over capitalism. The recent Austrian example has once more shown that where the liberation of the workers from the influence of the reformist traitors has not been accomplished in time, the working class, despite its great heroism, is deprived of the possibility of victory in the struggle against the exploiting classes.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) O. W. KUUSINEN

For the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

Austria

The Fight for Austria

By Louis

Following the defeat of the heroic revolt of the Austrian proletariat, the fight of the imperialist Powers for Austria has entered on a new stage.

England, France and Italy have published a joint declaration in which they emphasise the necessity of Austria's independence within the framework of the existing treaties. The ink on this declaration had scarcely dried when the representative of the British imperialists declared that the new solemn declaration of the Powers did not commit England to anything. There is no Anglo-French-Italian front on the Austrian question. England has no objection to a customs union between Germany and Austria, and if the national socialists drive out the bands of Dollfuss, Starhemberg and Fey, or conclude a compromise with them, if Austria is united with Germany, or "gleichgeschaltet," England will regard this as a purely inner affair of Austria. For England, the winning of national-socialist mercenaries for the anti-Soviet war is more important than the so-called "independence" of Austria.

The fascist imperialists of Germany have snapped their fingers at the solemn Three-Power declaration and declared through Habicht that either Dollfuss capitulates to Hitler by the 28th February or the fight against the Dollfuss government will be resumed with all means up to armed revolt. German imperialism is arming. It is not, however, armed to a sufficient extent to engage in a fight in the West against France or against Poland in the East. It is not yet sufficiently armed in order to venture on a war against the Soviet Union. It is waiting for the Japanese attack on the Soviet Union in the Far East. The more energetically, therefore, it is pursuing what it believes to be the line of least resistance. The union of Austria with Germany or at least its "Gleichschaltung" is its next aim.

But not only French imperialism and its vassals but also Italian fascism is opposed to German hegemony in Austria. And France is intentionally pushing Italy forward in this connection. The conflict between German and Italian fascism in Vienna and over Vienna is driving a wedge between Germany and Italy and constitutes for the time being the biggest obstacle to the formation of a German-Italian bloc.

The polemics between the German and the Italian fascist press were never so sharp as they are precisely at the present moment. It is a question of the hegemony in the Danube basin, of the key positions in the Balkans, of the routes to the Near East. Here the interests of German and Italian finance capital come into conflict and the fascist "brothers" are again engaged in a fierce quarrel. The concentration of Italian troops on the Austrian frontier was directed not only against the Austrian workers. Mussolini is arming his mercenaries, Starhemberg, Fey and the Heimwehr bands, not only against the revolutionary working class, but also against Hitler.

The visit of Signor Suvich, the Italian Foreign Minister, to Budapest and the meeting which is to take place shortly between

Mussolini, Goemboes and Dollfuss, aim at realising the old plan of Italian imperialism: Austria and Hungary are to be united—united under Italian hegemony. It might be objected that the economic prerequisites for such a union are lacking. Neither the Hungarian industrialists nor the Austrian agrarians respectively desire the competition of Austrian industry and Hungarian agriculture. But such a union would serve as the basis for the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy. And if Yugoslavia is crushed and disintegrated, the Catholic Croats could be accepted as third party in the alliance. In any case, an Austrian-Hungarian bloc would form a barrier against Germany's drive to the South and at the same time weaken the position of the Little Entente; that is to say, of France. It was not only out of politeness that Suvich said that Italy desires a great Hungary instead of a mutilated Hungary. Germany, on the other hand, desires neither an economic rapprochement between Hungary and Austria nor the restoration of the Austrian monarchy; nor does Hitler Germany want the agents and mercenaries of Mussolini to govern in Vienna. It prefers its own agents.

But an Austro-Hungarian bloc under Italian hegemony would only increase the hostility of the Little Entente, and in the first place of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. These States would reply with war to any attempt to restore the Habsburg monarchy. France would regard the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy as the lesser evil compared with the Anschluss. But Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia would regard even the Anschluss as the lesser evil compared with the restoration of the Habsburgs and act accordingly. On this question there are antagonisms even between France and its vassals. Therefore, France is in favour of the *status quo*. But the *status quo*, as Marx already said, means to prescribe that a corpse shall not putrify.

The Austrian social democracy served French policy as support in the fight against Hitler and Mussolini. Austrian social democracy pursued the line of supporting the French and Czech "democracies." But the French and Czech democracies have left the supporters of their policy in the lurch and turned to Dollfuss. The social-democratic prop of French and Czech policy has been smashed. The "balance" of the class forces and the balance between the imperialist Powers has fundamentally changed. The fight of the imperialist Powers is now raging on the backs of the working class. And therefore Austria has become the danger spot at which an imperialist war may easily break out. In the fight against the revolutionary proletariat, in the fight against the proletarian heroes, the bourgeoisie was united and, actively or passively, supported the murder bands in Vienna. Over the open mass graves of the proletarian fighters the bloody collision of the imperialist Powers is being prepared.

The fight for Austria can at any moment develop into a world war. The civil war in Austria, the fights of the imperialists for Austria, accelerate the imperialist war catastrophe. The civil war in Austria showed, however, that this war catastrophe will develop into a disaster for capitalism.

The February Revolt of the Austrian Workers and its Lessons

By Gruber (Vienna)

The social-democratic leaders, on their own confession, did not want this fight. Fascism struck the first blow, and the workers thereupon spontaneously replied with a heroic revolt.

On the Sunday before the outbreak of the fight Major Fey, in a speech delivered to the Heimwehr, promised that "To-morrow we shall make a clean sweep of things."

Already on the Sunday all the motor vehicles of the private motor-bus undertakings in the neighbourhood of Vienna were requisitioned by the Heimwehr. Some days previously all members of the Heimatschutz were insured with the Phoenix Insurance Company against all eventualities of civil war for amounts ranging from 2,000 to 10,000 schillings. (This has proved a good piece of business for the Heimatschutz. It has already sent in its claims, amounting to 3,600,000 schillings, to the Phoenix Insurance Company). And when the Christian social city councillor *Kunschak*, speaking in the Vienna Town Council, demanded that a halt should be called before the people and the whole country should find themselves mourning over graves, *Dr. Dollfuss* hastened to declare in the "Reichspost" that people who spoke in such a manner were not expressing his sentiments.

Thus it is perfectly obvious that the government were bent on a decisive battle.

In the factories, in the Schutzbund (social-democratic defence corps) and in other organisations, the workers, in view of the offensive which had already been started by the Heimwehr in Tyrol during the previous week, had arrived at the decision this time to defend themselves to the utmost. There was very plain talk in the factories of a general strike in the event of the government complying with the demands of the Heimwehr or even continuing the house searches among the workers for weapons. Nobody knew exactly when the fight would break out or even who should give the signal to commence the struggle. The general feeling prevailing among the workers was expressed in the words: "We will not allow ourselves to be held back this time."

The government then published a letter which, they alleged, had been sent by Bernaschek, the leader of the Upper Austrian Schutzbund. This letter, if it were genuine, was to be attributed to the above described mood of the masses. The main contents of this letter read as follows:—

"Linz, February 11.

"I had a talk this morning with five conscientious comrades who are faithful and devoted to the Party, and after mature consideration arrived with them at a decision which cannot be revoked. In accordance with this decision, we shall this afternoon and this evening place all the weapons at our disposal in the whole of Upper Austria ready in order that they shall be immediately accessible to the workers, who are determined to offer resistance.

"If to-morrow (Monday) a search for weapons should commence in any town in Upper Austria or if one of the functionaries of the Party or of the Schutzbund should be arrested, forcible resistance will be offered, and in continuation of this resistance we shall go over to the attack.

"This decision and our determination to carry it out is unalterable. We expect that as soon as you receive a wire from us to Vienna: 'Search for weapons has commenced,' you will at once give the signal to the Vienna workers and also to the whole of the workers of Austria to revolt. We refuse to hold back any longer! I have not informed the Party Executive of this decision. If the Vienna workers leave us in the lurch, then shame to them!"

Whether this letter is genuine or not does not affect the matter. There is no doubt that such decisions were actually adopted in the days preceding February 11.

That these sentiments prevailed in the factories and workshops was to be expected. For two weeks the Communist Party had been conducting agitation among the workers, distributing huge quantities of a printed leaflet calling for a general strike in reply to the fascist incorporation of the Labour Chambers and the further threats of the fascists. This leaflet was distributed on Saturday, February 10, outside the Vienna electricity works, and so increased the fighting spirit of the staff that on Monday they gave the signal for a general strike. It is equally not due to chance that the revolt first started in Linz. In this town the Communist Party of Austria had not only strengthened and increased its ranks in the last few weeks, but ever since the autumn had won extraordinary influence among the social-democratic workers.

Early on Monday morning the police in Linz actually attempted to force their way into the headquarters of the social-democratic party. When they found the gates locked they opened fire on the house, to which the workers replied. The fight had begun.

From Linz news of the outbreak of the struggle was sent by telephone—not by the local social-democratic party committee but by the opposition—direct to the Vienna electricity works. For hours the central committee of the party in Vienna made strenuous efforts to avoid the outbreak of the fight. Couriers were sent to the most important factories to tell the workers not to do anything without the instructions of the central committee. In addition, they were informed that a telephone call would follow: a man's voice at the telephone would mean "General Strike," a woman's voice "Don't Strike."

As a matter of fact, some time after 11 o'clock in the morning the factory councils were rung up by the party central committee. A woman was at the telephone. This meant, therefore, that there was to be no strike!

When, however, at 11.45, in spite of this, the supply of electric current to all the works and factories was cut off owing to the staff of the electricity works ceasing work, the factory councils sent the

staffs home with instructions to return at one o'clock, after the dinner hour. But the movement had already started and could no longer be held back. When the tramcars were already at a standstill, when work had been rendered impossible in many factories owing to the lack of electric current, when the government had armed the police with carbines and had sent their forces to attack the working-class suburbs, then the social-democratic leaders, between twelve and one o'clock, tardily issued the strike slogan.

The social democrats, however, did not set up a central strike committee in order to lead the struggle. The trade union secretaries remained sitting in their offices, where they were arrested a few hours later. The tramway workers did not receive any orders to strike, but were engaged in dragging away by means of motor-lorries the tramcars which had been left standing in the streets. The taxi-drivers—part of whom were led by anarchists and a part by Nazis—did not receive instructions from any quarter to strike. Neither the social democrats nor the Nazis even attempted to bring the railway workers, the post, telegraph and telephone workers out on strike. Even the motor-bus service in Vienna was running quite normally until the government began to cordon off the centre of the town with barbed wire and requisitioned the motor-buses for the transport of troops. The newspaper printers also remained at work.

The social democracy left the initiative entirely in the hands of the government, who were determined this time to settle the issue once for all. They knew that it was impossible to consolidate the fascist dictatorship in Austria without bloodily crushing the working class. In order to strengthen their positions, Dollfuss, Fey and Starhemberg deliberately desired a bloodbath.

The government had learned that weapons had been collected by the Schutzbund detachments in the big tenement buildings of the Vienna municipality. The Vienna electricity works were scarcely at a standstill when the forces of the executive, the police, the federal army and the "volunteer defence corps" were sent to attack these proletarian citadels.

They were really citadels, but not because, as Dollfuss in his inane attempt to justify the brutal massacre of defenceless women and children maintained, that these houses, which had been planned by bourgeois architects, had been built to serve as "armed fortresses." They were strong fortresses because the workers defended them with their fists, with their breasts, with their last drop of blood.

For three days the attacks of the government troops, who were armed to the teeth, broke against the iron resistance of the Vienna proletariat. It was only after 13 hours of preparatory artillery fire that they were able to capture the workers' premises in Ottakring. The besieged workers succeeded in retiring in good order, taking their weapons with them. When the white troops entered they found they had only a ruin in their hands and nothing else. On the Thursday evening, after the government had twice triumphantly announced the capture of the Karl-Marx Hof, which was bombarded with heavy howitzers planted on the heights of the Hohe Warte opposite, the police station situated in the Heiligenstadt railway station of the Franzjosefs Railway was captured by the workers under cover of machine-gun fire from Karl-Marx Hof. In the fight for the "Sandeleiten" (a huge block of tenement buildings in the extreme west of Vienna) the government had not sufficient forces in order to surround the whole district, and therefore attacked only from the side opposite the town, so that the defenders were constantly in touch from the other side with the surrounding proletarian districts of Hernals and Ottakring. At every sally made by the defenders of one of these citadels the government forces retreated; but woe to them if they entered a house where there were still armed Schutzbundlers. The "patriots" were driven out, sustaining fearful losses, with hand-grenades, bombs, rifles and pistols. There was a fight for every storey, every flight of steps. This was the case in the Reumann Hof, in Meidling on Tivoli, in Simmering and Laaeburg, and especially on the great sector of the front at Floridsdorf, that part of the town lying on the North side of the Danube. Here the workers succeeded several times in taking possession of the Danube bridges. They only evacuated the Schlinger Hof and the workers' club premises when they were set on fire as a result of heavy artillery fire. Even then they only retreated step by step to the last centre of resistance, the Goethehof near the Reichs bridge, which was likewise shot to pieces. And finally they still continued fighting in the open fields, retreating in the direction of the Czechoslovakian frontier, and thereby kept the approaching troops at a distance.

The workers fought with equal tenacity and bravery in the provinces. Linz, Steyr, Eggenberg near Graz, Bruck on the Mur, Knittelfeld, Voitsberg—these places will always be named with pride in the history of the Austrian working class.

The chief inspector of the Vienna police, *Dr. Manda*, described in a newspaper this extraordinary extension of the fight and said:

"The whole of the police had to remain on duty without a break from Monday morning until Wednesday. The situation was most critical on Tuesday morning, because all the police, who have been engaged in fierce fighting since Monday, were very exhausted."

It is generally known that the situation was exceedingly critical on Tuesday morning. The forces of the government were so demoralised as a result of the resistance which was springing up everywhere on Tuesday morning that they were on the verge of collapse. Whilst the greater part of the workers entered into the fight on Monday evening or Tuesday morning with fresh energy, the police, soldiers and fascists had had not a moment's rest since Monday morning. Why did not this critical situation prove fatal to the government? *Julius Deutsch* himself said in an interview given the Pressburg journalists:

"It is clear to everybody who is a soldier that on our part it was a defensive fight. It is true, here and there the Schutzbund attacked, but the defeat is also due to the fact that there was no connection between the various groups which were engaged in the fight."

That is actually true. The remarkable thing, however, is that the man who makes this confession is the highest political leader of the Schutzbund.

The old principle that "the defensive is the death of every armed revolt," that the proletariat must not remain on the defensive but achieve successes every hour in order thereby to demoralise the government troops, has been confirmed once again. So long as the revolt spread, the government was weak. The moment it failed to spread beyond the workers' tenement buildings, on the outskirts of the town, the government quickly gained the upper hand.

The insurgents were not only isolated from one another, but were isolated as a whole from the great mass of the workers. This was due to their political leadership. The Communists, as far as they were able, endeavoured by holding demonstrations to draw the broad masses into the fight. The social-democratic leaders, however, did not even throw all the armed Schutzbund groups into the fight. They deliberately prevented a general strike, and on Wednesday, when the fiercest fights were still raging in the outer districts of Vienna and in the industrial towns of the provinces, the strike was completely broken off.

Persistently keeping to the principle of the "defensive," the armed workers did not occupy the most important works, the strategically important points in the town and the centres of public traffic, the railway stations, post and telegraph offices, and telephone exchanges, but simply dwelling houses.

The social-democratic leaders did not even have the Town Hall, which is situated in the government quarter and not far from the Chancellor's office, occupied by armed workers.

In spite of this shameful leadership by the social democracy, the Austrian proletariat has fought a fight which, with the exception of the October revolution, must be described as the greatest since the 1905 revolution. Capitalism throughout the world has felt the very foundations of its power shaken by the events in Austria. The proletariat of a whole country rose in armed revolt against a fascist dictatorship which is unsurpassed in regard to brutality and violence, and gave especially to the masses in the other countries under the rule of fascism a shining example of how to conduct the fight for emancipation.

There is no doubt that if these masses had, under the leadership of the Communist Party, made use in their fight of the experiences of the October revolution, the fate of Austrian fascism would have been sealed in these February days.

The social democracy, however, led the revolt to defeat. In some cases on Wednesday, and generally on Thursday and Friday, they ordered the insurgents to lay down their arms and evacuate their positions.

The insurgents commenced to withdraw from the tenement houses already on Wednesday. These tactics were correct. But they did not go into the big working-class districts in order to draw the masses there into the fight, but retreated from the town into the Vienna forest, across the Laaeburg into Steinfeld in the

south of Vienna, or from Florisdorf into the Marchfeld north of Vienna. The Schutzbundlers in Bruck on the Mur, under the leadership of *Koloman Wallisch*, did the same thing, as did also the Schutzbundlers in other places in Styria. Without contact with the industrial proletariat, however, any further fighting by them was useless.

The fight is now at an end. Terror is raging. The courts martial are working without interruption. Revolutionaries are being handed over to the executioners and jailers every day. It is Dollfuss' ambition to surpass Hitler in this respect.

The social-democratic party has been dissolved, its functionaries arrested. But all other class organisations of the workers have been dissolved. The free trade unions, the workers' sport and cultural organisations are prohibited. Their property has been confiscated. The red-white-red flag of the Patriotic Front waves over their premises. The Patriotic Front has conquered all this. But there is one thing it has not been able to conquer with its howitzers, its machine-guns and its carbines: the hearts of the masses.

That is the peculiar feature in the present situation in Austria: the counter-revolution, after a victory over the workers, is still unable to swing public opinion over to its side. Dollfuss has still not succeeded in terrorising the masses. The courage, the class-consciousness of the workers remains unbroken.

To-day one can everywhere speak openly against the government just as one could before the revolt. The ideological position of the government among the masses is weaker to-day than ever. In addition, the Nazis, owing to their passivity during the revolt, have lost the prestige they formerly possessed among many of the politically indifferent elements. The sympathy of the broad masses is to-day wholly on the side of the insurgents.

The fact that the government have not succeeded in influencing the feeling of broad strata, that they will be just as unable in the future as in the past to improve the economic situation, that the fighting spirit of the workers remains unbroken, that confidence in the Communist Party is increasing whilst confidence in the social democracy is declining, fills us with assurance with regard to the immediate future.

This is even of more value than the fact—in itself not unimportant—that the insurgents have been able to save the greater part of their weapons.

The Clerical-Fascist Terror in Austria

By Gustav (Vienna)

The Dollfuss government is trying to make up for the lack of a mass basis at home by winning sympathy abroad. For this purpose it is endeavouring to make use of the disgust felt by the working masses and advanced intellectuals towards the Hitler dictatorship. It therefore claims that its competitive struggle with the Nazis is a fight of "Austrian culture" against Nazi "barbarism." The official and incorporated Austrian press speaks in terms of the utmost loathing of the bloody methods of the brown terror.

Ever since the first days of the Dollfuss dictatorship the Communist Party has warned the Austrian masses not to be taken in by these hypocritical assertions and posturings. It has shown that the Austrian bourgeoisie is systematically working to bring the oppression of the Austrian proletariat on a level with German barbarism.

This warning was confirmed in the February revolt. Here there was revealed the true countenance of clerical fascism, the international countenance of the unchained bloody capitalist beast. The cruelty and lust for revenge of the unholy trinity, Dollfuss, Fey and Starhemberg, proved that Austrian fascism has surpassed the German model. The black-green terror is a ready pupil of the brown terror.

The means by which the February revolt was crushed stamps the black-green terror as the most cruel in the world. The heaviest weapons in the possession of the Austrian army were employed not only against men who were fighting, but against innocent women and children. The machine-guns played a subordinate role; the chief weapons of this "christian" government against the citizens of its own country were armoured cars, mine-throwers, field guns and heavy howitzers. Even the few aeroplanes which Austria possesses came into action. The Goethehof in Kaiser-mühlen was swept with machine-gun fire from aeroplanes. The government repeatedly employed Red Cross waggons as camouflage in order, under their protection, to approach near to the insurgents and then suddenly open fire on them.

It was only after the heroic revolt had been crushed that the Austrian fascist beast was able to show what it is really capable of. That which was done to defenceless prisoners and then to the vanquished will remain indelibly engraved in the memory of the Austrian working class, serving as a constant summons to unrelenting class struggle until the victory of the socialist revolution. In many cases even the regular military forces gave no quarter. Thus the government reports that in the Wolfsegg coalfields insurgent workers, after being overpowered were "despatched straight away," allegedly because they had fired on Red Cross waggons. In other districts also the workers were shot down even after fighting had ceased.

The Heimwehr bandits, during the fight, had regarded it as their main task to hoist fascist flags over the workers' buildings. After the fight these heroes found vent for their military fervour in torturing and butchering defenceless prisoners. The way the prisoners were treated makes one's blood boil. The number of prisoners in Vienna alone is stated to be about 3,000. Their actual number, however, amounts to three times this figure. Many of them were forced to stand for hours against the wall with their arms held above their heads, and when their arms dropped from weariness they were prodded with bayonets. Even the official newspapers published pictures of prisoners being transported with their hands raised above their heads. They were then herded together in hundreds in small, unheated rooms. At the police station in Florisdorf, "room" was made for fresh prisoners in the overcrowded cells by means of bayonets.

In the "emergency prisons" which were erected, the workers were kept for two days without food. They had to lie on the bare floor in unheated rooms. It was only after two days that a part of the floor was covered with a thin layer of straw.

Among the most revolting instruments of the Catholic fascist terror are the summary courts. There is no need to mention here that the proclamation of martial law took place with a cynical disregard of the legally-prescribed formalities, and that the prisoners who were brought before the summary court were ignorant of the fact that martial law had been proclaimed. But the manner in which the accused were deprived of any possibility of defence, the openness with which the summary courts abandoned all pretence of impartial procedure, is unprecedented. The judges showed quite openly that their one desire was to impose death sentences as quickly as possible without ascertaining whether the accused was guilty or not. They showed quite plainly that they regarded any defence of the accused as disturbing and delaying the business of the hangman. Therefore, all lawyers to whom the accused applied had pressure brought upon them in order to induce them to refuse to take up the defence. Even the social democratic deputy, *Koloman Wallisch*, was unable to obtain the services of a defending counsel. The governor even caused all well-known social democratic and Communist lawyers to be arrested, in order to prevent them from observing and recording the violation of the law by the summary courts.

During the proceedings the judges and the Prosecuting Counsel performed their duties with the utmost cynicism. The accused were hardly allowed to speak; evidence was not examined; witnesses for the defence were insulted. The proceedings lasted only a few hours, four-fifths of the time being taken up with speeches of the President of the Court and the Public Prosecutor. Even prisoners who were seriously wounded were dragged before the court.

Even after the raising of martial law the summary courts are still trying cases, imposing and carrying out death sentences. Some dozen brave fighters are threatened with the death penalty. The world proletariat must strengthen its protest movement in order to rescue them.

About a thousand other prisoners are awaiting trial before the "ordinary" courts. Thousands of workers, whose only guilt consisted in proletarian-political activity, have already been given terms of imprisonment up to six months by the police authorities without any court trial. Many of them will be conveyed to concentration camps. They, too, appeal to the solidarity of the world proletariat to rescue them from the clutches of the barbarous Austrian authorities.

Austrian clerical fascism has copied from Hitler the method of economic terror. On the day after the crushing revolt the workers in most of the Vienna and provincial factories were compelled to join the fatherland front. The fascists are now proceeding to give

posts to the careerists, job-hunters and scoundrels in their own ranks.

The Communists are now faced with the task of rallying the masses in Austria against all forms of fascist terror. The Red Aid has already commenced its campaign. The world proletariat also must support this struggle. On March 18, the International Fighting Day Against the White Terror, solidarity with the militant and oppressed Austrian proletariat will occupy first place.

Austro-Marxism and the February Revolt

By Gustav (Vienna)

The Second International is already trying to make political capital out of the blood of the victims of the Austrian February revolt. The social-democratic party of Austria is trying to create the impression that it was the initiator and leader of the heroic and courageous fights. It is intended to give rise to a legend of the bold, revolutionary social democracy of Austria in order to raise the seriously damaged prestige of the Second International. According to this legend, the shame of the social-democratic party of Germany is atoned for by the courageous fight of the S.P. of Austria.

The Second International must not be allowed to fool the masses with this legend. This would be an insult to the heroic fighters, a profanation of the memory of the victims who have fallen. It is a lie to assert that Austro-Marxism "died a glorious death." It lived in shame and died in shame. Over the numerous graves of the proletarian heroes it must be declared that the Austrian social democracy can claim no credit for the heroic fights, but rather that it bears the shame of having brought about the defeat of these fights.

The social-democratic party of Austria did not want to fight; it played with the idea of a general strike and armed revolt. And it was precisely this that produced the greatest confusion in the ranks of the working class and contributed to its defeat.

In playing with the idea of armed revolt the social-democratic leaders pursued two aims. On the one hand, they wished by threats to induce the bourgeoisie to tolerate the social-democratic organisations while carrying out the fascisation of Austria. On the other hand, they wished by talk about fighting to hold back the radicalised working masses from the real fight. Finally, however, the movement grew beyond their control. At a certain point of the political development the masses took up the weapons which had so often been promised them. This fight broke out over the heads of the social-democratic party executive the moment the masses rightly realised that further hesitation would be bound to lead to the crushing of the proletariat by the fascist dictatorship which was preparing for provocation.

The February revolt will now open the eyes of hundreds of thousands of social-democratic workers and reveal to them how criminal the social-democratic policy has been since 1918 when, as it repeatedly boasted, "it saved Austria from Bolshevism." The social-democratic masses will now more easily understand that the three bloodhounds Dollfuss, Starhemberg and Fey would never have come to power without the preparatory work of the social-democratic Minister for the Interior Eldersch, who on June 15, 1919, caused 20 workers to be shot down in the Hoerlgasse when they demonstrated for the union of Austria with Soviet Hungary and Soviet Bavaria. They will realise that the social-democratic party of Austria, by saving capitalist rule in 1919, prepared the way for the bloody orgies in 1934.

In the days following the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy, when for the social democracy it was in the first place a question of holding the proletariat back from taking over the whole political power, the collaboration of the social-democratic party with the bourgeoisie took place under the pretext that *Democracy* was the "easiest and safest way to Socialism." When the first onslaught of the proletariat had been repelled and the bourgeoisie were faced with the task of economic consolidation, the social-democratic party of Austria promoted this by propagating "*municipal socialism*," by means of the theory of establishing a socialist island in the midst of capitalism, for which purpose it was necessary to restore the whole of economy, even at the cost of sacrifices by the proletariat. And when, under the blows of the economic crisis, decaying capitalism resorted to fascism in order to bolster up its shaky rule, the social-democratic party of Austria endeavoured to make fascism palatable to the masses with the theory of "corporative democracy."

Now, after the February revolt, the Austrian working class will quickly realise that every form of collaboration with the bourgeoisie leads to defeat, that any State in which the proletariat does not exercise its dictatorship must be a State of the capitalist dictatorship, no matter what its outward form may be. It will realise that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not just one out of several possible ways to Socialism, to which one should resort only in extreme cases as the Linz programme of the social democrats declared. The dictatorship of the proletariat, on the contrary, is the only way to socialism. Those who do not daily propagate this way and explain it to the masses deceive them and help the bourgeoisie. And those who, like the Austro-Marxists, speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the last possibility, deceive the masses in an even more cunning manner.

Lenin's teachings on the *role of the Party* has experienced a decisive triumph. Austro-Marxism propagated the idea of "unity at any price." The social democracy, therefore, included in its ranks, besides thousands of determined fighters for the victory of the proletariat, also elements which were equally determined to do everything for the victory of the bourgeoisie. The "unity of the proletariat" in the social-democratic party of Austria in actual fact served the class enemy and was bound to pave the way for fascism. It thereby led to the splitting of the proletariat. As against the splitting of the proletariat through unity with the reformists and collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party of Austria put forward the Leninist slogan of unity of the proletariat by breaking with the reformists and fighting against the bourgeoisie.

The February revolt has shown that "unity at any price" has led in the decisive moment, in the midst of the fight, to a split. On the one side the fighting workers, on the other side the majority of the treacherous leaders, who left the workers in the lurch or went over directly to the fascist camp. The passivity of Renner, Seitz and others, who allowed themselves to be arrested without resistance, was just as treacherous as the sabotage of the strike by the trade union bureaucrats and the open desertion of Zeinitzer and his consorts. In the moment of decision they carried out in practice that which Zeinitzer uttered already years ago:

"To me a united front with the fascists is ten times preferable to a united front with the Communists."

Whole regions and districts (Carinthia, Wiener Neustadt, Sankt Poelten, the 2nd, 20th, 14th and 15th districts of Vienna) where the workers wanted to fight were held back by the social-democratic leaders. But the leaders who took part personally in the fight are no less to blame. Through their policy of unity with the reformists, of collaboration with the class enemy, they are responsible in the first place for the defeat of the revolt. If the majority of the Austrian working class had followed the Leninist teachings on the role of the Party and driven the traitors and vacillating elements out of their ranks, the Austrian bourgeoisie would not have been able to carry off the victory.

Because the Austrian workers, even in the moment of the fight, were still under the influence of the social-democratic ideology, they were defeated on the barricades by the artillery of the bourgeoisie. The *tactics* which the Austro-Marxists caused to be employed in the fight also had a disastrous effect. The social democracy never wanted the proletariat to be victorious. Playing with revolt was regarded by them in the first place as a means of exerting pressure on the bourgeoisie. Hence they had to adapt their tactics to restricting the number of fighters as much as possible in order to be able to keep them in hand. They therefore regarded the fight not as a political but as a purely military fight. Hence they regarded the armed fight not as the culmination of the mass struggles, but as an isolated, putschist action. Whilst victorious Leninism led the advance-guard into the fight at the head of the masses, the defeatist strategy of the Austro-Marxists isolated the fighting *Schutzbundlers* from the masses. By their policy in the February days as well as by their former policy they took care that decisive strata of the workers did not take part in the spontaneous general strike. In the first days of the fascist Dollfuss dictatorship they led a strike of the railway workers to defeat. In the February days the railway workers did not go on strike. The social democracy throttled the strike of the Vienna newspaper printers against the Dollfuss government which was to have been the signal for a general strike already in the spring of 1933. During the February revolt they allowed the government newspapers to appear. They sent the trade union secretaries to a large number of factories and works where the workers had

already come out on strike with orders that they should return to work. Thus the social democracy isolated the fighting workers.

Further, right from the first moment, Austro-Marxism imparted to the fight the character of a *defensive* struggle, in order again to have the possibility of calling it off at any moment. Contrary to the Marxist dictum, confirmed by all revolutions, that an armed fight which confines itself to the defence is doomed to defeat, the social-democratic party of Austria held the insurgent workers back in the tenement houses. Here it achieved the same result, the defeat of the fight, in accordance with the altered situation, by means of other tactics than those employed on July 15, 1927. In July, 1927, the workers had penetrated into the government quarters whilst the Schutzbund was withdrawn, and the workers, without arms, were exposed to the fire of machine-guns. This time the armed cadres were called up, without, however, the masses being led into the fight. All reports agree that in the first hours after the outbreak of the fight on Monday the confusion in the government camp was so great that an armed demonstration of the striking factories in the Ringstrasse, which was not occupied by the military until some hours later, would have decided the result of the fight.

In accordance with their whole attitude the social democrats, therefore, did not issue the clear political *slogan of the fight*, the slogan of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, but merely talked of "defence of the Constitution."

The small Communist Party endeavoured to raise the fight to a higher level. Everywhere where fighting broke out Communists stood side by side with social-democratic workers. In many places the Communists were the initiators and organisers of the fight; in other places they led the working class again into the fight after the social-democratic leaders had issued the slogan of capitulation. The February fights were a proof of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Communists. But they were to a still greater extent a proof of the correctness of the Communist policy. They have proved to the masses that the Communist Party was right in the years 1918 and 1919, and that it alone was right in the July days of 1927. And finally, they have proved how correct has been the policy of the Communist Party towards the Dollfuss dictatorship. The social democracy collaborated with the Dollfuss government; they regarded it as the "lesser evil" compared with the Nazis; they called for defence of the fatherland. The Communist Party fought the Dollfuss government as a government of the fascist dictatorship; it called for a general strike against it. At the time of the setting up of the fascist dictatorship by Dollfuss in March, 1933, the Communist Party addressed to the social-democratic party an offer of a united front for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The social-democratic party rejected this offer. To-day the social-democratic workers perceive that at that time a decisive situation was neglected, that the Communist Party was right and that the social-democratic party of Austria committed an act of base treachery.

The Austrian working class must draw the conclusions from these lessons. The Austro-Marxist braggarts have by their treacherous policy delivered the Austrian workers over to fascism. Their political conception has in the last resort brought their own political death. Austro-Marxism, this cunning falsification of Marxism, is politically dead. For years it has prevented true revolutionary Marxism penetrating the minds of the Austrian working class. Its last act before its death was to cause the defeat of the February revolt.

The task now is to break the mass influence of the social democracy. The social democracy still remains the chief social buttress of the bourgeoisie even when artillery is being employed against the workers. Austro-Marxism has made better provision than the social-democratic party of Germany for an illegal organisation. The social-democratic party of Austria is now proceeding to render service to the bourgeoisie even in illegality by endeavouring to hold back the masses from common action with the Communists for the preparation and organisation of fresh fights. The Communists are faced with the task of preventing the illegal social-democratic party organisations from retaining their mass influence. It is necessary to establish the unity of the proletariat in the ranks of the Communist Party. In the factories and localities, the class-conscious workers must form Communist organisations. Only under Leninist leadership, under the banner of the Communist International will the Austrian proletariat win the victory and set up a Soviet Austria.

India

The Problems of the Labour Party

By N

One who studies the present phase of the Indian Labour Movement can at once notice that it is distinguished by a growth of the strike movement and formation of quite a large number of local labour or workers' parties. This is not accidental. This reflects the dissatisfaction and disillusionment which is spreading among the workers and the growing understanding of the idea, that to defend the interests of the workers and lead them in fight, an independent political organisation of the proletariat is needed. In other words, the above-mentioned facts testify that a growth of class consciousness of the proletariat and its will to organise its own ranks has assumed considerable strength. It is taking place when the bankruptcy of the policy of Gandhism and the I.N.C. became evident. The new phase of the labour movement confirms that the illusions of an all-united national front have been blown up and that the advanced elements of the working class do not want any more to follow the leadership of the bourgeois National Congress.

The present conditions, as they appear, prove that the workers developed strong desire to form their independent revolutionary class organisation, which to many of them is tantamount to a socialist one. The conditions for a formation of a revolutionary Marxian party are now very favourable and they reflect the new situation in the mass movement. The leadership of the bourgeoisie which was practically unchallenged formerly, now stands before a rapidly-rising rival, i.e., the working class.

In India, as elsewhere in the colonial world, history has put the same problem to solve and that is to determine the further path of the development of the mass struggle.

The choice for the toiling masses is one: Whether, with the bourgeoisie at the head (with I.N.C., Gandhism, Bose, Nehru, Roy, etc.), to follow the path of compromise and conciliation with British imperialism, a path that means to abandon the idea of a revolution and independence, or to follow the lead of the working class (with the C.P. at the head of it) to fight the imperialists and carry through a people's revolution for independence, land, bread and power. This is the cardinal point. The present development shows very clearly that the struggle for hegemony of the working class over the mass movement reached a new phase, became a most concrete issue in India.

And only in the light of this problem should one approach the question of numerous labour and workers' parties that sprang up in the country. Here, too, one can observe the same struggle for or against the hegemony of the working class, for or against the independent, leading role of the working class, for or against revolutionary Marxism, whether the proletariat should remain as a powerless appendage of the bourgeoisie, or should become the fighting leader of the toiling masses, chiefly the peasantry. A proper answer not always depends upon the desires of one or another individual, it also depends upon the actions and deeds and forms of struggle which are being advocated and carried out in the practice. But to achieve and establish the hegemony of the proletariat, the working class, led by the Communists, must carry on a persistent struggle for it. The hegemony does not fall by itself in the hands, it must be fought for. And here the main responsibility lies upon the Communists.

One general observation more and we will proceed to the analysis of the programme of the existing parties. The hegemony of the working class can be established only providing the existence of a revolutionary workers' party—the Communist Party. To lead the masses, to give direction, to organise, to prepare and educate the masses, and raise the consciousness of the backward strata to the point of understanding the Marxian ideas and slogans of the Party—for all that, it is necessary that the advanced, conscious revolutionary workers and revolutionary Marxian intellectuals tried in the struggle—be united and organised in a strong, centralised Party. The actual experience has proved that the authorities do not allow the existence of such a Party. But this is usually the case. And the answer is the only one, to exist in spite of the persecution of the authorities and carry the Party activities in such a way and by such methods as to withstand the persecution. In short, such a Party must learn and be able to work underground, applying at the same time all kinds of legal, semi-legal methods of work.

The working class can accept the only correct programme, i.e., the revolutionary Marxian programme which proved its correctness in China, in Russia, and, as a matter of fact, in India as well. The working class can have only one party, the true working class party—the Communist Party. Attempts to split the working class movement represent the policy of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, who set themselves the task to weaken and disorganise the working class and not to permit the proletariat to develop to such a point as to challenge the bourgeois power and their system of exploitation.

Only those who are clear on this basic point and who are doing their utmost to help to build such a mass Communist Party can take a correct attitude towards the existing numerous provincial labour and workers' parties and not to be misguided by the reformist agents. As a matter of fact, the formation of the local legal political parties reflects the growing desire on the part of the workers to organise their ranks for independent political struggle. But these sentiments of the workers in a number of cases are utilised by the reformists or "left" national-reformists to mislead the workers once more.

In other words the growing desire of the workers to form their own political organisation and even the formation of legal parties can, given correct Marxian leadership, play a positive role in extending the influence of Marxism and organising the ranks of the proletariat and toiling masses in general and thus help the struggle for hegemony of the working class and consolidation of its vanguard.

But if this urge of the workers will get under the control of the reformists, it will be utilised to demoralise the labour movement, to retard the growth of class consciousness and to direct it along old reformist channels, but under new colours. Which way the local legal labour or workers' parties will go can be decided only by a correct policy on the part of the revolutionary Marxists and by their energetic, everyday practical work.

The local workers' parties, as one of the forms of the labour movement, can be useful for the growth of revolutionary Marxism, but this depends upon the class contents which will be put into this form of the labour movement. Whether the local legal workers' parties will play a useful or harmful role depends chiefly upon the activities of the Communists alone.

Now let us see what is the programme of some of the existing labour and workers' parties.

The Programme of the U.P. Labour Party

The programme of this party was published in "Maharatta," on August 27, 1933, and in a number of U.P. papers. In some of their statements mild criticism against the Congress leadership and Gandhism was developed and its bourgeois nature was mentioned. This is correct. But what programme and demands has this party put forward? Even taking the most lenient attitude one must admit that the nature of it is not far off from a pure reformist one.

The most outstanding reformist feature of this programme is its refusal to state that it will fight for independence. As a matter of fact, after condemning I.N.C. for its refusal to fight for freedom, it proceeds to accept the programme of the right wing of I.N.C. from the struggle and recommends them to adapt themselves to the constitution and puts in the forefront the preparation for the coming (when?) elections to the Legislative Assembly. It says:—

"It is hereby resolved to form a Labour Party . . . to safeguard the political, economic and social position of the workers and peasants of the U.P. under the new constitutional era and to organise them on a class basis to capture political power by all peaceful means."

This statement clearly proves that its programme is copied from the reformist programme of the imperialist British Labour Party and represents an attempt to transfer the reformist, anti-working class traditions of the British Labour Party to India. Such a policy has to be met with the sharpest resistance on the part of all that is good and revolutionary in the Indian labour movement.

The U.P. Labour Party recommend to enter the Assemblies and turn the constitution "in line with a fullfledged democratic constitution." It is a reformist idea. This party, through its programme and statements, spreads the most harmful ideas among the workers. It plays in the hands of the British imperialists. The draft of the constitution has been condemned by the toiling masses of India, because it meant to strengthen the subjugation of the country. The task of all who are true to the cause of independence is to go to the

workers and peasants and organise a powerful mass protest movement against this constitution, to organise the no-payment movement, to give help to the workers and their strikes, to combat the offensive of the imperialists and mill owners.

And who, instead of this recommends at the present time to adopt and work on the basis of this constitution is nothing else but a willing or unwilling agent of British imperialism and the upper classes of India.

The U.P. Labour Party uses all kinds of phrases about class struggle, but in fact by all its statements and methods of work it preaches submission to the imperialists and landlords. It goes even further in its fight against the hegemony of the working class when it proposes to form an All-Indian Labour Party, a scheme which has as its aim to create an Indian pattern of the British Labour Party to limit the working class to "parliamentary" activities in a slave, powerless Legislative Assembly. This is one of the methods to demoralise the workers' ranks at the present time. It is easy to criticise the programme of the U.P. Labour Party, because, as a matter of fact, it is a repetition of Joshi-Shiva-Rao policy which is totally exposed in India. No true revolutionary Marxist can support such a programme even for a legal political party. One does not expect from a local legal labour or workers' party a complete programme of the Communist Party. But one can expect that such a labour party should fight for independence, should fight against national reformism, should help to develop a mass struggle and establish the hegemony of the proletariat. One can expect that such a party will not pursue under the cloak of class struggle phrases and "criticism" of Gandhi—a liberal, reformist policy. And that is what the U.P. Labour Party exactly does. The composition of the U.P. Labour Party, mainly of lawyers, doctors, etc., with Hasrat Mohani as its leading star and total absence of industrial workers, emphasise still more that this party as it is now cannot help the revolutionary cause of the Indian toiling masses; on the contrary, it is harmful.

The Bengal Labour Party is similar to the U.P. Labour Party, although in the formulations of its programme it is not so rude as its U.P. sister.

The manifesto of the Bengal Labour Party describes its aims in the following way:—

"The Labour Party stands for the interests of the Indian workers, Indian peasants and all the other exploited elements (clerks, ill-paid employees in offices, banks, etc.) in Indian society. The Labour Party stands to defend the exploited of India against wage-cuts and unemployment, against the attacks of the capitalists and imperialists, of landlords and money-lenders. It demands a better standard of life and better conditions of work for the toiling masses of India."

And further, advocating the participation in the Legislative Assemblies, it says:—

"Unless Labour uses its right to organise and politically educate itself, the seats allotted to it in Indian Legislatures will prove mere spoils for unscrupulous careerists and adventurers to serve their own ends."

And later on proceeds to formulate a number of demands, most of which are worded very vaguely.

And so the Bengal Labour Party left out completely the struggle for independence, it worked out its programme on the basis of adapting itself to the yoke of the British imperialism. This is the platform of the national reformists and must be combated by the working class movement. The Bengal Labour Party having as its starting point a Liberal-reformist programme of aims naturally defines as its most important tasks at the present time to contest the seats in the Assembly. This is repeated in the Calcutta paper, "New Front," September 1, 1933, page 3.

The supporters of the Bengal Labour Party believe that the main form of activity of the present time is a parliamentary one. It is totally wrong. The main job of all those who sincerely stand for Marxism is to go to the masses and organise a country-wide movement against the present constitution, organise resistance of the workers against the offensive of the employers (resistance to the point of strikes, general textile strike, railway strike, etc.) and take a lead and organise a country-wide peasant movement of non-payment of rent, taxes and debts. These are the urgent tasks which can and should be linked up and connected with the struggle for independence.

It is necessary to have a clear idea about the character of the constitution and the tasks which confront the mass movement at

the present time. It is a mockery to call the present constitution a democratic one. It is impossible to get a democratic or a semblance of a democratic constitution for a country where the landlord-feudal system exists, a country which is under the yoke of an imperialist country, where the caste system is preserved by the exploiters. Even to get a democratic constitution, not to speak about the workers' and peasants' government, it is necessary first of all to put an end to the existing system, to mobilise the masses for that purpose. And the toiling masses do not take seriously the present constitution. They are ready to continue to fight against it and herein the development of the mass struggle against the constitution, together with widening of strikes and non-payment campaign lies the key task of the revolutionaries. This divides the Communists from all national reformists.

Those who stand for Marxism must remember some facts from the history of the Russian Labour Movement, when in 1905 the Bolsheviks succeeded in mobilising the masses to turn down the Czarist scheme of a Duma (Legislative Assembly), which was just as fake and deprived of any rights as the present constitution engineered by the imperialists and raise the mass movement to a higher stage (general strike, etc.). What should be the attitude towards the elections, if they take place shall be determined as soon as the concrete conditions, which will exist at the time of the elections, will be known. At the present time the question does not arise. And all those who try now to divert the attention of the toiling masses from the struggle against the offensive of the imperialists (and the constitution is a part of it), are only playing the role of agents of the national reformists and indirect servants of the British imperialists.

It has nothing in common with revolutionary Marxism. One of the demands of the Bengal Labour Party throws light on the reformist character of its programme. Among the general demands it mentions: "Abolition of War" . . . This demand is a petty bourgeois utopian demand. Because in the capitalist society based upon the division of classes (or, to be more exact on exploitation of classes), imperialist struggle, etc., such a slogan is impossible. Only if socialism is established and the class system will be destroyed, only then the conditions for war will disappear. But at the present time it is utopian to think one can abolish war without first of all fighting the capitalist system.

And in so far as colonial, subjugated countries are concerned, it is utopian to think that it will be possible to get freedom without forcibly overthrowing the imperialist rule. All those who spread ideas of a peaceful change simply play into the hands of the oppressors. History proves that. To preach in a colonial country abolition of war, is to play into the hands of pacifist-reformists, or to be more correct to disarm the people and help the oppressors. In the colonial countries the Marxists must stand by the national revolutionary war as the only way to freedom and independence.

The example of subjugated China gives sufficient proof and, by the way, it also shows that the sufferings of the Chinese people have been increased by the treacherous role of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the Kuomintang, which has betrayed the interests of the country. The Chinese experience has proven that national-revolutionary war for independence can be carried only under the leadership of the working class, headed by the Communist Party.

The programme of the Bengal Labour Party does not attack landlordism, does not stand for freedom and formulates a number of its demands in a vague form. The Bengal Labour Party, which has many lawyers, doctors, etc., in its ranks, and at the same time has no, or very few workers, is not of a mass character. The Bengal Labour Party did not try to organise the struggle of the jute workers, seamen, metal workers. It does not help to organise mass trade unions. All this goes to show that the Bengal Labour Party, as it is now, does not serve the cause of the proletariat, but on the contrary spreads the most harmful traditions and ideas of the reformist British Labour Party in the Indian Labour Movement.

All those who stand for revolutionary Marxism cannot advocate such a programme. It is better to go to the mills and trade unions and organise the workers, it is better to go to the students and organise them, it is better to go to the villages and organise the poor peasants, and everywhere build underground organisations of the Communist Party. Yes, it is not bad to have local legal workers' parties of a mass character which draw tens of thousands of workers into mass struggle. And this the Communists should do and put through. At the same time the Communists must put an end to the past traditions of the revolutionary working class move-

ment. Following the organisational traditions of the bourgeois reformists, the revolutionaries instead of mass rank and file organisations formed narrow, small bureaucratic organisations composed of leaders and immediate followers. And in the event of the reformist leaders setting up legal workers' parties, it is the duty of the Communists to work persistently and daily among the workers who follow them and expose the reformist policy of the leaders of such parties and draw the workers to the side of the Communists. This can be achieved by persistent, patient, comradely agitation and correct policy and activities of the Communists.

Local legal workers or labour parties can serve the cause of the working class if they help to organise the workers, draw them into political struggle, spread revolutionary Marxism and facilitate the task of creating a mass Communist Party. The programme and practice of the U.P. and Bengal Labour Parties so far as one can judge from these documents do not serve this purpose at all.

In Bombay Presidency and in Nagpur two workers' parties have been created. The programme of "The Bombay Provincial Working Class Party" (see "Maharatta," November 19, 1933), declares that it stands for socialism, independence and what not. At the same time it puts in the forefront as the main task the "contesting of elections, etc." But on the main question of what to do at the present time, whether to develop the mass struggle against the constitution or whether to accept and adapt itself to it, the Bombay Provincial Working Class Party took a reformist-liberal position going even more to the right than Nehru and Co., who at least denounce the constitution. But still more typical for this Party is its estimation of the present social forces in India. In its preamble the B.P.W.C.P. puts in one pot "the feudal princes and chiefs, zamindars, capitalists, etc. . . . who stand for dominion status . . . the leadership of the national struggle for independence, therefore, devolves upon the Indian working class." . . . And so according to this Party feudalists and chiefs are the same as capitalists. Imperialism stands alone and the upper classes are united in one. The conclusion which one can derive is that the struggle for independence is not connected at all with the struggle against feudal landlordism, which is all wrong. However, the leaders of this Party are putting forward the demands against landlordism, and swear they are against feudal remnants, and promise sometimes to do away with it. But accepting this explanation the result is not more encouraging for the Marxists of this Party, because putting princes, etc., in one pot with capitalists they, by this very fact, deny the existence of any bourgeois basis for Indian national-reformism. And that is the essence of opportunism of the Bombay Provincial Working Class Party. It denies the existence of bourgeois national-reformism and induces the workers to believe that Gandhism is a petty bourgeois tendency and recommends the workers to support bourgeois National Congress. The whole history of this group, which is known as the Roy group, proves that their basic political idea is to convert the working class into an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, one can easily understand their propaganda of contesting the elections, their policy of splitting the trade unions and fighting the revolutionary wing, of condemning the revolutionary wing for its anti-imperialist stand at the Nagpur session of the T.U. Congress in 1929. Therefore, it is clear that such a Party will play a harmful role and will spread anti-revolutionary ideas among the workers and will serve as a bourgeois instrument of splitting the working class movement, and submitting the working class to the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

Such a Party deserves strong condemnation by the working class. Of the same nature is the Nagpur Workers' Party, organised by Ruikar. Mr. Ruikar even "recognises" the right of the workers to declare a general strike or other methods of direct actions. But, he says, at the present time "any method of direct action is impossible and ineffective." (See "Maharatta," November 26, 1933.) According to Mr. Ruikar his Party is the only leader of the toiling masses and he as a follower of Marx, does not believe in the theory "to melt the hearts of opponents through sufferings inflicted upon ourselves," but when it comes to saying what is his own policy, Mr. Ruikar and his Party declare that "the Party will therefore always endeavour to chalk out a programme which will bring maximum of pressure on our opponents and inflict minimum of sufferings and hardships upon the masses." In other words the policy of the "Marxists" of Bombay and Nagpur Workers' Parties is to get through pressure concessions from the opponents. Instead of revolutionary mass struggle, only pressure. This is exactly the method

preached by all national-reformists, including Gandhi, Bose, etc. The necessary part of their policy of pressure is arbitration board of the government and employers. Mr. Ruikar knows it full well, he has a rich experience. From 1930, when he appealed during the G.I.P. strike to MacDonald, to the Viceroy, etc., for help, and up till now Mr. Ruikar every time did the same, and every time brought defeat and demoralisation of the workers' ranks. Because of that no one can be surprised that the main proposal of Mr. Ruikar's Party is "to convert the Indian National Congress and the Democratic Swaraj Party to its goal and programme of action." Well, Bombay and Nagpur Workers' Parties are agents of the Democratic Swaraj Party and I.N.C. in the labour movement, i.e., they are agents of the reformist bourgeoisie in the mass movement. Under the cloak of socialism and Workers' Party, Mr. Ruikar and his friends are trying to bring back and keep the workers and the toiling masses under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. The game is clear enough.

There are attempts on the part of Mr. Giri and his friends to build a Labour Party. They do not try to conceal at all that their aim is to supplement their reformist economism with a trade unionist liberal political activity, i.e., to get with the assistance of the workers a few seats in the assembly, form a Parliamentary Labour Party and there represent the poor labour. They do not stand for independence, they simply want to keep the working class in the state of oppression. They as the agents of British imperialism, are doing their best to keep the workers from participation in the struggle for freedom.

Legal political organisations which pretend to defend the interests of the toiling masses spring up everywhere. This reflects the growing consciousness of the proletariat and weakening of the hold of the national-reformism over the proletariat. All true revolutionary Marxists must concentrate their efforts to combat and defeat the attempts of the "left" national-reformists to retard the growth of the Communist movement and the process of transformation of the working class from an active political force into the leading force of the mass movement. Here utmost clarity in the ranks of the workers is needed. Only then will the legal local political working class organisations play a useful role, will help to extend Marxist ideas, will facilitate the foundation of the Communist Party, will extend the struggle for independence, will prepare the ground for the final battle for independence, land, bread and workers' and peasants' power.

To the revolutionary Marxists the need of extending the everyday struggles for the immediate interests of the workers is clear, they also realise that the local, legal parties cannot substitute the Communist Party and that the formation of such parties not only does not mean any conflicts with a Communist Party, but under proper direction and following a correct policy can greatly accelerate the growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat. However, every revolutionary Marxist must be clear that in India at the present time it is impossible and incorrect to limit the movement to the struggle for partial economic demands and postpone the propaganda and agitation for the main slogans of the present stage of the Indian revolution. And it must be done by all possible methods. And that is one of the fundamental differences between the Communists and the Roy group, which want to limit the struggle of the proletariat, declaring that the masses "cannot grasp big political issues, such as independence," and must pass now through a preliminary school of limited trade unionist and parliamentary activities.

The Communists must remember that the first duty of every true Communist is always to work among the toiling masses, and this policy must be carried out in such a way as to fight against all kinds of sectarianism on one side and on the other side combat and exposure of the national-reformists, especially its "left" variety, of which the Roy group is the most harmful part at the present time. Taking this line the Communists will be able in a short time, not only to consolidate and unite their ranks, but expose the agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialism and win the majority of the working class to its side, draw the peasantry to them and thus array the forces for the final battle against the imperialist-feudal block. This fight against national-reformism can be successfully carried out if the revolutionary wing of the labour movement will carry out at the same time energetic united front tactic in the trade union movement and in the everyday struggle of the working class. . .

In the Camp of Social Democracy

The Splitting Activity of the "Left" Social Democrats of Norway

By O. L. (Oslo)

In Bergen, the second biggest town in Norway, there has been raging for four years a fierce struggle within the trade union movement, provoked by the social-democratic leaders for the purpose of destroying the Communist Party organ "Arbeidet."

When, in the year 1930, the staff of the printing works of "Arbeidet" had to wait a few days for their wages, the social-democratic leaders used this as a pretext to launch a strike without previous negotiations, with the obvious aim of smashing the hated Communist paper. On the instructions of the trade union federation, the striking printing workers, the majority of whom are organised in the social-democratic party, put forward demands which had nothing to do with the question in dispute, and stuck to these demands even when the management of the printing works had long since paid the wages which were due. In order to render the publication of the newspaper possible, Communist printers, some of whom came from other towns, with the approval of the Party, replaced the strikers, whereupon they were expelled from their union as "strike-breakers."

The head organisation of the trade unions as well as the Social-Democratic Labour party proclaimed a boycott of the printing works and declared that anybody who supplied material to the paper or engaged in the transport of the paper was a strike-breaker, whilst the majority of the Bergen workers, on the other hand, condemned this action and in their turn boycotted the social-democratic paper.

Thus the split was unavoidable. All the local trade unions, with a few exceptions, were in the hands of the opposition. But they split at the moment when they were expelled by the reformists from the central unions and the Trade Union Federation. Hence for years there existed two trade unions for every category of workers and in every factory. As a result of the wage-cutting offensive of the employers, the idea of unity has gained ground considerably lately and the members of the reformist unions are more and more urgently demanding the re-union with the organisations of the expelled workers.

At the annual conference of the building workers last year, this question was thoroughly discussed and it was decided to send a representative of the R.T.U.O. and of the union executive to Bergen to investigate the matter. After negotiations with both tendencies a motion was agreed to, subject, however, to the approval of the Trade Union Federation. Even the reformists in the secretariat of the Trade Union Federation had, under the growing pressure of their members, advocated the lifting of the boycott.

But the "Left" leaders of the social-democratic Labour party, headed by the revolutionary phrase-monger Tranmael, exerted all their forces in order to prevent the re-union of the working class which had been split by them. At the delegate meeting of the Bergen trades council they succeeded in getting the unity proposal rejected by 112 against 72 votes. Afterwards they succeeded in getting this proposal rejected by the national executive of the Trade Union Federation.

Whilst negotiations regarding unity were still proceeding in Bergen the reformist bureaucrats transferred their splitting activity to other places. Thus, on the instructions of the Trade Union Federation, they expelled the whole of the local branch of the dock workers in Sarpsborg, numbering 100 members, from the Transport Workers' Union because this local branch had decided on a strike in order to enforce a wage increase, which had been demanded by them for years, for a special kind of work. In another case they expelled about 100 members of the union of restaurant and hotel workers solely because these members demanded in a resolution that the members of the union should exercise control over the employment of the extra contribution levied by the union executive.

Thus there is clearly revealed the role of the social-democratic party and trade union leaders as the pacemakers of reaction and as the conscious agents of the exploiters, whose offensive against the standard of living of the workers is being facilitated by their policy of disruption.

Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist International

Fifteen Years of the Communist International and the International Red Aid

By Wilhelm Pieck

On 9th March it will be 15 years since Lenin founded the Communist International. Its founding was the fruit of the uninterrupted struggle of the Russian Marxists, under Lenin's leadership, against the falsification and vulgarisation of Marxism by the Mensheviks, by the revisionists of Marxism, and especially by the followers of Bernstein in Germany, who led the Second International and the social democratic parties of all countries through revisionism to reformism, to social chauvinism and social imperialism, who combined with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary front of the working class, made common cause with the State and economic apparatus, and finally came forward quite openly as defenders of capitalist profiteering economy, and ended in social fascism.

The imperialist war, and especially the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, set all Marxists an obvious task. It revealed all the contradictions existing in the parties of the Second International with regard to the class struggle. The policy of the Party of Lenin, of the Bolsheviks, and the victory of the Russian workers and peasants under their leadership, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, became the touchstone for all who came forward as spokesmen for Marxism and socialism.

Whilst the social imperialists broke into howls of rage at the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and the centrists of all countries revealed themselves as the open enemies of Marxism and the proletarian revolution, the revolutionary workers, enlightened by the revolutionary theory and practice of Bolshevism, were faced by the decision of a rupture with the Second International and its nationalist organisations.

By means of the **Inaugural Congress of the Communist International** (Comintern), Lenin gathered together the revolutionary elements of the Second International in an international organisation, enabling educational work for the proletarian revolution to be carried on on a large scale. It proved a hard piece of work. In spite of the opposition against the class treachery of the Second International, social democratic ideology was still deeply rooted in those elements of the Second International now united in the Comintern. The **twenty-one conditions**, laid down by the Second Congress of the Comintern, for admission to the Comintern, contained the fighting programme which was to accomplish the education of the Sections of the Comintern into really revolutionary Bolshevik parties.

Fifteen years have passed since then. The Communist International has grown into an international world organisation of the proletariat. The Communist International, amidst the magnificent successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, secured by the Red Army and Fleet and by the armed proletariat; amidst the mighty work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which Comrade Stalin takes the first place as its leader; amidst the fire of the general crisis of capitalism, the fire of a series of labour revolutions, civil wars, colonial uprisings, and the fire of the sharp struggle conducted by Lenin and Stalin against all the deviations and falsifications of Marxism—amidst all this the Communist International has become the sole power capable of freeing the world proletariat from the chains and misery of capitalism, and of realising socialism.

At the inaugural congress of the Comintern, the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were supported by the representatives of only seven capitalist countries, who were in agreement with the founding of the Communist International. Since this time the building up and Bolshevisation of new sections of the Comintern have been accomplished in sixty-two capitalist countries.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. celebrated the socialist triumphs of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union, and placed on

record the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries. Among the colonial countries, the Communist Party of China takes the lead. In a self-sacrificing struggle against world imperialism, which is endeavouring, under the leadership of the Japanese robbers, to dismember China and to prolong the death agony of capitalism by the sweat and blood of the Chinese workers and peasants, the C.P. of China has created the Red Army, which has established Soviet Republics in heroic struggles in wide territories in China.

Side by side with the C.P. of the Soviet Union and the C.P. of Japan, which is carrying on a heroic struggle against the predatory imperialism of its country, the Communist Party of Germany is fighting courageously for the emancipation of the toiling masses of Germany from capitalist exploitation, from mass misery and poverty, and from fascist dictatorship. The C.P.G., under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann, the disciple of Lenin and Stalin, has welded, with the aid of the Comintern, in a struggle on two fronts against Right and "Left" opportunism, that mass Party which in spite of all fascist terror is organising the struggle against the Hitler dictatorship, by the heroic struggles carried on with iron determination in the factories and workers' quarters, and is leading Germany towards the proletarian revolution.

Our Polish sister section is fighting in the foremost ranks of the Comintern, steeled by many years of struggle against blood-stained fascism. In its struggle for the liberation of the Polish workers and peasants, in the mass strikes, mighty street demonstrations, and bloody uprisings of the peasantry, the Polish C.P. has proved its strength as a revolutionary factor and as an organiser of the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria, which developed amidst open street battles with the butchers of the Bulgarian workers and peasants into a Bolshevik section of the Comintern, has produced Comrade Georg Dimitrov, who has aroused the enthusiasm of the proletariat of the whole world by his revolutionary struggle for the cause of the proletariat when faced by the blood-thirsty judges of the Leipzig Reichstag arson trial.

In the fifteen years which have passed since the founding of the Comintern, through this work of the Bolsheviks, this work of Lenin and Stalin, the heroic efforts of the shock brigades of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union the foundations of socialism have been laid in one-sixth of the globe. The whole world knows this: this achievement has been possible only under the resolute leadership of Comrade Stalin, who has relentlessly opposed all weaklings, opportunists, and enemies of the Soviet Power. The **Seventeenth Party Congress of the Bolsheviks** was able to place on record this success of Comrade Stalin's work, amidst the enthusiastic agreement of the whole of the delegates. Comrade Stalin's report at the Party Congress showed the contrast between two worlds, the world of socialism in the Soviet Union and the world of barbarism in the capitalist states. The peace policy of the Soviet Union shows the world proletariat the way and the goal of its struggle against the imperialist armaments of the world and international war policy. This is the path and the goal achieved by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Thanks to the work and the leadership of the Comintern, the will to revolution is growing among the exploited and oppressed peoples of the colonies and capitalist countries. A fresh era of revolutionary upswing has commenced. The bourgeoisie is no longer able to hold its own by its customary methods of mass deception and mass oppression, it can no longer secure its rule by the so-called "democratic" methods and with the aid of the Second International. Hence it finds itself compelled to resort to fascist

methods of violence, and to attempt to dam back the revolutionary flood by unprecedented terror. The fascist dictatorship is no evidence of strength but of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, and has been made possible by the treachery of social democracy and the split in the working class thus caused.

The Bolsheviki do not permit themselves to be intimidated. Marx taught them that capitalism will not abdicate voluntarily and peacefully, that it will shrink from no crime in order to maintain its rule. The years which have passed since the founding of the Comintern demonstrate this with increasing clearness to the toiling masses. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have been beaten to death, stabbed, shot. Whole generations of the leaders of the revolutionary workers have been treacherously murdered. The prisons and jails have not sufficed to hold all the arrested revolutionists. Concentration camps have been organised, where the revolutionary fighters are brutally tortured and physically ruined. But the bourgeoisie is not attaining its object. Bolshevism cannot be annihilated. It raises its head more boldly than ever, continues its leadership of the toiling masses with the greater resolution.

Let the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, the Brandlerist branches of the Second International, shriek about "defeat" and "epoch of reaction." Let them attack the revolutionary vanguard in the rear, let them support the social fascists of all countries by declaring that it is impossible to gain the revolutionary victory in the face of capitalist violence. The Bolsheviki continue steadily upon their path, the path to revolution. On this path they will lead the toiling masses to victory.

II

Above the ocean of the blood of the workers, shed by the bourgeoisie with the aid of the Second International, or with the aid of fascism where the Second International no longer suffices, there shines the star of **international proletarian solidarity**. Its history is the history of the class struggle itself. A straight path leads from the relief association founded in London by **Karl Marx** and **Friedrich Engels** in aid of the victims of the revolution of 1848, to the founding of the **International Red Aid**. The intensification of the class struggle, and the development of the political influence of Marxism in all countries, have been accompanied by the steady rise to higher levels and broader forms of proletarian solidarity. It commenced with local relief committees, and has grown into the world-wide organisation of the **International Red Aid**. Marx, the founder of the First International, commenced this work, and the Bolsheviki, under the leadership of Lenin, the inheritors and executors of Marxism, the founders of the Third International, raised the work of international proletarian solidarity to its present height.

It was the Bolsheviki who founded the **International Red Aid** in response to a suggestion made by the association of revolutionists incarcerated under tsarism. This was no relief organisation such as has been founded here and there by social democrats for the purpose of corrupting convictions. This was an organisation evidencing the class solidarity of the workers of the whole world against capitalist class justice, against capitalist and imperialist terror all over the world. One of the first resolutions adopted at the inaugural congress of the I.R.A. reads as follows:—

Fullest solidarity of the working class with every fighter against the capitalist class rule, with every proletarian political prisoner and persecuted for political convictions, irrespective of party and organisation. This is the essential meaning of the **International Red Aid**.

From the first moment of the existence of the **International Red Aid**, the Communist International put the whole of its forces at the disposal of this mighty achievement of international proletarian solidarity. Lenin and Stalin, Manuilsky, Piatnitsky, Knorin and Kuusinen, Clara Zetkin and Marchlevsky, and many other Bolsheviki, took up the work of the I.R.A., and declared that its solidarity actions form a highly important part of the international struggle for freedom.

Helene Stassova, a tried and tested Bolshevik, inspired by the ardent flame of revolution, made the I.R.A. her life's work. Under her leadership section after section of the I.R.A. was founded. Through her efforts the sections were taught how to carry on a real mass policy, to form a real mass basis in the works and factories, among the unemployed, in the workers' quarters, to induce the social democratic workers to take part in the Red Aid

work, and in the struggle against juridical terrorism and against the violence of bourgeois rule and its social fascist instruments.

The I.R.A. has gone further, and has created a basis for the solidarity work of the I.R.A. in those strata not belonging to the proletarian class, especially in the ranks of the **intellectuals**. With this it has accomplished the establishment of contact between thousands of intellectuals and petty bourgeois, thousands of small peasants, and the world of Marxist and Leninist thought. It has raised these strata from the bogs of bourgeois philanthropy and humanitarian sentimentality, and made of them useful helpers in the international socialist struggle for emancipation.

The history of the struggle of the I.R.A. contains many glorious pages of international proletarian solidarity action. The fascist murder of the Italian workers' leader, **Matteotti**, caused the I.R.A. to organise a great mass action, not only in Italy but all over the world, against fascism, and for the exposure of the class character of fascism.

The mass massacres carried out under the orders of Chiang Kai-shek, the murderer of the Chinese workers and peasants, caused the I.R.A. to organise a world movement in aid of the **Chinese revolution**, and to strengthen it steadily. In accomplishing this, the I.R.A. has undoubtedly contributed to stimulating the revolutionary deeds of the Chinese workers and peasants, and has aided in establishing Soviet rule in a considerable territory of the gigantic realm of China.

When the mass murderer, Zankoff caused the cathedral in Sofia to be blown up by his provocateurs, and had thousands of revolutionists executed within a few days, the I.R.A. organised an international solidarity action all over the world, openly exposing the provocatory methods of the bourgeoisie and spurring on the workers to fight against them.

The action taken by the I.R.A. in its efforts to save **Sacco and Vanzetti** from the electric chair of American class justice will never be forgotten. A real world movement was set in motion. And if, in spite of this, the American bourgeoisie murdered the two revolutionists, still enormous progress was made towards exposing the illusions of a "free America," as spread abroad by even the Second International. **Sacco and Vanzetti** died on the electric chair, but millions were won over for the proletarian class struggle by the action of the I.R.A.

That the **Reichstag arson trial** ended with the stigmatisation of the Hitler government, that **Comrade Dimitrov** was able to make the prisoner's bar a tribunal before which the fascist executioners' government was called and the revolutionary class struggle furthered, all this, too, was due to the **International Red Aid**.

The I.R.A. is confronted by great tasks. In China the revolutionist **Ruegg** is languishing behind prison bars, and with him tens of thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants. **Ruegg** would have been murdered long ago by the Chinese executioners had the I.R.A. not aroused the toiling masses of the whole world daily in his defence.

The leader of the C.P.G., **Comrade Ernst Thaelmann**, is now to be brought up for trial for "high treason" by the fascist Hitler government. His death sentence is certain.

In Mussolini's dungeons **Comrade Gramsci** is dying slowly.

In an American prison **Comrade Tom Mooney** is dying the same slow death.

The **Negro boys of Scottsboro** are to be killed off one by one.

In the death hells of **Japan** the revolutionary fighters are hoping for the aid of the world proletariat against bandit imperialism and against the anti-Soviet war.

In **Germany** there are seventy anti-fascists daily awaiting the carrying out of the death sentences passed upon them. Tens of thousands are being tortured to death in the torture chambers of the fascist murderers.

In **Austria** the courts-martial hold full sway. The bourgeoisie is taking bloody revenge on the revolutionary fighters.

In **France, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia**, in all the Balkan States, the wave of white terror is rising, and the best revolutionary fighters are being delivered over to the executioners.

The **International Red Aid**, which may be proud of its successes up to the present time, has still greater and higher tasks to perform. It will only be able to accomplish them if it can win over for its work, to an even greater extent than hitherto, the toiling masses and all the other strata of humanity, the intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry. The flood of mass meetings and protest resolutions, of delegations to the embassies and consulates, of telegrams and letters, of newspaper articles and

workers' correspondence must swell rapidly. The united front from below must be formed, all forces must be assembled which are willing to fight against fascist terror, a whole army of Red helpers must be created, the old forms of struggle must be intensified and a transition made to new and higher forms of the defensive struggle, the mass demonstrations in the streets, the organisation of political mass strikes, the mobilisation of the works and factories, of the trade union organisations. New forms of protection are urgently necessary for our leading comrades, and the active political and material help of the Red Aid sections by the revolutionary labour movement. This is what the situation demands from us, from the I.R.A., from every Red helper.

The toiling masses are threatened by great dangers. The bourgeoisie is pursuing a policy of armaments and war which is driving forward to a new imperialist war massacre. The sufferings of the toiling masses will be increased immeasurably by a new war. There is only one means of escape from this mass misery: the proletarian revolution. Under the leadership of the Communist International, the world proletariat will gain its victory and establish its dictatorship, following the example set by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union in advancing to socialism.

The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union have afforded a mighty help to the international solidarity work of the I.R.A., under the leadership of the M.O.P.R. They have not only given material aid to the victims of fascist terror, but have furnished the I.R.A. with the basis for its work. They have done more than this. By means of their work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union they have given a shining example to the proletariat of the whole world, spurring it on to follow the same path. It is our first duty to express the revolutionary thanks of the whole world proletariat to the M.O.P.R. for this work and for its support of the Red Aid.

International Women's Day

The Position and Struggles of the Toiling Women in Poland

Fascist Poland entered a new stage of crisis in 1934. The basic contradictions of capitalism are sharpening. Class fights against class.

The burdens of the crisis in Poland weigh particularly heavily upon the shoulders of the toiling women. Women are paid the lowest wages, their earnings have been reduced to a minimum.

Unemployment among women is colossal, because the crisis makes itself felt in the first instance in those branches of industry where mostly women are employed: the textile, food, clothing, tobacco industry, etc.

But in spite of the crisis and dismissals, the number of women workers increases more than that of the men. According to statistics, 664,000 women were employed in industry and in private commerce in 1927; 797,000 in 1928, and more than 800,000 in 1930. In the last two years a growth in the number of women employed in the war industry is particularly noticeable. In 1931 the percentage of men employed in the mining industry amounted to 71.7, that of the women to 18.4. In 1933 the respective figures were 71.1 and 22.4. In the smelting works the percentage of women amounted to 10.6 per cent. in 1931; in 1933 this percentage had risen to 14.6 per cent. A similar increase is to be found in the chemical industry.

This increase is explained by the cheapness of women's labour and the great importance of women for war preparations and during war.

The newspaper "Naz Przegląd" of January 23, 1933, wrote as follows:—

"In spite of the law promulgated by Premier Pristor, which prohibits the employment of married women, the number of women workers in the factory is on the increase. Capitalism has always been greedy for profits and in the period of crisis it becomes even more so. When there is such a great supply of labour, the capitalists naturally choose the cheapest, which has no high demands and which is less open to organisation. Such is women's labour."

At the present time women constitute 35 per cent. of the total

On the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern, the International Red Aid greets the Comintern, and especially the C.P.S.U., and expresses its revolutionary thanks for the invaluable aid which it has given its work in all countries. The International Red Aid raises the banner of proletarian solidarity higher than ever in all countries. Millions of Red helpers greet the Comintern and its leader Stalin, millions of Red helpers call to the struggle, and pledge themselves to carry on the struggle steadfastly and resolutely for the emancipation of the proletarian class. In us all there still lives the spirit of **Karl Liebknecht**, of **Rosa Luxemburg** and **Leo Jogiches**, who were treacherously murdered in Germany under the rule of social democracy. Only a few days ago the fascist bandits murdered **Comrade John Scheer**, Thaelmann's closest collaborator, and with him three other comrades, on the pretext of "shot whilst attempting to escape." The bourgeoisie took revenge on **Comrade Scheer** because he carried on the struggle for the revolution at the head of the Party.

The gaps torn in our ranks by fascist murder and mass arrests are being closed up again. We swear by the blood of our murdered comrades that we shall not lose one moment in the struggle for the revolution. The fifteen years of the Communist International, its successes in the mobilisation of the world proletariat for the revolution, the rise of socialism under the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, give us the power to carry on our work. We shall be victorious, capitalism must and will be overthrown by us.

Long live international proletarian solidarity!

Raise high the flags of our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin!

Long live the Comintern!

Release all proletarian political prisoners!

Long live the International Red Aid!

number of workers employed (32 per cent. in 1931). As to the reasons for the substitution of women for men's labour, the figures quoted below concerning women's wages are indicative.

In the whole of Poland 35.7 per cent. of the women workers earned less than 10 zlotys a week in 1932, and 82 per cent. earned from 10 to 30 zlotys a week (the majority earning from 10 to 14 zlotys a week). Of the men 63 per cent. belong to this category.

In Lodz in 1932, 81.8 per cent. of the women earned from 10 to 16 zlotys weekly; 67.4 per cent. of the men were in the same category. The earnings of a woman weaver when working a full week (in reality only two to three days a week are being worked) fluctuated between seven and eight zloty.

Rationalisation is scandalous. A woman worker is supposed to operate 8 to 16 wide and 16 to 20 narrow weaving looms. The number of consumptive workers grows tremendously. Of the total number of registered consumptives in Lodz, 93.2 per cent. belong to the proletariat, and 70 per cent. are women workers. Three-fourths of these registered consumptives do not possess a bed of their own, but sleep together with the whole family.

Child-birth at the machine is a usual thing. The new fascist law hits the women workers particularly hard: Increase in the number of working hours, lack of every possibility of medical treatment, limitation of sick benefit to a minimum (50 per cent. of the wages), payment of doctors and medicines by the patients themselves.

Of over a million unemployed in Poland, one-third are women, who do not receive any benefit. Taking into consideration the large amount of women who work only one to three days a week, there is a great army suffering misery and starvation.

A fascist physician, Dr. Semianska, writes as follows:—

"The hopeless position of the starving woman worker and her family leads to a frightful increase of prostitution. Recently a new type of prostitution has appeared—middle-aged women, unemployed women, wives of unemployed and widows, who hitherto supported their family by their labour. Prostitution among children of 12 to 14 years of age is no longer rare. Of the 1,985 families investigated by the Labour Inspection

in three towns of the Dombrovo Basin, the Lodz and Oserkovo Districts, 7 per cent. lived on the prostitution of their wives and daughters. Fifty per cent. of the children of these people eat only once a day."

The difficult position of the woman worker, her starvation and misery, induce her, as it does the workers' wives and the peasant women, to enter on the road of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Polish Communist Party and the Red trade union opposition.

In the general strike of textile workers of March, 1933, against a 5 per cent. wage cut and for the re-establishment of the wages paid in 1928, the first departments to stop work were those where only women were employed. In many cases the women occupied the factories and fought until they won. Women were active on the strike committees and delegations and took the floor at meetings. When in the course of the struggle involving 100,000 textile workers, the Polish Communist Party issued the slogan: "Everybody on the streets," thousands of women with children in their arms came on to the streets. In the stormy demonstrations, in the battles with the police, the women marched in the front ranks, many of them were killed, seriously wounded, and arrested.

A heroic struggle was waged by the women workers in the "Czenstochowianka" from November 21 to 25 last, against wage cuts. Two hundred women workers occupied the factory. After a few days the mayor and the police penetrated into the factory and beat up the women until they lost consciousness. More than 50 women are still lying in hospitals. During the miners' strike, the women formed strike pickets in the mines and put up a heroic struggle against the blacklegs. Women, with children in their arms, sat down on the rails and refused to let any trains with coal pass. They stormed the "Mortimer" and "Klimentov" mines, when the workers below surface resisted the stoppage of the mines.

The women also take an active part in the struggle against the social reformists. When during the March strike, Szczerkowski, with the delegation from the Ministry of Labour, returned to Lodz, the women brought him a coffin with the inscription: "May they bury you in the same way as you have buried the strike," and hurled stones at him.

Hundreds of demonstrations of wives of unemployed have been held under the slogan: "Bread and Work." They were directed against the "soups" given out by the fascist unemployed kitchens, against evictions, etc. (in Warsaw, in the barracks of Anopol, Sosnowice, Lodz and other Polish towns) and ended in the killing, disabling and long-term imprisonment of many women.

All these actions have a sharply distinguished political character and direct themselves against the fascist dictatorship.

The struggle to win the women is particularly sharp at the present time in the whole camp of fascism, from social-fascism to fascism in general. They appreciate the role of woman at the time of war. The colossal revolutionary upsurge of women is not to the taste of the fascists. All fascist and social-fascist women's organisations endeavour to subject the toiling women to their influence, applying different methods to that effect, from the demagogy of Krochelska, Moraczewska, Kluschineska, Semleska, down to fascist terror against those women who refuse to be influenced by them. Until now "Labour camps" existed only for men. In 1934, however, fascism established a labour camp in the district of Lodz for women, where they work for six hours and are trained for four hours in different subjects (mainly military). The Shooting Club (Strielec) developed great activity both in the village and among the women workers in industry, creating courses for house-management. All the women are also given courses in military training. Similar activity is developed by Moraczewsk, the leader of the women's department in the fascist trade union federation (S.S.S.), who opens tea-rooms, educational establishments, reading-halls, etc.

The central women's department of the social-democratic party is busy with the establishment of consultation points for "conscious motherhood" and other organisations of public interest. The appeal issued by them on January 25, 1934, against war, constitutes a continuation of the tactics of pacifism, aiming at being the vigilance of the toiling women and at diverting their attention from the struggle against misery and starvation and from the war preparations of the Polish fascists. The largest fascist associations—"Union of Middle-Class Working Women," "National Women's Organisation," "Union of Housewives," and similar organisations—number about 300,000 members. The Catholic associations number about 20,000, the social-democratic associa-

tions several thousands. All these organisations take advantage of the political backwardness of the great mass of women and try to divert them from the class struggle.

The work of the Red trade union opposition among the women shows, as yet, many shortcomings, resulting from an underestimation of the tremendous role of women in the class struggle. Too often the Red trade union opposition approaches the women with general slogans, which have no connection with their specific conditions.

The Red trade union opposition is faced with the task of strengthening organisationally its influence among the masses of women and of leading them in the struggle which confronts the proletariat.

Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The XVII Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the International Proletariat

(From Our Special Moscow Correspondent, L. F. Boross)

I.—The Capitalist and Socialist World Mirrored by the Party Congress

"The more wealth the worker produces, the more his output increases in power and extent, the poorer does he become. The more commodities a worker produces, the cheaper does he become as a commodity."

With these words Marx, almost ninety years ago, depicted the fundamental characteristic of the fate of the worker in the capitalist world and he showed the proletariat the way out of this situation: revolutionary class struggle—overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie—proletarian dictatorship—establishment of the socialist order in society.

The Seventeenth Party Congress took place at a time when it had to and could reply to the question of millions and tens of millions of toilers throughout the world as to whether Marxism is really a way out. Does the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the proletarian dictatorship, the building up of socialism by the proletariat really lead to another fate than that characterised by the above words of Marx? The period regarding the policy of which former Party Congresses had to report usually consisted of several years. But the period which had to be reported on by the Seventeenth Party Congress, the Congress of the organisation of a classless society, in a certain respect covers the last eight or nine decades since the foundation of the Marxist teachings regarding the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Stalin's report was therefore not only an answer to the question as to how the decisions of the Sixteenth Party Congress had been carried through and to what results this led. The development of the construction of socialism had reached the stage which necessarily gives rise to the question: Has Marxism led to the liberation of the working class wherever it has been consistently carried through? Has its victory been able to remove the curse which weighs upon the working class in the capitalist world to the effect that the more commodities a worker produces, the cheaper he becomes as a commodity?

This question presupposes another question: Does this curse of the proletarian fate in the capitalist world have the same effect to-day as it had ninety years ago? Or perhaps there was also another way—the path of bourgeois democracy or of "organised capitalism"—in which this iron law of the misery of the wage slaves could have been broken through?

Only about four or five years have passed since production in capitalist countries stood at its highest level. The commodities produced by the working class rapidly increased temporarily. The social democracy sought to awaken illusions in the working class about its fate and its future. But the fanfares of victory of the bourgeoisie, social democracy, had hardly resounded regarding the opening up of permanent prosperity or of organised capitalism, the joyful dances on the volcano of capitalist contradictions had hardly begun when the working class already began to feel the Marxist truth: it has produced more commodities and has itself become cheaper as a commodity, amid the heaps of unsaleable commodities there are to-day in the capitalist world millions of the cheapest of all commodities—the commodity man, the worker. And whilst capitalist insanity celebrates orgies to destroy com-

modities for which there is no market, the commodity worker also does not form an exception. The destruction of commodities as a capitalist method for increasing sales is supposed to reach its high point in a new imperialist war which places the cheapness of the commodity worker upon the level of the coffee thrown into the sea or of the wheat used for fuelling locomotives.

Did the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union bring about a change in this situation? Never before did the working class so rapidly increase the products of its labour as it did in the Soviet Union during the past few years. Has the worker become poorer as a result of this, just like the wage slaves of the capitalist world when they produce "too much"? Has he become a cheap or entirely unsaleable commodity? Has he sunk from the heights of a boom into the depths of a crisis and unemployment? Do they say to him after his class has quadrupled the wealth of the country within a few years: you have done your duty, now you can go on the scrap-heap? The very placing of the question is laughable.

The curse of wage slavery which Marx so clearly expressed in the above-mentioned sentences ceases to have an effect here. The more products a worker produces here, the more he possesses, the greater his well-being. The more he produces, the greater is his value, the value of a free creator of the socialist society. For he no longer produces **commodities** for the blind market, but produces consciously for his class, for the toilers themselves. He no longer produces commodities, and thereby himself ceases to be a commodity.

In the second Five-Year Plan, which places still greater tasks than the first, the working class will not only immeasurably further increase its class wealth, but also double its material standard of living and climb up to higher and higher heights of socialist culture. The Bolshevik Party at its Seventeenth Congress gave the practical proof that Marxism is the teaching of the liberation of the proletariat. The path of Marxism-Leninism is the only way out of the crisis and misery. The proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet power, is the only path leading to socialism.

It was therefore not in the nature of a traditional duty, but an inseparable, concrete, practical integral part of the report of the Central Committee of the Party of victorious Marxism, when Stalin asserted:—

"It is maintained that in the West, Marxism has already been annihilated in several States. It is maintained that the bourgeois-nationalist trend which is characterised as fascism is supposed to have destroyed it. That is of course nonsense. Only people who do not know history can speak like that. **Marxism is the scientific formulation of the fundamental interests of the working class. In order to annihilate Marxism, the working class has to be destroyed.** More than eighty years have passed since Marxism came to light; during this time scores and hundreds of bourgeois governments have tried to destroy Marxism. And the result? Bourgeois governments came and went, but Marxism remained. Still more, Marxism has reached the stage where it has completely triumphed upon one-sixth of the globe, and at that in a country where they had considered that Marxism had been finally annihilated. It cannot be considered an accident that the country in which Marxism completely triumphed is now the only country in the world which has no crisis and no unemployment, whereas in all other countries, also in the countries of fascism, crisis and unemployment already holds sway for four years. . . . Indeed, comrades, we owe our successes to the fact that we have worked and fought under the banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin."

Marxism is an international teaching. It is the teaching of the liberation of the proletariat of all countries. The victory of socialism, the victory of the Marxist aims in one country is therefore the victory of the international working class. The victory of Marxism in the Soviet Union, the practical organisation of the realisation of a classless society in the Soviet Union on the basis of the concrete programme of work of the Seventeenth Party Congress is undoubtedly the greatest event in world history of the past ninety years, since the beginning of the Marxist movement, and one that is fraught with most serious consequences. Why? Because it vividly shows all the toiling masses who have not yet got a Marxist class-consciousness, it

who see in socialism, in Marxism, only a cause for belief or for doubt, who consider Marxism in its sole Bolshevik form as one of the possible paths of the working class, that Marxism, that Bolshevism is not a religious tenet but a concrete science. **The correct application can and must everywhere lead to the goal of liberating the working class. From a question of "conviction" socialism becomes for the broadest masses a question of knowledge.**

It stands to reason that this knowledge does not automatically disseminate itself. It is not "academic" knowledge which can be learned in a comfortable setting. It is the knowledge of struggle, knowledge which not only the brain, but also the heart must grasp, it is knowledge which can only be **spread through the struggle**. For who can believe that the bourgeoisie will without a struggle and without resistance look on while the working class acquires this knowledge which spells death for the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie will all the more desperately fight against the penetration of this knowledge of socialism, of the concrete, victorious socialism that has become a reality, into the consciousness of the working class, especially as it will rob it of its most important auxiliary troops within the working class. This knowledge makes the deception of the workers by sham socialist and sham Marxist slogans very much more difficult. It makes the compromising of Marxism in the eyes of the working class very much more difficult. Once this knowledge has seized the broad masses, then it will no longer be possible to dispute as to **what** socialism is and **which** path leads to it. Then there will only be one question of dispute possible within the working class: Do you want to fight for socialism, for **this solely possible socialism**, which has already become a reality upon a large part of the globe, or do you want to perpetuate your fate? Do you want to remain a cheap commodity of the capitalist profit system, with the only change of serving as cannon fodder for a time in the imperialist war?

* * * * *

"We want the same socialism as Bolshevism has attained, but in another, more convenient and bloodless way."

Mr. Otto Bauer, you have hardly uttered these criminal words about the "bloodless path" to socialism, when the blood of thousands of workers, among them thousands of your Party comrades, which was shed by the Austrian working class in payment for learning the essence of Austro-Marxism, accuses you.

Mr. Otto Bauer, your responsibility for the thousands of deaths during the February days is no less than Zoergiebel's responsibility for the 33 dead of May 1, 1929. If you had not deceived the majority of the Austrian working class with your "Left" phrases about the "bloodless, democratic" path, then perhaps a smaller number of victims would have sufficed in the **fight for socialism** than have to-day fallen only in the vanguard battles for the revolutionary fighting unity of the Austrian working class.

But when the masses who learned the truth about the capitalist world through their own experiences have also grasped the entire truth about the victory of socialism, about the construction of a classless society, then it will be extremely difficult to perpetrate any such criminal deception within the working class. Through this the victory of socialism, the building up of a classless society in the Soviet Union, offers the international proletariat a powerful weapon in the establishment of its **revolutionary united front, the unity of its struggle for socialism.**

The thirty year old struggle of the Bolshevik Party for the overthrow of capitalism and for the construction of a socialist society was simultaneously an uninterrupted struggle for the **unity of the revolutionary struggle of the working class** and its leading revolutionary Party.

It is therefore no chance occurrence that the Seventeenth Party Congress, at the same time that it placed on record the decisive victories of socialism, could also record the final victory in the struggle for the unity of the Bolshevik Party. This unity, as the "**Pravda**" correctly states, reflects the unity of all the toiling people—unity which could have been achieved precisely now as a result of the decisive victory of socialism. This side of the report of the Seventeenth Party Congress is one of the most important lessons for the struggle of the international proletariat; therefore deserves special elucidation.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Sixteenth Anniversary of the Red Army

Moscow, February 23, 1934.

The "Pravda," in its article written on the occasion of the sixteenth anniversary of the Red Army, states:—

"The Red Army arose and grew in strength in the fire of civil war. The regiments and divisions were assembled in the course of weeks or days. Hastily trained, badly clothed and provisioned, but filled with the determination to fight for the victory of the revolution, the detachments of the Red Army soon became a great power. This power drove the army of capitalist intervention and white guardists out of our native Soviet country. The red flags of the Red Army are associated with a heroism of which only the revolutionary proletarians are capable. The Red Army was created by the powerful force of the young class, by the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by the tremendous anger of the toiling peasants, led by the working class, against their century-old oppression by the landowners and kulaks, and by the boundless self-sacrifice, by the greatest wisdom and far-sightedness, determination and discipline of the Party, by the genius of Lenin, who knew no vacillation; it was created by the inflexible will of Stalin, the leader and organiser of our victories on the most dangerous, the most difficult and decisive fronts of civil war. Our army is the only real people's army in the world. It is flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the millions of workers, collective peasants and toiling individual peasants of all nationalities inhabiting the vast Soviet country. Every Red Army man is a son of the people, which has shaken off the accursed yoke of the capitalists and landowners and now, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, is building a new life. Therein lies the unvanquishable power of the Red Army. Nowhere else in the world is there to be found an army which is connected with the workers and peasants by such indissoluble bonds as is our Red Army. Such armies do not exist and never have existed. Our army knows what it is striving for and for what it is fighting. It is whole-heartedly devoted to the ideas of socialism, to the Communist Party and its leader Stalin, to the Soviet fatherland. The Red Army created in long and arduous struggles a new iron, revolutionary discipline and a new military organisation of the victorious proletariat. The leadership of the Party, the class composition and political consciousness, the revolutionary discipline of the Red Army men, the unchallengeable authority of the workers' and peasants' commanders and of the political workers, their vigilance, self-sacrifice, and their personal example, have rendered our army powerful and invincible.

"The army grew together with the country. The first Five-Year Plan of great socialist works, the Five-Year Plan of the industrialisation of our country and the victory of the new collective system, equipped our army with modern war technique. Under the immediate leadership of the Central Committee and the leader of the Party, Stalin, and under the experienced leadership of the tried proletarian commander-in-chief, Voroshilov, our army has become invincible. It has been equipped with excellent aeroplanes, tanks, heavy artillery, machine guns and submarines. Together with the country, together with the shock brigaders of the factories and the shock brigaders of the new collective village, there have grown up the shock brigaders of the Red Army, their admirable Red Army men and commanders. Mechanised warfare is not only a warfare of machines. Every Red Army man is far superior as regards fighting capacity to any soldier of the imperialist armies. For the exploited worker or peasant is forcibly compelled to fight for the defence and increase of the revenues of the capitalists. But our Red Army man is defending his State, his power, and his Party. He knows that if the imperialists attack the Soviet Union, they will only do so in order to destroy all the achievements of the October revolution, to reinstate the capitalists and the big landowners, and to convert the country into their colony. The defence of his fatherland, the defence of the workers' and peasants' State and of the interests of the toilers is the only justified and only just war. We do not want war. Stalin declared at the Seventeenth Party Congress: "The Soviet Union does not think of threatening any country or of attacking any country. We are

for peace and defend the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of any threats and are prepared to reply to every blow of the war-mongers with a counter-blow." When uttering these words Stalin was voicing the opinion of the people, numbering 170 million, which has shaken off the yoke of the exploiters for ever and is preparing to fight and to win the victory."

The "Isvestia" writes:—

"The youngest and strongest army in the world, the army of proletarian revolution, looks back to-day on the path it has traversed and tests its readiness for the tasks awaiting in the future. This army, which is prepared to defend the frontiers of the land of socialism, is the powerful defensive force protecting the interests of the masses, numbering millions, of the whole of toiling humanity. It is the only army which does not seek war, but stands on guard for peace. Lenin wrote in 1918 that the armed workers were the germ of the new army, the organisational cell of the new social order. At the present day this organisational cell has become a firmly welded, excellently equipped organisation existing in the frame of this new social order and serves as the most important instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat for defence of the socialist order against any hostile attacks from outside. The power of the Red Army, the power of our country, is an obstacle to the violators of peace and at the same time a source of confidence to those who are fighting against the danger of imperialist war. At the present time, when the word "war" continually meets the eye in the columns of the bourgeois press, when the problem of war preparation is (often openly but more often covertly) the subject of exhaustive debates in bourgeois parliaments and the theme of books and speeches of influential bourgeois politicians, peace remains the fundamental watchword of the land of the Soviets and its Red Army. We remain true to this peace policy just as consistently and unswervingly as we shall remain true to the cause of the defence of our country, if any attempt is made to disturb peace. The heroic Soviet working class and the Soviet peasantry, who have finally and irrevocably placed themselves under the red banner of socialism, are marching in firm, united ranks under the leadership of the Communist Party to new victories of socialism. They want peace, and only peace. They are prepared to do all in their power in order that peace shall not be disturbed. They fully approve the policy of the Soviet government which is directed towards the consolidation of peaceful relations between the various countries and the prevention of war adventures. We know that peace opens up the greatest perspectives for the cause of socialism. But we are no less aware that war will not mean defeat for us, for the Red Army is invincible, just as the cause of socialism is invincible.

Comrade Krupskaya—Sixty-five Years Old

Moscow, February 26.

To-day's press publishes detailed articles in celebration of the 65th birthday of Comrade Krupskaya, the widow of Lenin.

Comrade Krupskaya was born in Petersburg in 1869. In her earliest youth she met revolutionaries in her parents' house. In the 'nineties she gave instruction in the workers' schools and carried on social-democratic propaganda. Together with Lenin, she took part in founding the "Fighting League for the Emancipation of the Working Class." During the strike in 1896 she was arrested and banished to Siberia. She was Lenin's faithful assistant in banishment. In 1901 she took part in the organisation of the social-democratic "Iskra" abroad, and carried on the greater part of the correspondence with the Party Committee in Russia. After the third Party Congress she worked as secretary of the foreign section of the Central Committee, and was Lenin's closest collaborator. In 1908 she again went abroad, after returning to Russia in 1905 with Lenin. She took part in the work of the Party Congresses in Stockholm and London, and studied pedagogic literature and foreign educational methods. During the world war Comrade Krupskaya took part in the preparations for the Berne, Zimmerwald, and Kienthal Conferences, and was an energetic organiser of the work of the first International Women's Conference. In the Spring of 1917 she returned with Lenin to Petersburg, where she continued active Party work.

Comrade Krupskaya is one of the initiators and organisers of the Young Communist League. After the October Revolution she was one of the organisers of the People's Commissariat for Education, and has led the work of organising the schools and scientific pedagogic work. At the 15th, 16th, and 17th Party Congresses of the C.P.S.U. she was elected member of the Central Committee.

In the International

Platform of Action of the C.P. of Korea

(Conclusion)

The Struggle for the Partial Demands of the Revolutionary Movement

The Communist Party of Korea declares that the only way to win the complete independence of Korea is the path of the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses, carried to the point of a nation-wide armed revolt against Japanese rule.

The partial demands put forward by the Communist Party of Korea differ in principle from the "partial" demands of the Korean bourgeoisie and their political organisations. Our demands are completely linked up with the tasks of the revolution, the struggle for which will help to mobilise the masses for the struggle against Japanese imperialism, while their slogans have the aim of bringing about the autonomy of Korea within the system of Japanese imperialism and to avert the armed revolt of the entire toiling masses against Japanese imperialism. The Korean bourgeoisie put forward partial demands in their own class interests. The Communist Party of Korea puts forward partial demands in the interests of the workers, peasants and urban poor.

A great danger for the victory of the Korean revolution is the fact that the toiling masses of the country still have illusions about **Chen-Do-Gio** and other so-called national organisations. They have not understood that these are the class organisations of the Korean national reformist bourgeoisie which oppose the basic interests of the toiling masses of Korea. The Communist Party of Korea declares that it will mercilessly expose all shades of national-reformism and especially the autonomist trends led by the leaders of **Chen-Do-Gio**. The exposure of and struggle against the national-reformists is one of the main tasks of the Korean Communists. Only a merciless struggle against national reformism will make it possible to win the working and peasant masses away from them and mobilise them under the banner of the Communist Party for the struggle against Japanese imperialism. Only the revolutionary struggle against imperialism can liberate the toilers from the influence of national-reformism.

In the struggle for the toiling masses, the Communist Party of Korea calls on all the Korean Communists:—

(1) To make full use of legal and semi-legal possibilities for wide actions and the mobilisation of the masses under revolutionary slogans, always exposing the treacherous role of national-reformism, exposing the bourgeois conciliatory front and calling on the masses to form the united workers' and peasants' front from below on the basis of concrete revolutionary demands and actions.

(2) To develop mass revolutionary actions and the struggle of the working class for political and economic demands, the mass refusal of the peasants to pay taxes, exactions, rent, debts, mobilising and preparing the toiling masses for the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The Communist Party of Korea calls on all honest revolutionaries in Korea to rally under its slogans for the struggle against Japanese imperialism. While welcoming the loyalty and self-sacrifice which they show, it declares at the same time that the liberation of the Korean toilers cannot be won by the individual terrorist acts which they carry out. It points out that the path of the Korean revolution is the struggle and the revolutionary revolt of the broad masses under the leadership of the Korean proletariat. The supporters of individual terror do not see and do not understand the connection between the agrarian revolution, the struggle of the proletariat and the overthrow of Japanese rule. They do not see and do not understand that it is not the individual struggle of isolated heroes but only the revolutionary mass struggle which can liberate our country from the yoke of imperialism.

The Communist Party of Korea, in view of the special and urgent danger of a new imperialist war and armed intervention in the U.S.S.R., especially since the robber war of Japan against China, the war which is the beginning of the new war and preparations for invading the U.S.S.R., calls on all its supporters to widely organise the anti-war struggle of the masses of Korea, linking it up with the everyday struggle for their interests. At the present time the

struggle against imperialist war and the defence of the U.S.S.R., the stronghold of the revolutionary movement, is an inseparable part of the struggle for the national liberation of Korea. Our struggle against war, in defence of the U.S.S.R., must be accompanied by a merciless struggle and exposure of the position of all national reformists, including the "left" groups like "Bifan," "Sin-Kadan," etc., the Japanese socialists who advocate Pan-Asiatism.

(a) General Demands

(1) The expulsion of the Japanese troops, the abolition of the police and the gendarmes, the disbanding of the Reservist Union, the general arming of the toilers.

(2) The immediate liberation of all political prisoners.

(3) Unlimited freedom of speech, press, assembly, conscience and combination for the toilers and the repeal of all laws directed against the people.

(4) The destruction of privileges of rank, etc., and the complete equality of all citizens irrespective of sex, nation and religion.

(5) The repeal of the assimilation policy in regard to education. Free general education in the native language under the control of the toilers.

(6) The establishment of free government help for the population in cases of natural calamity.

(7) The abolition of the system of monopolist prices on agricultural products.

(8) Free medical treatment for all the toilers.

(9) The election of judges and officials from among the toilers and the right to recall them at any time at the demand of the majority of the toilers.

(b) Special Workers' Demands

The Communist Party of Korea, in order to organise the broad masses of the working class and give them mass education, to defend the everyday interests of the workers and support the general revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses of our country, calls on all class-conscious workers to concentrate their efforts on the strengthening of the left-wing of the trade union movement. The Communist Party of Korea considers it necessary to organise mass class trade unions, above all among the factory workers. They must become regularly functioning mass organisations, acting in the spirit of the class struggle. It is necessary to isolate and expel the reformist leaders from the trade union movement and simultaneously to organise factory committees in the enterprises, the railways, docks, mines, etc.

The Korean Federation of Labour, basing itself mainly on the semi-feudal guilds of porters, seasonal workers and fishermen, and led by the national-reformists and the petty bourgeois elements, by repudiating the revolutionary class struggle has become a weapon for crushing and disrupting the struggle of the workers for the benefit of the exploiters. The Communist Party of Korea will carry on systematic everyday stubborn work in the reformist unions with the aim of winning the working masses to the side of the revolutionary trade union movement and isolating all the reformist leaders from them.

The Communist Party of Korea will struggle against the government trade unions, which are agents of Japanese imperialism among the workers. At the same time, on the basis of the united front from below, it will organise joint actions for the defence of the legal and material interests of the workers to improve their condition and do its utmost to form a fighting Korean centre of the Labour Movement. To carry out these tasks, the Communist Party of Korea thinks it necessary to form groups of supporters of the left-wing in the reformist unions and to organise class trade unions, above all, in the factories.

The Communist Party of Korea calls upon all its supporters to organise the movement and struggle of the unemployed, to form committees to fight for regular relief at the expense of the government and the employers, to hold demonstrations and carry on a joint struggle together with the organised workers for the partial demands of the unemployed—monthly relief, free supply of fuel, light, etc., by the local municipalities, etc.

The Communist Party of Korea calls on all the workers to help and take part in the formation of trade unions of farm workers. The struggle for the complete abolition of all pre-capitalist relations, compulsory and contract labour, deprivation of rights and the unheard-of exploitation of the agricultural proletariat is one of the chief tasks of the struggle against imperialist rule.

The Communist Party of Korea, realising the importance of bringing the foreign workers in Korea (Japanese and Chinese) in the united front with the Koreans, calls on its supporters to make every effort to attract and organise the basic masses of them on the side of the revolutionary T.U. movement, to carry on joint struggle for everyday needs and develop the spirit of international proletarian solidarity and the united front against Japanese imperialism.

The Communist Party of Korea especially emphasises that, realising the hard conditions of the Chinese workers in Korea, it will struggle against every attempt of the imperialists and the national-reformists to destroy the united front and the class solidarity of the proletariat of the two countries by provoking and instigating national antagonisms.

The Communist Party of Korea will carry on a struggle for the following demands of the working class of Korea:—

(1) For higher wages, for reduced working hours. Against the lengthening of the working day, for the 8-hour day and the 6-hour day in industries injurious to health and the mining industry.

(2) Against wage-cuts, for the establishment of a compulsory minimum wage on the basis of the minimum cost of living for a worker's family. The prohibition of the payment of wages in kind or in checks. Against delays in the payment of wages, for weekly payment. The complete prohibition of fines, compulsory savings, "presents" to foremen in the factories. Double payment for overtime.

(3) Equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex, age and nationality.

(4) Against police supervision in the factories, the abolition of the system of overseers. The prohibition of compulsory contract labour, the abolition of the barrack system and searchers. For the introduction of control over engaging and dismissing workers through workers' committees.

(5) A weekly rest day and a yearly vacation of two weeks for adults and a month for youths, with full pay.

(6) For complete State social insurance against unemployment, sickness, accident, disablement, old age, orphanage at the expense of the government and the employers on not less than the minimum cost of living.

(7) The provision of overalls at the expense of the employers not less than once a year, and for miners and workers in industries injurious to health not less than twice a year.

(8) The building of houses and baths for the workers at the expense of the employers and the government, under the control of workers' committees, and the fixing of rent through them. The organisation of clubs, reading rooms, clean dining rooms, etc., in all factories at the expense of employers and managed entirely by the workers themselves.

(9) Against the fierce exploitation of the home workers. The payment of home workers on a level with workers in factories.

(10) The abolition of the system of contractors. For the election of the independent organisers by the workers and the signing of agreements. The abolition of the system forcing workers to buy their own tools.

(11) Against dismissals, for insurance for the unemployed at the expense of the government and the employers. For the free distribution of rice and relief equal to the minimum cost of living. The abolition of all forcible deductions from wages under the pretence of supporting the unemployed.

(c) Peasant Demands

The Communist Party of Korea will fight:—

(1) For the confiscation, without compensation, of all the land and estates, forests, fishing grounds and pastures of the landlords, money-lenders, companies, governor-generals, and their transfer to the peasant masses for their use through peasant committees.

(2) For the nationalisation of the entire system of irrigation, the complete annulment of all the debts of the peasants to the irrigation companies and the establishment of peasant control over irrigation systems through peasant committees elected by the toiling peasants.

(3) For the lowering of rent; against the eviction of peasants and tenants from their accustomed places and against deprivation of the right of tenants to rent land, no matter what form it takes.

(4) For the complete abolition of all taxes and exactions from the peasants who have suffered from natural calamities, and the establishment of special taxes on the landlords to give help to those who have suffered from floods, droughts, etc.

(5) For the immediate confiscation of the rice reserves of the governor-generals, the Japanese and Korean landlords, to be freely distributed among the starving peasants and those who have no seed for sowing.

(6) For the complete abolition of all privileges, particularly the abolition of the system of sub-renting, and criminal prosecution for sub-renters.

(7) For the complete abolition of the debts of the peasants to the landlords, money-lenders, companies, money leagues, irrigation companies and their agents.

(8) The Communist Party of Korea, with the aim of disorganising the rule of the Japanese and to develop the revolutionary attack on it, calls on the peasants and farm workers to hold all kinds of demonstrations, to refuse collectively to pay contributions and taxes and to refuse to carry out the orders and decrees of the government organs and their agents.

(9) The Communist Party of Korea calls on all peasants to struggle against the confiscation of the harvests and property of the peasants for the non-payment of taxes, rent, debts, the education of their children, etc.

(10) Against police supervision in the evening courses and for the repeal of the law prohibiting evening courses.

(11) The Communist Party of Korea calls on all its supporters to help to organise delegate meetings of tenants, to work out general demands and to carry on joint activity in their struggle.

(12) The Communist Party of Korea will struggle for every demand of the peasants which is directed against the rule of Japanese imperialism, the landlords, money-lenders, etc.

(13) As a slogan for agitation among the peasants and as a means of giving the greatest consciousness to the peasant movement, the Communist Party of Korea thinks it necessary to organise peasant committees to carry on a struggle for bringing about all the revolutionary democratic changes in the interests of liberating the peasants from the oppression of Japanese imperialism and its feudal allies.

(14) The Communist Party of Korea calls on the agricultural workers to organise independent trade unions, to combine with the town proletariat under the banner of the Communist Party and to elect representatives into the peasant committees.

(d) The Struggle for the Interests of the Urban Petty Bourgeoisie

The Communist Party of Korea calls on the small toiling strata of the towns to support the revolutionary struggle against the Japanese rule, the landlords and the money-lenders. The Korean bourgeoisie and their organisations, Chen-Do-Gio, etc., by making a compromise with Japanese imperialism, not only betray the interests of the workers and peasants, but also of the broad strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie (artisans, handicraftmen, street traders, etc.).

Only the complete destruction of Japanese rule can radically improve the conditions of life of the broad masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie, handicraftmen and the city poor.

The Communist Party advocates tariff autonomy to defend the national industry against ruinous imperialist competition.

The Communist Party of Korea struggles for the annulment of all money-lenders' debts which enslave the urban poor. It struggles for the abolition of all direct and indirect taxes, excise and other kinds of taxation of the wages and small earnings of the ruined handicraftmen, employees, etc., and for their replacement by progressive taxes on all the incomes of the capitalists, rentiers, banks, inheritance, etc. The Communist Party of Korea struggles for all revolutionary measures which serve the interests of the proletariat and which are directed towards improving the conditions of the urban poor.

The Communist Party of Korea calls on all piakchen (pariahs) to form a united revolutionary front with all the toilers of the country against Japanese rule and the landlord system. The Communist Party of Korea struggles for the complete abolition of all forms of slavery (social, cultural, etc.), and for the equality of the toiling pariahs with all the toilers of our country.

(e) The Liberation of Women

The women of Korea are in a state of slavery, suffering from feudal relics, economic, cultural and legal inequality. They have no right whatever to decide their personal fate and are compelled to live a pitiful existence without the right to participate in social life.

The position of women workers is specially hard. Exploitation and the conditions of labour for working women, who form 30 per cent. of the factory workers, is really unprecedented in its inhumanity and robber character. The slavish position of women in Korea is the result of the existence of enormous feudal relics in the entire social system of the country, which is jealously guarded by Japanese imperialism.

The Communist Party of Korea points out that the bourgeois feminist organisations like **Kikhunoi**, etc., do not carry on a real struggle for the liberation of women. The Communist Party of Korea calls on the masses of women to join the general revolutionary struggle of the toilers of Korea under the leadership of the Communist Party for the overthrow of the system which supports the slavish position of the Korean women. Only in alliance with the toilers and in the fight against Japanese imperialism can the toiling women of Korea obtain their freedom.

The Communist Party of Korea calls on all women workers in the factories and women farm labourers in the villages to join the class trade unions and carry on an untiring struggle against all kinds of reformists, including **Kikhunoi**.

The Communist Party of Korea fights (a) for the complete abolition of night work for women and the prohibition of all women's labour below ground (in the coal mines, etc.) and in all industries which are harmful to women's health; (b) for the abolition of national and sex inequalities in wages, putting forward the demand for "equal pay for equal work"; (c) for complete social, economic and legal equality for women; (d) for exemption from work and full wages for two months before child-birth, and two months afterwards and free medical treatment and medicine. The formation of children's nurseries at the expense of the employers in all factories and enterprises, with women workers to care for the small children and rooms for feeding them and the reduction of the working day for nursing mothers to six hours a day.

(f) Demands of the Youth

The Communist Party of Korea calls on the revolutionary proletarian youth to restore the **Young Communist League**. In the conditions of terror and barbarous oppression, the Y.C.L. of Korea as an illegal organisation must carry out directly and through a number of auxiliary legal and semi-legal mass organisations (youth sections in the trade unions) the task of organising the broad strata of the working, peasant, and revolutionary student youth under the banner of the Communist Party.

The Y.C.L. of Korea, as the assistant of the Party, has the special task of organising the toiling youth under the banner of Communism. The Y.C.L. of Korea must act as a political organisation, subordinating all forms of the struggle and the organisation of the masses—economic, cultural, sport—to the interests of the political struggle, to the interests of the overthrow of imperialist slavery and the winning of the independence of Korea and the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government of Korea.

The Communist Party of Korea, while declaring that the national reformist youth leagues—the Korean Federation of Youth and the religious organisations of youth—cannot struggle for the everyday interests and the final aim of the oppressed and exploited Korean working youth, calls on all the supporters of the Communist Party to carry on persistent work to win over the revolutionary toiling youth in the national-reformist leagues to our side, so that by putting up a revolutionary struggle inside their organisations against the reformists the revolutionary youth will be drawn into the organisations of the Y.C.L. of Korea and the organisations under its leadership.

To protect the interests of the toiling youth and to develop their revolutionary activities for the national and social liberation of the toiling masses, the Communist Party of Korea fights:—

(a) For the limitation of the working day to 6 hours for the youth between 14 and 16 years, and the prohibition of the employment of children under 14.

(b) General compulsory free education in the native language up to the age of 14. The supply of food, clothing and school necessities for children at the expense of the government. The introduction of vocational teaching of children at the expense of the government and the employers. The abolition of Sunday schools for children and the freedom of organisation of children's Communist groups of Young Pioneers.

(c) A yearly paid holiday of six weeks for young workers.

(d) Equal pay for equal work.

(e) The abolition of all those systems in industry and agriculture that help to oppress and exploit the youth.

(f) State support for the unemployed youth that ensures the minimum cost of living.

The Korean toiling youth can realise the above demands only under the leadership of the Communist Party of Korea and only if they carry on a merciless struggle against Japanese imperialism and national reformism and against all those who confuse the toiling youth.

Conclusion

The Communist Party of Korea, by putting forward its programme of demands for the Korean revolution, calls on the toiling masses to rally under the revolutionary banners of the Party and to carry the struggle to the point of the successful winning of State power and the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants in the form of Soviets.

The Communist Party of Korea declares that the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution opens up the possibility that with the support of the international proletariat and, above all, the workers of Japan and China, and the class struggle of the exploited masses of our country, our revolution through a number of stages will develop into a socialist revolution, and thus create the prerequisites for the reconstruction of our country on socialist lines. In this struggle the Korean people are not alone. In the U.S.S.R. socialism is achieving victory after victory, which strengthens the basis of the world revolutionary movement. The Korean people have allies in the international proletariat and, above all, the working class of Japan and China. Japanese imperialism oppresses not only the Korean people. The toilers of Japan and China are under its yoke and are also struggling against Japanese imperialism. Therefore the victory of the national liberation revolution of the Korean toilers is only possible by their joint struggle with the Japanese and Chinese toilers against the common enemy—Japanese imperialism. The workers of the world are struggling to overthrow international imperialism and destroy the entire capitalist system which is passing through a general crisis. As the E.C.C.I. pointed out, the end of capitalist stabilisation has come. We are at the turning point in the development of the general crisis of capitalism, at the moment of transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars.

The attack of capital brings the growth of the stubborn resistance of the international proletariat and the colonial peoples against their enslavers.

The revolutionary front of the world proletariat and the colonial peoples is growing and strengthening day by day in spite of all the cunning of the imperialists and their agents, the reformists and social fascists.

But for carrying on the struggle and to achieve the victory of the Korean revolution the Communist vanguard of the proletariat of Korea, the leader and organiser of the toiling masses of our country is necessary. **The formation of a centralised, disciplined ideologically united mass underground Communist Party is now the basic and long mature task of the revolutionary liberation movement of the country.**

To carry out this aim, the Communist Party of Korea exerts every effort to form a united monolithic ideologically firm fighting mass underground Party which will be able to rouse and organise the struggle of the Korean masses against the Japanese imperialists.

The Communist Party of Korea states with pride that it considers itself as a part of the organised international Communist Movement, a section of the Communist International. The Communist Party of Korea calls upon all the advanced workers and the revolutionaries who are loyal to the cause of the working class to join the ranks of the Communist Party which is being formed to fight for the historic tasks of the Korean revolution. Owing to the oppression of the Japanese rule and terror the Communist Party can exist and develop only as an underground organisation that utilises all legal and illegal forms in order to develop mass struggle and to win the toiling masses for the struggle to establish the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants at the first stage of the Korean revolution.

The Communist Party of Korea is forming its Party organisations and groups in all towns and in all the factories and mines of the country.

The Communist Party of Korea will organise the working class and the basic masses of the peasants under the banner of the

Korean revolution, and in spite of all difficulties and sacrifices will carry the struggle of the toiling masses to the point of the complete destruction of Japanese rule and landlord ownership so that then, together with the world proletariat, it will be able to move ahead to building up of a socialist society in our country and throughout the world.

Long live the independence of Korea!

Long live the working class, the leader of the toiling masses!

Long live the revolutionary uprising for independence, land, freedom and bread!

Long live the revolutionary alliance of the toilers of Korea, Japan and China in the struggle against Japanese imperialism!

Long live the Communist Party of Korea!

Long live the Comintern—the leader of the world revolution!

Long live the world proletarian revolution!

Initiative Group of the Korean Communists.

Proletarian Youth Movement

The Fascisation and Militarisation of the Youth and the Tasks of the Young Communist League

(Conclusion)

2. It is the duty of every Young Communist to expose the class nature of fascism among the broad masses of youth, explaining to them that:

"Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of finance capital."

They must make the youth understand that:

In Germany and in a number of other capitalist countries the growth of fascism and its seizure of power mean that:

a) The revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capitalism is growing;

b) The capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois-democracy in general;

c) Further, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois-democracy in general are becoming a hindrance for the capitalists both in internal politics (the struggle against the proletariat) as well as in foreign politics (war for the imperialist re-division of the world);

d) Capital is compelled as a result of this to pass on to the open terroristic dictatorship inside the country and to unrestrained chauvinism in foreign politics, which represents the direct preparation for imperialist war." (Resolutions of the Thirteenth Plenum, E.C.C.I.).

In Germany before the fascists came to power they promised to liquidate unemployment, to prohibit the exploitation of child labour, night work and injurious work for the youth, to repeal the law for reducing wages, to give a yearly paid three-week vacation to the youth, etc.

In practice the fascist government not only failed to carry out a single one of these promises, but it liquidated the remains of the political rights and freedom of the youth, gave concentration camps and jails, drove hundreds and thousands of the youth into the labour service camps under slavish conditions of work.

In reality the fascists brought unprecedented oppression and increased exploitation and poverty to the youth, under the cover of chauvinist and nationalist propaganda as well as anti-capitalist demagogy.

They are preparing cadres for the future imperialist war from among the youth and are pushing them into the abyss.

It must be explained to the youth that:

"Fascism, born in the womb of bourgeois-democracy, is in the eyes of the capitalists a means of saving capitalism from destruction. Only with the aim of deceiving and disarming the workers, social-democracy denies the fascisation of bourgeois-democracy, making a distinction in principle between the democratic countries and the countries of the fascist dictatorship."

The masses of the youth must be made to thoroughly understand that:

"The fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage in the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The possibil-

ties of averting it depends on the forces of the fighting proletariat which are being paralysed mostly by the disintegrating influence of social-democracy, which is and remains the chief social buttress of the bourgeoisie."

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the basis of concrete examples and facts, the real nature of bourgeois-democracy must be exposed to the masses of the youth. By the example of the Soviet Union the essence of proletarian democracy must be explained to the youth in plain language.

Every Y.C.L.'er must always bear in mind the directives of the Communist International that there is only one path of struggle for overthrowing every dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The chief slogan of the Communist International in this struggle is Soviet power. By the living example of the Soviet Union the youth should be shown that the Soviet power on one-sixth of the globe has destroyed economic and political oppression and slavery for the toiling youth and will destroy it throughout the world, that it will not only destroy the slavish system of forced labour and apprenticeship, but will guarantee work for the youth, the defence of labour (6—4 hour working day, equal pay for equal work, four weeks vacation with pay, material well-being and physical health.) The Soviet power is reorganising technical and professional education, making it possible for every young worker to receive the necessary qualifications which he needs and wants in the shortest possible time. The Soviet power opens wide the doors of all educational institutions and opens up the path towards the commanding positions in industry, agriculture, science, technique, etc. It ensures the active participation of all the toiling youth in all government life, in the construction of socialism.

The Young Communists must carry on all their work in such a way that the revolutionary activity of the youth and their participation in the class struggle will constantly improve. Under the leadership of the Party the Y.C.L.'ers must promptly rouse the masses of the youth to the struggle for their vital demands in defence of the trade unions, the workers' press, workers' clubs, the freedom of strikes, of workers' meetings, organising protests, demonstrations, strikes and forge the united front of struggle against fascism, for Socialism and for the Soviet power.

3. The Y.C.L. must build up its mass work in such a way that at the present time, in the period of the direct transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars, the broad masses of the youth will already be organised for an active struggle against imperialist war and its preparations, for converting imperialist war into civil war, for the courageous defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviet Republic. In struggling against the opportunist under-estimation of the danger of war, the Y.C.L. must expose and fight against every measure undertaken by the bourgeoisie in preparation for war and increase its political educational work in the army and also among the conscripts. It must also increase its ideological struggle against pacifism.

The Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. approves of the initiative and activity shown by the local organisations of the Y.C.L. in participating and preparing the Paris International Congress and the American National Congress of Youth for the struggle against war and fascism. By actively participating in the formation of anti-war and anti-fascist committees and in the election of delegates, by participating in meetings of the socialist and reformist youth and the youth in other organisations, many Y.C.L. organisations have obtained successes in the strengthening of the united front and the carrying out of the decisions of the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. on mass work. However, these are only the first steps. The results thus obtained and the contacts with the masses of youth must be consolidated and the united front of the youth must be widened still further in the struggle for their economic interests and political rights against fascism and war.

4. The Plenum of the E.C. Y.C.I., faced with the decisive class struggles and imperialist wars, calls upon the Young Communist organisations to mobilise their forces and energy in the struggle for the formation of the united front.

While forming and strengthening the united front of the toiling youth in the struggle for their economic and political interests, in the struggle against fascism and war, and not by negotiations from above and behind the backs of the masses, creating it from below, it is necessary to expose utterly the bankrupt leaders of the Second International and the Y.S.I. among the masses.

The social-fascist leaders of the Y.S.I. and also of the Second

International and the reformist trade unions, who in practice organise the reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie under the cover of empty talk about unity and democracy, split the working class, clear the path for fascism and prepare the masses for imperialist wars.

They are more and more throwing out of the ranks of the socialist youth organisations those who begin, not in words but in practice, to struggle jointly with the revolutionary workers, with the Communists and the Y.C.L. against the attack of the employers on the wages of the youth, against hunger and want, against fascism and war.

It is necessary to give active support to the growing revolutionary oppositional movement among the young Socialists. Together with them, shoulder to shoulder, united organs of struggle should be formed from below and the fight must be carried on against exploitation and oppression, against the fascistisation and militarisation of the youth. It must be explained to them that the path of their leaders is the path of fascism and war. Without waiting for the final breakdown and disintegration of the Y.S.I., it is necessary to win over into our ranks and to the side of Communism all the honest and revolutionary elements among the youth who are still under social-fascist and reformist influence.

A most determined struggle must be declared against the opportunist distortions of the line of the Comintern, which conceal the face of the Y.C.L. in its struggle for the united front and which strengthens social-democratic illusions among the masses.

It is impossible to tolerate such gross distortions of the decisions of the December Plenum of the E.C. Y.C.I. and the political mistakes which were committed.

In **Germany**, where individual Y.C.L.'ers, instead of clearly and definitely putting before the Young Socialists the questions of a joint struggle, of their coming over to the Y.C.L., themselves strengthened their bankrupt and decaying organisations, instead of bringing them and their individual members into the Y.C.L.

In **Czechoslovakia**, where the Y.C.L., "hoping" that the leaders of the Young Socialists would accept its proposals for the united front, concealed its political face, stopped the struggle against social-fascism and found itself lagging behind the revolutionised youth.

In **France**, the opportunists in the leadership of the Y.C.L., who were later exposed, not seeing the manoeuvres of the leaders of the Young Socialists, began to carry on negotiations from above on the question of the united front, disorientating the League, which slackened its struggle for the formation of the united front from below.

In **Austria**, where the Y.C.L., supporting the opposition movement in the Socialist Youth organisations, did not show sufficient activity in winning the revolutionary elements of the Young Socialists over to our side and in exposing the manoeuvres of the leaders of the Young Socialists and the centrist opposition.

While creating organs of the united front jointly with the Young Socialists for a common struggle against the reduction of the wages of the youth, against the plunder of unemployment relief, against any worsening of the conditions of labour and life of the toiling youth, against fascism and war, supporting the growing oppositional movement in the ranks of the Young Socialist organisations, it is necessary, in view of the conditions of the class struggle and the revolutionising of the youth, to raise directly the question that individual lower organisations and members of the Young Socialists should come over to the Y.C.L.

5. The chief task of the Communist Parties is to win over the majority of the working class and therefore the majority of the youth.

However, in the practical work of many of the Y.C.L. organisations, there is not a sufficient **struggle for the working youth**. After the December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. in 1932 no decisive successes were achieved in the struggle for carrying out the slogan of the Comintern on the formation of a Y.C.L. cell in every place where there is a factory Party cell. In Great Britain, this slogan was "annulled," not without the knowledge of some Party organisations. In France and in some other countries, this concrete task of the struggle for the working youth was likewise not brought forward as one of the chief tasks of the Party and the Y.C.L. organisations. In the struggle for the working youth, for the formation of a Y.C.L. cell alongside every factory Party cell, a radical change must be brought about. The whole of the work of the Y.C.L.

organisations and above all of their leading organs, must be subordinated to the struggle for the working youth. **Every Y.C.L.'er must always remember in connection with this that his authority will be strong and high and the cell will develop and have authority only if the youth see that the Y.C.L.'ers not only understand how to agitate in words, but are able in practice to organise their struggle for their own everyday economic demands and needs however small these may be.**

6. The December Plenum of the E.C.Y.C.I. pointed out that:

"The Y.C.L. must liquidate with Bolshevik insistence and consistency the ignoring and sectarian underestimation of the struggle for the masses of the toiling youth in the Y.S.I., the reformist, fascist, syndicalist, Christian, militarist and similar organisations, attracting the members of these organisations into the class struggle on the basis of the united front from below and carrying on among them active, revolutionary mass political work."

These directives of the E.C. Y.C.I. have not yet been made the basis of the mass work of all the Y.C.L. organisations.

Every Young Communist must understand that a successful struggle against the fascistisation and the militarisation of the youth is impossible unless work is carried on among the masses in the widespread network of bourgeois, fascist, reformist and sport organisations and also in forced labour camps. Attention must be focussed particularly on the work among the masses of youth in the **reformist, fascist, Christian and syndicalist trade unions**.

It is necessary to ensure in practice that not a single mass youth organisation, not a single forced labour camp, will be without an organ of the united front, committees for the struggle against fascism and war, associations of subscribers and readers of Communist papers, circles for the study of Marxism-Leninism, etc. A decisive factor in the development of mass political work inside the mass bourgeois youth organisations and in the forced labour camps is the formation and strengthening of the Y.C.L. groups, fractions and cells. The daily guidance of the Y.C.L.'ers who work in the mass organisations must be organised through such committees, and special cadres of instructors must be appointed for this purpose.

There must be a decided improvement in the work among the **unemployed youth**, a development of mass work among the **students**, including **children**, and a radical improvement in the work among **girls**, for drawing them into the revolutionary youth movement. The work among the broad strata of the young **farm labourers and peasants**, and especially the **nationally oppressed toiling youth**, must not only be increased but in many countries it must be started, not in words but in deeds. Without limiting ourselves to the formation and widening of Y.C.L. organisations, it is necessary to develop in all countries a wide network of legal and semi-legal mass auxiliary youth organisations.

In developing mass work, it is necessary in the shortest possible time to put an end to the sectarian isolation of the Y.C.L. organisations from the broad masses of youth, especially in Great Britain, Austria and Norway.

A very urgent task for all Young Communist Leagues is the struggle for the abolition of the tremendous difference between their organisational development and the extent to which the youth are included in them, and the growing Communist influence.

It is necessary to fight in a Bolshevik manner for the strengthening and organisational formation of the growing Communist influence and the revolutionary upsurge among the masses of working and toiling youth.

7. The League must immediately bring about a **reconstruction of the content, forms and methods of work** of the Y.C.L. organisations. In many sections of the Y.C.I. a purely formal attitude was taken to the directives of the December Plenum of the E.C. on the reconstruction of the work on the basis of the development of initiative and the heightening of the activity of all members of the Y.C.L. on the basis of **inner-League democracy and Bolshevik self-criticism**. We cannot tolerate the situation in which as formerly a restricted section of activists in many organisations try to work for the mass of the members and take the place of their activity and initiative. The work of all the leading bodies especially in the legal organisations must be put under the control of the masses, and in practice we must bring about an enhancement of the personal political responsibility, and must bring about **living concrete leadership** and not leadership by circulars in a bureau-

cratic manner. **Young cadres of workers** who have been tested on mass work in the struggle for the Party line must be decisively promoted. It is necessary to ensure the strengthening of **Party guidance** and an increase in the Party core in all sections of the organisation.

All sections of the Y.C.I. without exception must immediately develop a **Bolshevik struggle** for the fulfilment of the directives of the Thirteenth Plenum that:

"The entire situation demands from the Communist Parties the simultaneous training of **cadres** for underground work, a serious organisation of **struggle against provocation**, combining the strictest **conspiratorial** methods with the greatest guarantee of the best contacts with the **masses**, and to see that the structure and the work of the underground organisations will not be **schematic**."

In all the organisations of the Y.C.I., it is necessary to start immediately to carry on a profound study of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and to attain a genuine **Bolshevik** application of this in the everyday struggles.

The Co-operative Movement

The Double Game of the Bureaucrats of the International Co-operative Alliance

By Frab

From 16th to 18th of January there took place in Miramare (South France) a meeting of the Executive of the International Co-operative Alliance.

In addition to the preparation of the Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance which is to take place next August in London, and a resolution on the economic programme, the most important item on the agenda was the application of the German Co-operatives to be accepted as members of the Alliance.

According to the statutes of the I.C.A., the German Consumers' Co-operative Federation ceased to be members of the International Alliance as a result of the amalgamation of the two incorporated federations of German co-operatives, i.e., the reformist federation and the christian national federation. At a special conference held in Basle in June, 1933, **Klepzig**, a social democrat, demanded the recognition and admission of a Nazi delegation as representatives of the Central Federation of German consumers' co-operatives. This delegation was admitted. Owing to the provocative attitude of this Nazi delegation, the General Secretary of the Alliance, a pro-fascist, was constrained to reject, in a very modest manner, the co-operative theories of the Nazis. As a result, the Nazi delegation left the session under protest. This incident was made use of by social fascists such as **Lustig and Co.** in order to attack the Soviet co-operatives. They represented the fascist co-operative system in Germany as being on the same level as that of the Soviet Union. The representative of the Soviet co-operatives thereupon exposed the role of the social fascist co-operative bureaucrats and sharply defined the attitude of the Soviet co-operatives towards fascism. Already during the conference the General Secretary, May, attempted to settle the differences with the German fascists in a personal conversation, an attempt which was later continued by correspondence. This is how the application of the German consumers' co-operatives for admission came to be submitted.

The sharp rejection of the fascist policy of terror, as well as the international campaign of protest against this terror, compelled the Alliance to manoeuvre more cautiously than hitherto in order to be able to continue its deception of the masses. Thus at the Executive meeting which was held in Vienna from 6th to 8th October, 1933, it was decided first to send a delegation to Germany and then settle the question of admission. The German fascists, however, rejected an official delegation, but at the same time sent an invitation to **Tanner**, the president of the Finnish social democrats and president of the Alliance, to visit the German co-operatives and to negotiate with regard to the fascist co-operatives joining the I.C.A. Thus the fascist rulers wish to employ a leading member of the Second International in order to defend their interests in the I.C.A. It would be hardly possible to give

a better characterisation of the social democracy and the Second International.

At the meeting of the Executive in Miramare on January 18 this invitation was benevolently "recognised," as is stated in the resolution, but after much hesitation the invitation to **Tanner** was declined and the admission of the German co-operatives refused.

The representatives of the Soviet co-operatives were absent from the last two sessions of the Executive of the Alliance. **Mr. Lustig**, the chairman of the Czechoslovakian reformist co-operative federation, utilised their absence in order to write in the "Konsumgenossenschaft" of January 29 that the fight of the Communists against fascism is merely a phrase. It will not be difficult to prove to the social-democratic workers that the statements of **Lustig** are a downright calumny. Hundreds of Communists are risking their lives daily and showing how the Communists are fighting against fascism.

It is precisely this struggle of the Communists which is drawing more and more honest social-democratic workers away from the social-democratic party.

At a meeting in April, 1933, the Executive of the Alliance dealt with the situation of the consumers' co-operatives in the various countries, including Germany. At this meeting the representative of the Soviet co-operatives suggested that the I.C.A. should commence a campaign against fascism. The representative of the Soviet co-operatives, on behalf of his organisation, submitted a resolution which, after a characterisation of fascism, called for a united struggle of the working class against it, and concluded with the following proposal:—

"(1) The co-operatives must join in the defensive struggles of the working class and promote them by every means (convening of membership meetings, placing the localities of the consumers' co-operatives at the disposal of the workers for meetings and demonstrations of solidarity, etc.).

"(2) To conduct a systematic campaign in the co-operative press for the united resistance of the working class against reaction.

"(3) To make collections among the members in support of the victims of terror. To demand the right of asylum for the political refugees. To grant material aid to the refugees.

"(4) To support to the greatest extent and send delegates to the International Anti-Fascist Congress to take place in Copenhagen at the end of April.

"(5) The demonstrations on May 1 shall be participated in by the co-operatives and their members and shall bear an anti-fascist character."

This resolution was rejected by the social fascists in the Alliance in order, as **Klepzig** stated, not to damage the German co-operatives still more.

The acceptance of this resolution would have meant the mobilisation of the workers organised in the co-operatives against the bourgeoisie and its fascist State apparatus. But how can the co-operative bureaucracy mobilise the workers against capitalism and the fascist State apparatus in Czechoslovakia, for instance, where the social democrats are participating in the government? In spite of the most energetic decisions against fascism which were adopted, under the pressure of the masses, at the Congress of the British co-operatives, the representatives of the British co-operatives adopted a conciliatory attitude to the admission of the German Nazis into the Alliance and thus violated the decisions of their members. After the conclusion of the Executive meeting, at which they allegedly fought against fascism, the social fascists **Johansson** (Sweden) and **Tanner** (Finland) visited the fascist co-operatives in Germany and, in their co-operative press, lauded the fascist regulation and maintenance of the German consumers' co-operatives.

The revolutionary co-operative opposition has the possibility of concentrating on the fight for winning the social-democratic workers in the co-operatives and, by means of tenacious and persistent work, persuading them of the shameful role of their leaders. Precisely the German example and the attitude of the reformist co-operative bureaucracy in Germany furnishes the best opportunity to increase their influence, to wrest the main masses of workers away from the influence of the social democrats and to align them into the general fighting front of the working class.

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