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# Dnieprostroi.

## The Dniepr in the Service of Socialism.

By W. M. Holmes (Moscow).

### I.

Dnieprostroi is a name which all the world knows. Scores of correspondents, bourgeois as well as proletarian, have described the wonders of this great enterprise, and recorded the gigantic dimensions of the plan which is to make this the most powerful hydro electric station in the world. Some bourgeois correspondents tried, when the greater part of the enterprise still existed only in the form of plans, to prove by argument that it could not be realised. But bourgeois arguments cannot stand against Bolshevik deeds. After three years of ceaseless effort, Dnieprostroi is a living reality. The turbines sing like huge humming-tops and the cables which mount up the river banks on their high pylons, from the great transforming station to the factories, are alive. Let any bourgeois critic now try to demonstrate that these cables are not alive. He will get a nasty shock.

Well, if Dnieprostroi, of which all the world already knows, is a reality, what more remains to be said about it? Much. What I should like to say would fill a book. It is not so much of dams and turbines, cables and kilowatts that I wish to write, as of the meaning of Dnieprostroi as a piece of socialist building. In reality, it is this aspect of the enterprise, rather than its physical size and difficulty, which has attracted the attention of the world to what is happening on the banks of the Dniepr.

Mighty schemes for generating electricity from natural

forces are continually being discussed in capitalist countries. In Britain we have the Severn, barrage scheme—on paper. For all the progress the British finance-capitalists make, it is likely to remain on paper. America, it is true, has the Niagara power station and the Tennessee dam. But Dnieprostroi in power, is not far short of the two of them put together. And the working class with the Bolsheviks at the head, in technically backward Russia, built it and set it going in five years.

How can the Soviets turn the dreams of scientists and engineers into reality, while capitalist dally, and postpone them? Among the thousands of visitors from foreign lands who saw Dnieprostroi this summer, there were many who pondered this question. One American, a retired rich farmer from Michigan, a simple, serious man, put his thoughts to me thus:

"Y-e-s-s-i-r", he said, "it certainly is a wonderful piece of work. And the question you naturally ask yourself is, how did they get all the money to build it? The way I figure it, it's because the Government here controls the finances. Whereas in America it's the financiers that control the Government."

He was a long way from understanding that "the Government here" is a government of the working class which is carrying out a plan of socialist construction; and that there are no finance-capitalists to exploit Dnieprostroi as a source of dividends. But he had arrived at some inkling of the difference

which is what makes the triumph of Dnieprostroi as gall to the bourgeois prophets.

What is the purpose of this mighty source of power? Concretely, it is to provide energy for a complex of industrial works unequalled in the world. An aluminium-producing works, a high-grade steel plant, a ferro-alloy plant producing the compounds for high-grade steels, a coke and chemical plant, a work for highly refractory furnace bricks—these are among the new creations which will be the immediate consumers of the Dniepr's power.

Let us look at the landscape of Dnieprostroi, as you see it at this stage of its development. We are standing on the roof of a tall building, near the end of the dam on the left bank of the Dniepr. On our right the dam displays its graceful three-quarters of a mile curve. Locomotives, cranes and swarms of workers are toiling at the completion of the road for motors and pedestrians and the tramway track which will communicate with the opposite shore. Far below, the Dniepr is spouting in yellow spray between the white concrete piers. Rainbows play over the smoking water as it rushes down the ninety-foot spillway into the boiling whirlpool, surrounded by jagged granite rocks. At the far end of the dam is the massive power-station building, in rose-coloured granite, thrusting its shoulder into the steep right bank. Dnieprostroi is not only a mighty source of power, it is a creation of the most fascinating beauty.

Leading away from our view point in a straight line is a broad, new road. It consists of an asphalted track for motor-cars, a section for the tramway, and, separated from the road by newly planted trees, broad sidewalks. It is named the "street of the Enthusiasts". And, when you have heard something of the history of the building of Dnieprostroi, you will agree the name is justified. It is the main street of the socialist town, which fills the whole middle distance with its array of modern buildings of tinted concrete—pale grey, rose and white. Relieved by green foliage, these buildings with their wide windows, make a fresh, bright picture in the clear, sunny weather. Here were no human habitations before, and, consequently, there are no relics of the past. Dnieprostroi is the most advanced piece of socialist town-planning in the U.S.S.R., and the most attractive I have seen. It is still comparatively in the rough, as close inspection will show, and it is not difficult to point out defects. Nevertheless, the sight of this new city of the working class cannot fail to stir any but the most obstinate sceptic of the possibility of socialist construction.

On the horizon, beyond the town, rise tall chimneys, blast-furnaces, long factory buildings and forests of scaffold-  
ing. This is the outer edge of the new system of giant metal-works and factories which I have already enumerated. The new industrial area stretches far away out of sight, over the hitherto unpopulated steppe. This is the vast arena of workshops, whose machines are now set in motion, of furnaces which are now being raised to astonishing temperatures by the power of the great humming tops in that rose-coloured granite building over there on the dam. This is the scene of the creative activity of the tens of thousands of workers who now populate the former wilderness. This is the result of five years of Bolshevik effort.

We trace the long line of pylons, backwards, from the factories to the river bank. The electric cables are carried over the main stream by steeltowers more than two hundred feet high—enough to allow the passage of the tallest ship. Over the green and fertile island of Hortitza, by tradition an ancient stronghold of the cossacks, and again over the secondary branch of the river, we trace the cables back to the transforming-station on the farther bank. From this bewildering maze of apparatus, of giant insulators and wires, other lines of cables branch forth. One vanishes into the far distance, leading over ninety miles to Dniepropetrovsk, feeding the great iron and steel works there with 60,000 kilowatts of energy. And again it leads another thirty miles to the great new steel works named after **Dzerzhinsky**.

In the opposite direction go the cables leading one hundred miles and more to the coal mines of the Donbass, and yet another set leading to the iron ore mines of Krivoirog.

This is a sketch of the great network over which Dnieprostroi will spread its 550,000 kilowatts of energy, transforming industry by the abundance of its power—the cheapest in the world. What does it mean to the lives of the workers who made it? It means a big stride forward into socialism. It was

**Lenin** who made the epigram "**Communism is Soviet power plus electrification**". And he amplified his famous remark with the statement, "Large-scale industry, brought to the level of the latest technique and capable of reorganising agriculture, means the electrification of the whole country". The plan of electrification which Lenin was then pressing has already been accomplished. And, in creating Dnieprostroi, and in going forward to still greater creations, the workers of the U.S.S.R. are following the line of progress to socialism pointed out by our great leader.

## II.

"Come back and see what we have done in Russia in ten years' time", said **Lenin**.

That was in 1920, and he was talking to Mr. **H. G. Wells**. That famous Utopian had been discussing with Lenin the first plan for the electrification of Russia. And, in his book, "Russia in the Shadows", he summarises the interview as follows:

"Lenin, who, like a good orthodox Marxist denounces "Utopians", has succumbed at last to an Utopia, the Utopia of the electricians. He is throwing all his weight into a scheme for the development of great power stations in Russia to serve whole provinces with light, with transport and industrial power. Two experimental districts, he said, had already been electrified.

"Can one imagine a more courageous project in a vast flat land of forests and illiterate peasants, **with no water power**, with no technical skill available, and with trade and industry at the last gasp?"

"Projects for such an electrification are in process of development in Holland and they have been discussed in England. In those densely populated and industrially highly developed centres one can imagine them as successful, economical and altogether beneficial.

"But their application to Russia is altogether too great a strain upon the constructive imagination. I cannot see anything of the sort happening in this dark crystal of Russia, but this little man at the Kremlin can: he sees the decaying railways replaced by a new electric transport, sees new roadways spreading throughout the land, sees a new and happier Communist industrialism rising.

"While I talked to him he almost persuaded me to share his vision . . . But these are only sketches and beginnings", the doubting Utopian objected.

"Come back and see what we have done in Russia in ten years' time", Lenin answered.

Poor Mr. Wells! If he could stand on the banks of the Dniepr now, and see the mighty river harnessed to the production of electric energy equal to more than eight hundred thousand horsepower—he, who is so ignorant that he thinks that this "vast flat of forests" contains no water-power! If he could see the long lines of steel pylons, suggestive of his own imaginary Martians, straddling over the steppe, and bearing on their giant arms the cables charged with energy to drive countless workshops and to light thousands of village homes—if he could see all this, what would he say?

"I cannot see anything of the sort happening in this dark crystal of Russia, but this little man at the Kremlin can . . ."

The Utopian could not see anything in the realities before his nose. It was too dark, too hard, too terrifying. But the "little man at the Kremlin", who scorned Utopians, could see. He was Lenin—the leader and inspirer of the army of men and women who never even in the darkest moments of difficulty, doubt the creative force which carries the working class to victory—the Bolsheviks.

If Mr. Wells were in the Soviet Union today, he would be among those doubters who moan over the immense difficulties which still beset the path of the builders of socialism. But Dnieprostroi should silence the Mr. Wellses.

The history of the building of Dnieprostroi is one long story of fight with difficulties and doubters. And the answer to all doubts is that the dam was completed and the first power generated on May 1, 1932. The original plan provided that, on December 1, 1932, two turbines were to be set in motion. Thus, the shock-brigades of socialism beat their own time-table by six months.

Was it because they found their task easier than had been at first supposed? It certainly was not. On the contrary, many unforeseen difficulties and problems arose in the course of constructing the dam. Many a time the American engineers,

the world's most experienced constructors of such works, employed as consultants, were baffled by these problems. And who solved them? Let us talk to the men who did the work, the engineers, the men of pick and shovel, sledge hammer and pneumatic drill. You will find their words more useful and more bracing, than the meditations of Mr. Wells, the crystal-gazer.

Here, in an office whose windows give a view along the great curve of the dam to the distant power-station, is a leader of socialist shock-brigade work, one who has been engaged on the constructional work of the dam since its beginning in 1929. He tells us how, in order to enable them to cut the trough in the granite of the river-bed, which was to take the foundations of the dam, a temporary dam had to be thrust into the rapids, to divert the course of the stream. If you will imagine the third largest river in Europe roaring through a narrow granite channel in these foothills of the Carpathian mountains, you may get some idea of the difficulty and danger of these first steps. The temporary dam was made, and the trough duly cut and blasted from bank to bank of the river. But often the terrific pressure of the river broke the temporary dam, and water and debris were hurled into the trough. The winter of 1929 was approaching. In 1930 the work of laying concrete was to begin. For this purpose, the trough must be dry and clean—"As clean and dry as this", says our comrade, passing his hand over his glass-covered desk.

If the frost set in and froze the water in the trough before it was cleared, the whole work would be set back six months. Some of the specialists lost heart, said the trough could not be got ready. But the Communist leaders among the workers called meetings of the masses. The problem was discussed by the workers themselves, and they decided that it could be solved by united effort. Brigades were formed and leaders elected. "Clear the trough at all costs" was the workers' own slogan.

The eight-hour working day was found insufficient to complete the task in time. Volunteer overtime brigades were then formed. In the course of ninety days, 22,000 men had worked overtime more than once, in addition to the regular workers on the job. The fight against the river gripped the imagination of every worker. Men worked, ate hasty meals, worked again, slept a little, never left the job until at last, before the frost came, the huge trough, cut for a length of three-quarters of a mile in the living rock, was clean and ready for the concrete foundations of the dam.

### III.

Contributions to the world's knowledge of engineering, a new technique of immense importance, have been made by the Soviet engineers who built the Dnieprostroi dam and power station. The dam contains 1,200,000 tons of concrete. That is over four times as much as the biggest dam in Europe, and one-fifth as much again as the Tennessee dam—until Dnieprostroi, the biggest structure of its kind in the world. And one peculiarity and problem of Dnieprostroi was that here, in winter, the temperature falls to 20 centigrade degrees below zero. How to carry on the work of laying the concrete, under these conditions, and so ensure the carrying out of the plan at the appointed time?

The American specialists answered this question with a frank "Impossible". In 1930, when the excavations into the granite river-bed had been completed, and the work of laying the concrete begun, Mr. Cooper, the great American engineer employed as chief consultant, made the statement that the power station would not be ready to give current before 1933 or '34. Certainly, the laying of this prodigious amount of concrete, the building of the power-station and the installation of turbines, transformers and so forth, in the two years between the spring of 1930 and that of 1932, was an unheard-of undertaking. But it was the task which the workers had set themselves, by the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, taken in 1929.

Therefore it was necessary, despite all the experts might say, to find a way of laying concrete throughout the winter. The Soviet engineers found the way. And the Soviet workers tackled the painful and dangerous work with an enthusiasm which is utterly beyond the comprehension of those who do not understand the difference between capitalist enterprise and socialist construction. Mr. H. G. Wells finds it "too great a strain upon the constructive imagination". Others mutter,

"forced labour". Does anyone believe that such a mighty task, calling for such effort, could be done, and done well, in six months less than the allotted time, by forced labour?

It was done, and Mr. Cooper, last May, recanted his statement of 1930 by sending a telegram to the chief Soviet engineer, Winter, declaring that the builders of Dnieprostroi had achieved what seemed impossible. How did they do it?

When the decision had been taken, against the opposition of the Americans, and of some of the Soviet engineers, to carry on the laying of concrete during the winter, brigades were formed. A particularly active part was played by the Young workers. Their brigades were engaged, in the winter of 1931-2, in laying concrete between the piers of the dam. The river was held back by temporary sluices, but often the torrent broke through between the piers, and drenched the workers below. In the intense cold, their clothing at once froze hard. Nevertheless, in such acute discomfort and danger, the spirit of socialist competition led brigade to challenge brigade.

Here is a story of one Young workers brigade, told me by one of its members. The brigade, of eight or ten men, received its supplies of concrete from above by crane. The normal supply was from 70 to 80 big buckets in an eight hour day. The brigade met, and decided to ask the crane-driver to give them 90 buckets a day. He replied, "All right, I'll give you a hundred". And in that bitter weather, the Young Communists went on laying one hundred big bucket-loads of concrete per day in the granite bed of the Dnieprostroi.

During that winter, it was necessary, in order that the spring flood waters might be held, and the dam be in readiness to supply water to the turbines, that sluices be fixed between the piers. Again, the Americans warned the Soviet engineers that this was an impossible undertaking. And again the Soviet workers and engineers put all their force to the task, and achieved the impossible. Many heroes of labour arose in this struggle. Such a one is **Kozub**, a great ex-peasant, of whom his comrades speak with a mixture of amusement and enthusiasm for his terrific feats.

Kozub came to Dnieprostroi, as an unskilled labourer, at the very beginning of its construction. He had been working as a sailor on one of the ships which ply on the Dniepr. On the construction of the dam, he was employed as a crane banksmen. Under the tuition of the American specialists, he learned quickly, and became assistant-foreman for a section of the dam. When the difficult task of lowering the temporary sluice-gates into position came to be tackled, Kozub was given the job. He invented a method of driving the sluices down by using a crane as a sort of huge pile-driver, which hammered the structure into position, by dropping a great mass of concrete upon it. Perched perilously on the edge of the sluice, Kozub would signal directions to the crane-driver. More than once he was hurled twenty feet or more into the icy water. But Kozub only laughed at these mishaps. His first sluice took eight or nine days to fix. But he worked at his task, improving his methods, sometimes staying on the job for two days at a time, until the fixing of a sluice took only eight hours.

So Kozub carried out his task for socialist construction. A few months ago, he joined the Communist Party, declaring that he recognised the leadership of the Party in the carrying out of the mighty work which has inspired his life with enthusiasm. Of such stuff are the shock-brigaders of socialism made; this is what socialist construction makes out of "illiterate peasants . . . with no technical skill" of whom Mr. H. G. Wells speaks in disdain.

When spring, 1932, came, the dam was so far completed that the flood waters of the Dniepr found themselves unable to make their usual wild dash through the rapids at Kitchkas, the site of Dnieprostroi. Water and ice-floes were piled up behind the great wall of concrete, until the level of the river above the dam had risen scores of feet. The landscape above the dam was changed. A great lake appeared where formerly there had been a valley in the steppe. When the ice broke, some young engineers set off in a motor-launch to explore the lake which they had created. They came to a far-away village. "What have you done?" the old peasants asked them. "When the ice broke, the Dniepr used to roar. Now he only whispers."

But, down at the dam, the Dniepr was far from whispering. The great river was making one final effort to break down the barrier which checked its ancient rush to the sea, and harnessed its forces in the service of socialist construction. The dam held the innumerable tons of ice and water, but, at one end, where the power-station stands, the fight with the

flood was going through its last stages. The great tubes under the turbine house had been completed to take the flow of water which was to drive the generators. The giant rotors had been installed, and, above them, two generators were already complete and connected up for their preliminary tests.

Here the river launched its last attack. Thousands of tons of flood-water poured over the structure, preventing the final inspection of the valves in the water-tubes. Unless this inspection could be completed, the pledge to generate power on the First of May could not be fulfilled. Once again the call of the Party for shock-brigades was sounded. The call was answered, as it had always been answered during the three years' fight with the river, by hundreds of volunteers. They undertook the task of dumping immense quantities of sandbags to hold back the flood water from the valves. Often the raging river carried the heavy sandbags away like pebbles but more and more volunteers came to the call.

"We worked without any sense of time", one of the enthusiasts told us "taking a few hours' sleep in the power-station, eating our meals on the spot, until we had built up the barriers and cleared the tubes of water."

It should be made clear, by the way, that, although the enthusiasts gave time and energy without stint, every worker who answered these emergency calls was well rewarded. In addition to overtime pay, premiums were paid for special efforts. Every time a brigade completed its work in less than the appointed time, a percentage was added to the wages of its members. In this way, many thousands of roubles have been paid to the builders of Dnieprostroi, in addition to the regular wages.

So the shock-brigaders fulfilled their pledge, and the first current was generated at Dnieprostroi on May 1, 1932. Some months later, we stood in the water-tube, under the river, of the fourth turbine, then erected and almost ready to be linked up in the series of generating units. Imagine yourself in the tunnel of a London Underground railway. It curves away upward to where massive valves support the pressure of thousands of tons of water.

"If those valves were to open—goodbye", says the engineer with a grin. Now you can picture something of the heroic efforts of the shock-brigaders who drove back the flood-water from these valves. When the valves are opened, this tunnel will be filled with a mighty torrent which will set the huge rotor, delicately poised on its axis, spinning, and thus the river will give energy, light and warmth to thousands of workshops and homes. It will set electric trains and trams running; will till the soil with electric ploughs; will light up the electric suns in the hospitals where sick workers are treated; will cook thousands of meals for workers in great, communal kitchens.

These are no longer what the sceptical Mr. H. G. Wells called "sketches and beginnings". The vision of the "Dreamer in the Kremlin", that which Mr. Wells called "the Utopia of the electricians", is reality on the banks of the Dniepr, in the land of socialist construction. And in capitalist Britain, where engineers have also conceived such great plans for harnessing natural forces, these things are still only sketches and not even beginnings.

**Socialism** can do these things, even if it has to begin with half-literate peasants as workers. True, 55 per cent. of the builders of Dnieprostroi were peasants by origin, and 20 per cent. of them came straight from the villages. But Dnieprostroi has trained twenty thousand skilled constructional workers. It has trained scores of engineers from the working class. These Soviet engineers have developed a new technique. They have done things which the Americans set down as "impossible". Now, with all their experience and skill won by struggle with the Dniepr, they are going on to harness the **Volga**. In no less than five places they will dam that vast river. And then they will go on to the **Angara**, that inconceivably vast flood which pours out of Lake Baikal, in eastern Siberia, where the thermometer falls not twenty but fifty centigrade degrees below zero in winter. With a knowledge and experience which no other engineers in the world can rival, they will build there a power-station equal to ten Dnieprostrois.

The electric sun rises over the Soviet Union, from Europe to the Far East, as the sun of socialism rises. It cannot rise over the rest of the world until the fogs of capitalism have been dispersed.

## POLITICS

### The Four-Power Conference.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

What was to be expected has happened more quickly than one had thought: the German Government reached out with both hands when the English mediatory action seemed to offer the first possibility of an understanding with France. In the great haste in which it expressed its approval, the German Government quite forgot that only a few days previously it had made its readiness to enter into any fresh negotiations dependent upon the fulfilment of certain conditions and guarantees. But who can insist on guarantees and conditions when the situation allows no delay? Therefore, to the negotiations table, and the sooner the better!

The Papen Government has only been able to conceal very badly the **fresh defeat** implied in its approval of the English proposal for a Conference. Instead of any conditions, the Government expressed only the modest desire that the final declaration of the Powers at Lausanne should form the basis for the negotiations at the Conference. But as is known, that declaration is characterised by absolute lack of content, and only says that the governments wish to find a new settlement which shall render possible the establishment and promotion of confidence among the peoples, in the mutual spirit of amity, co-operation and justice. If the Papen-Schleicher Cabinet has not been able to find a better means of masking its retreat, then this only shows how great its difficulties are.

The German Government press, in order to conceal the retreat of the Cabinet, attempted to make out that the British Government had declared itself ready to support the German Government demands for equality in regard to armaments. Thereupon Downing Street caused a sharp **denial** to be published through Reuter's Bureau, in which it was declared that the English Government knew nothing of any such obligations but regarded these German reports as an unwelcome disturbance. The German bourgeoisie, who have already become so modest, must become even more modest and not even be allowed to swindle their own people.

But the Papen-Schleicher Cabinet have also their own reasons for being very modest in the field of international politics. For since their armaments ultimatum everything has changed to their disadvantage. The fact that England adopted such an extraordinarily sharp tone against Germany's demand for equality of status, was a cold douche for the gentlemen in the Wilhelmstraße and considerably cooled their ardour. The fact that the United States opposed Germany no less emphatically, made matters still worse. To this there must be added the sharp **turn in Austrian foreign politics** and the **tension with Italy**. This renders Germany's isolation complete.

The League of Nations loan had an effect in Austria. **Dollfuss** submitted to the commands of French imperialism. Vienna is only a foreign political outpost of France, a point in the French system of power. On the desire of France **Dollfuss** recalled the Austrian Ambassador in Berlin, **Dr. Frank**, because he had committed himself too much, in the German-Austrian union question. At the same time, **Dollfuss** appointed **Baron Pflügl**, Austrian Ambassador in Paris, a man who, as representative of the Austrian Republic in Geneva, has proved himself to be out and out pro-French.

The change of Ambassadors, however, was a first step which has already been followed by another: according to the Geneva press, **Baron Pflügl** has communicated to the French Minister for War, **Paul Boncour**, his objections to the Four-Power Conference and demanded that Austria should also be included. That is a pre-arranged game by means of which the French Government aims at securing the participation of its vassal States, Poland and Czechoslovakia, in the Conference. Whilst a part of the German bourgeois press try to represent this **painful attack by Austria on Germany** as if Austria had adopted Germany's standpoint on the armaments question, the "Lokal-Anzeiger", Hugenberg's organ, states

quite openly that here there is an intrigue directed against Germany.

This inclusion of Austria in French imperialism's system of power is an extraordinarily severe blow to Germany's foreign policy. But the German bourgeoisie must gradually get used to the fatal idea that it has lost the "battle for the Danube".

The worsening of relations with **Italy** is a no less severe blow to the Papen-Schleicher Cabinet.

We have really never overestimated the value of the support which Germany had to expect from fascist Italy. But as little as the friendship of Italy has been of use to German foreign policy, so much can the hostility of the same Italy harm it.

The occasion for the German-Italian tension was the trade policy of the Papen Government, the introduction of **import quotas**. Mussolini immediately replied to this by rendering impossible Germany's imports to Italy by prohibiting foreign exchange transactions for the purpose of paying for imports from Germany. The Reichsbank immediately replied with similar measures against Italy. But this is not only an economic but a political matter, for what attitude can the von Papen Government expect at the approaching Conference from a government which has just declared a trade war against Germany?

In the last few days certain voices have been heard in the ranks of the German bourgeoisie calling attention to the necessity of an improvement of Germany's **relations with the Soviet Union** in face of the complete foreign-political isolation of Germany. The "Tägliche Rundschau", which is more or less connected with General von Schleicher, in its issue of the 2nd instant, likewise discussed the foreign-political situation and stated that the encirclement of Germany had already been accomplished. It at the same time investigated the relations of Germany to the Soviet Union and declared that the Papen Cabinet itself would be to blame if Herriot succeeded in securing the Soviet Union's neutrality for French policy towards Germany.

The "Tägliche Rundschau", however, makes a great mistake when it confines its criticism to Papen. For as a matter of fact it is the decisive groups of German finance capital that are demanding of Papen and Neurath an understanding with France. These same gentlemen shouted bravo when Schleicher demanded equality of armaments for Germany; but now their businesses are in danger, and they therefore categorically demand an "understanding".

What **compromise** the governments of England and France will submit to the Papen Government for acceptance it is impossible to say with certainty at present. It is reported that Herriot intends to go to London for the purpose of a Conference and that he will take with him his new "security plan". One thing is certain: the German demands will not in any way be fulfilled. It is not all impossible that Germany will be granted theoretical equality, but only in order to refuse it to her the more effectively in practice. In return for this, however, the German bourgeoisie will have to pay something: they will have to purchase the trifling concessions to be offered them in the armament question with fresh political assurances and pledges, which will bind them still more firmly to the Versailles system of France. And these assurances relate at least in part to Germany's relations to the Soviet Union.

The "Tägliche Rundschau" of the 8th instant openly divulged that England made its proposals of mediation dependent upon Germany's cold shouldering the Soviet Union:

"It must be plainly pointed out that Germany, by abstaining from any positive policy towards the Soviet Union, has already made the first substantial concession to the Western Powers. We think at any rate we can maintain with certainty that the exclusion of Russia plays an essential role in the English proposals for mediation."

It would be idle to prophecy what the approaching Conference will bring. It suffices that its anti-Bolshevist character is now already revealed. It is a warning to the working class of all countries, showing them how great is the imperialist threat to the working people of the Soviet Union who are about to celebrate the 15th anniversary of their victorious revolution.

## The Presidential Elections in the United States.

By J. Louis Engdahl (New York).

The 1932 presidential elections (November Eighth) in the United States take place on the threshold of the fourth winter of the ever-deepening crisis with millions of workers and poor farmers and their families slowly dying of starvation.

The presidential elections are held every four years. **Herbert Hoover**—the Hunger President—was elected in November 1928 on the wave of so-called "Coolidge Prosperity", that had endured for the period that Calvin Coolidge, the retiring president, had been in office.

President Hoover, however, had hardly been inaugurated in March 1929, and taken up his residence in the White House, the presidential mansion in Washington, when the index of business activity began to fall from 110.1 in May to 108.9 in June 1929. In three years this had plunged in July, this year, when the capitalist political parties were polishing up their election campaign programmes, to the new low of 52.1. During this same period the jobless masses had increased from three million, when President Hoover denied there was any unemployment at all, to approximately fifteen million to-day.

While the election itself is referred to as a presidential election, it is much broader in scope. One-third of the senate, the upper house of congress whose members serve six years, is to be elected, as well as all members of the lower house of congress, the house of representatives, elected for two years. Election of state governments, including state legislatures, will take place in practically all of the 48 states; and in many states even county and municipal elections. In many places, therefore, the voter will be confronted with hundreds of names of candidates of the various parties.

The so-called two-party system, that places every obstacle against an expression of minority opinion, still holds. This is clearly seen in the composition of the present senate; republicans, 48; democrats, 47; farmer-labour, one; and of the house of representatives: republicans, 214; democrats, 219; farmer-labour, one, and one vacancy. This is practically an even balance between the two dominant parties. This is revealed also in the official count of the vote cast in the last presidential elections in 1928 as follows: republicans, 21,392,190; democrats, 15,016,443; socialists, 267,420; Communists, 48,770; Socialist-Labour, 21,603; prohibitionist, 20,106; farmer-labour, 6,390. This gives a total vote of 36,879,414 cast, which is about the same as in the recent reichstag elections in Germany 36,333,152 although Germany has only half the population of the United States. All the minority parties combined fell far short of half a million votes.

This year **Herbert Hoover** is the candidate of the republican party for re-election; **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, the governor of New York state is the candidate of the democratic party; **Norman Thomas**, protestant preacher and magazine editor, candidate of the Socialist Party, with **William Z. Foster**, secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, the standard bearer of the **Communist Party**. The other minority parties will play an even smaller role this year, than in 1928, if they enter into the election at all.

The **democratic party**, this year "the opposition" in the two-party system, historically, is the party of Negro slavery in the United States, the party of "The Solid South", of lynch murder, of the Ku Klux Klan. But it is also the party of Tammany Hall, New York City's corrupt century-old political machine. It is also the dominant party in the municipal administration of Chicago, the nation's second city. In the closing years of the last century it was in considerable part a party of agrarian protest and middle class "struggle against Wall Street", but during the war, with **Woodrow Wilson**, as president, Wall Street took over the party as its very own. There are many seeming contradictions within the democratic party, but this is equally true of the republican party, and characteristic of the two-party system. The democratic party is the party of the dry, protestant and agrarian "South" and "Middle West", but also of the wet, catholic, and industrial and finance capital of New York and Chicago. It has its "progressives" (Wheeler, Costigan, etc.) and its ultra-reactionaries.

The **Republican Party** was born out of the Civil War period, 1861-1865, in the struggle of the rising capitalist class

against the decaying, Southern feudal landlord reaction. It has long carried the fig-leaf of "Lincoln-The Emancipator". But it was the party of President **William McKinley** that waged the war against Spain (1898-99), seized the Philippines and definitely entered upon an era of imperialist aggression. After the world war it came into power with the election of **Warren G. Harding**, in 1920, and has remained in power ever since. In 1928, the republican party really broke "The Solid South" for the first time, Hoover winning most of the Southern states. The republican party has its so-called "progressives" (La Follette, Norris, Frazier, Nye, etc.), and it has the most outspoken representatives of the great capitalists (Smoot, Reed, Davis, etc.).

There is no fundamental differences to-day between the democratic and republican parties. They are alike the instruments of finance capital. Only their united action in the national congress made possible the so-called Reconstruction Finance Corporation with its 4,000 million dollar subsidy for banks and corporations, while refusing a penny of relief for the jobless, and rejected the payment of the bonus for the world-war veterans starving in thousands upon the steps of the national capitol, finally being driven away with bayonets and poison gas. They jointly usher in the period of inflation with its large scale assault against the living standards of the workers, farmers and dispossessed middle classes. In the absence of any differences, both parties resort to the worst demagoguery. The republican party appeals for the re-election of Hoover, who has "tided the nation over the crisis", which is now "almost at an end". So, the slogan is raised, "Why change horses in the middle of the stream?" with a new, and greater "prosperity" just around the corner. The plea is, "Let Hoover see us through!" The democrats, on the other hand, claim that conditions took a turn for the better immediately Roosevelt was nominated, and his election will "finish the job". Election programmes are written for the purpose of riding into office, and the party in opposition can make more promises than the party in power; promises to be forgotten immediately power is achieved.

At the time of the national conventions of the two dominant parties, when the candidates were chosen, the greatest and only furore was created by the liquor issue—light wines and beer—with the democrats claiming to be more wet than the republicans in that they offered the greatest opposition to prohibition restrictions.

The **Socialist Party** is "the third party of capitalism", and with the democratic party provide the two lightning rods along which the capitalist oppressors hope the flame of mass resentment against hunger, unemployment, wage cuts and a lowering of the standard of living will spend itself. The Socialist Party has eliminated the class struggle from its programme, opposes the confiscation of capitalist property, and wants to pave the way to Socialism through purchase of the great industries. The Socialist administration in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, joins the democrats and republicans in clubbing and jailing the hungry jobless, while one of its chief theoreticians, Algernon Lee, hero of the counter-revolutionary Russian menshevik emigres, declares, "There can be no Socialism unless the capitalist system gets out of the crisis". The Socialist presidential candidate, **Thomas**, supports the charity drives of the bosses. He calls for a fusion of republicans, independent democrats and socialists against Tammany Hall in New York City for the election of **Morris Hillquit** in the municipal elections growing out of the resignation of the notorious Mayor "Jimmie" Walker. Hillquit, the wealthy corporation lawyer, spokesman of the American Socialist Party in the Second International, recently added to his infamy by appearing as legal counsel for Russian emigres claiming ownership to certain of the Soviet Unions oil fields. The Socialists get the support of various "left" groupings, and the **Lovestone** right wing and Trotskyite renegades. The candidate, **Thomas**, protestant preacher, is endorsed by the "Commonweal", political journal of the Catholics, because he is "hated most by Communists". The flood of demagogic radicalism raised by the "progressives" in the republican and democratic parties is echoed by such elements as the Catholic priest, "Father" James R. Cox, who urges a Jobless Party, making his appeal to the unemployed and declaring there is only one issue, "between his party and the Communists". He seeks to organise a Blue Shirt army, has adopted the fascist salute and recently made a trip to Rome to meet Mussolini.

The remnant of the **Farmer-Labour Party** has strength only in the middle-western state of Minnesota, where it is

the party of the well-to-do farmers, the small town bankers and business men. It has the two Farmer-Labour members of congress, the only two members outside the democratic and republican parties. The character of the Farmer-Labour Party is revealed in its support nationally of the democrats, while the democratic party supports it locally, so that it can also boast having the governor of Minnesota, the only state having a governor neither democratic nor republican. The leadership of the **American Federation of Labour** has decided to make no distinctions this year as between Hoover and Roosevelt, but will carry out its policy of "punish your enemies and support your friends" in the capitalist parties, by making local endorsements, mostly of candidates for congress, and the state legislatures. In New York, for instance, the state organisation of the American Federation of Labour is part and parcel of Tammany Hall, in other states the creature of the republican party.

The **Communist Party** alone fights for the workers' way out of the crisis. Where the democratic, republican and socialist parties reveal themselves as the savage enemies of the thirteen million Negro workers and poor farmers, the Communist Party has come forward with the nomination of the Negro worker, Comrade **James W. Ford**, born in Alabama the state of the Scottsboro infamy, as its candidate for vice president, running mate with **Foster**. Numerous other Negro workers appear as Communist candidates for other offices—**W. L. Patterson** for mayor of New York City.

The six immediate demands of the Communist Party election programme are as follows: 1. Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers; 2. Against Hoover's wage cutting policy; 3. Emergency relief for the impoverished farmers without restrictions by the government and banks; exemption of impoverished farmers from taxes, and no forced collection of rents or debts; 4. Equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt; 5. Against capitalist terror, against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers; 6. Against imperialist war; for the defence of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party election campaign has already met with an enthusiastic response from masses of workers and poor farmers, and of savage repression from its enemies, especially manifesting itself in the repeated arrests of its candidates, including **Foster** and **Ford**, the breaking up of its meetings, persecution of its propagandists, raising of extreme difficulties against the getting of the Communist candidates on the election ballot. Thus thousands of signatures from qualified voters must be secured in some states for this purpose. The Communist Party claims, however, that it will get on the ballot in 40 of the 48 states.

The growing radicalisation of the workers and poor farmers should considerably increase the strength of the Communist Party compared with 1928. This radicalisation shows itself in the growing strike struggles, the bonus march of the world war veterans, strikes of unorganised workers, militant demonstrations of the unemployed, the strikes of the farmers in eleven states, struggles of agricultural workers, growth of strikes of American Federation of Labour members over the heads of their leaders. This radicalisation, however, insofar as the election campaign is concerned, will not be registered entirely on election day, November eighth.

The right of franchise is supposed to be enjoyed by all citizens, men and women, over 21 years of age. This excludes large numbers of the fifteen millions of foreign-born not yet citizens, many refused citizenship because of their working class activities. Millions of Negroes, through terror, and through restrictions in a multitude of forms, are denied the right to vote. Residence, property and other qualifications also bar millions of the drifting, penniless, jobless army wandering from one place to another, as in no other capitalist nation in the world, seeking work or bread. It is, from these disfranchised masses that the Communist Party will draw its greatest strength. It is to be expected that thousands of votes cast for the Communist Party will never even be counted, while other thousands will be brazenly stolen for their own candidates by the capitalist party election officials.

The electoral system offers no opportunity for minority representation so that the Communist Party may get a million votes or even more and not secure a single seat in congress. In spite of all obstacles, however, there is every possibility of electing many local candidates.

The parliamentary struggle of the Communist Party has been stimulated by the achievements of the Communist Parties in elections recently held in Germany, Sweden, Bulgaria and Greece.

While the agents of the capitalist parties plead that "The capitalist system is still the best economic system which the human brain has devised", the Communist Party programme militantly urges, "Fight for the workers' way—for the revolutionary way out of the crisis—for the United States of Soviet America".

## Iraq's Admission into the League of Nations.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The last formalities for the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations have been completed at Geneva. The imperialist press is frantically endeavouring to represent this act as a "ray of light" in the darkness of the League of Nations session of September 1932, as the last act of fulfilment of the mandatory obligations by England, as a granting of "complete independence" to a nation hitherto subjected to a British mandate. But the press of the imperialist Powers which are rivals of England, dispel every illusion regarding the real meaning of this latest step. Thus the right imperialist "Dépêche Coloniale", the organ of the French colonialists, wrote in this connection:....

"The English tutelage actually still remains. Under the Treaty of 1930 (which comes into force with Iraq's admission into the League of Nations), Iraq must retain the British advisers and bring its policy into close harmony with that of the British Empire. In addition, the English retain three airbases and troops on Iraqi territory, which is certainly hard to bring into harmony with the principle of real independence." (26. 9. 1932.)

The admission of Iraq into the League of Nations constitutes a British imperialist manoeuvre, the object of which is not to weaken but to consolidate British rule. In this the British imperialists have before all the following aims in view: 1. More effective preparation of war of intervention against the Soviet Union in the Near East. Iraq forms one of the most important points of support in this war; England is therefore interested in making use as far as possible of the services of the King's court and of the feudal upper strata. In view of the ferment among the masses, which is directed both against the British imperialists and against their instrument—a ferment which is continually increased as a result of the crisis and which only a few months ago led to mass strikes and fierce demonstrations of the workers—Great Britain is seeking, by admitting the State of Iraq, which is controlled by British officials, into the League of Nations, to divert the population from the fight against British imperialism and to create a more or less "secure" hinterland in the country. 2. Great Britain, by means of a treaty which binds Iraq to British imperialism alone, excludes its rivals, above all France, Italy and the United States, even from the limited possibilities of a political interference in Iraqi affairs which they could have had through a formal interpretation of the provisions of the mandate. (Hence one witnesses the paradox that in the early stages of the development of the British Treaty with Iraq the Italian and French representatives opposed the acceleration of the declaration of independence.) 3. The Iraq manoeuvre provides British imperialism with splendid means for fresh expansion throughout the Arabian countries. There is already a large group of Arab national reformists in Syria, Palestine and Transjordan propagating a union of all Arab territories under the rule of king Feisal, i. e. under the aegis of the new Iraqi State, but in reality under British overlordship. In this way British imperialism makes use of the services of leading national-reformist politicians such as Emir Arslan, Riad Solh etc.

For the rest, Great Britain, notwithstanding the admission of Iraq into the League, will continue to conduct a splitting policy in the interests of British imperialism (the idea of a buffer State in the North of Iraq, which offers the British military authorities the possibility of playing off the Kurds against the Arabs has in no way been abandoned). The recent revolt of Sheik Ahmed el Barsan, which was directed not only against the Iraq Government but also against the British occupation, proved how contradictory imperialist policy in this question is. It was only after British

bombing planes came into action that the insurgents were dispersed. But to judge from the experience of Iraq and the North-West frontier of India, the employment of bombing planes is becoming a questionable means.

The "Times", in an article on Iraq writes:

"In any case the employment of air-bombers against the villages of the recalcitrant tribes, whether in Iraq or on the North-West frontier of India, is open to criticism from many points of view. However, carefully it is controlled it is always likely to be attended by the widespread destruction of property and the slaughter of non-combatants. The just and the unjust are indistinguishable from the heights of the air. Politically it seems illogical for a government which supports the restriction of aerial bombing in regular warfare to tolerate it in irregular operations. On the Indian frontier it leaves more bitterness behind than the old punitive methods; and it is doubtful whether there is any justification for the belief that it is effective against agile hillmen unencumbered by wheeled transport and skilful in taking cover. Air-bombing did not keep the Afridis from raiding right up to Peshawar two years ago." (23. 9. 1932.)

This, of course, does not mean that British imperialism will now refrain from using bombing-planes in Iraq. On the contrary, the real object of British imperialism is, whilst the comedy of the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations is played at Geneva, to secure a firm military foothold in the country, to increase the exploitation of the country, and in particular, to fortify the air bases in Baghdad and Mosul which are to play a great role in the coming war.

## The Political Situation in Italy.

Mussolini and the Social Democrats.

By Ercoli.

A big Paris newspaper reported the other day that Mussolini intends to grant a big amnesty on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the setting up of the fascist government. The interesting thing about this news is firstly, that it emanated from a certain Carlo Bazzi (a former Republican, a one-time fascist, and to-day one of the best known agents of Mussolini among the Italian political emigrants) who maintains that he obtained this news from the most reliable sources; and secondly, that this gentleman announces an amnesty for the leaders of the anti-fascist opposition, i. e. for the democratic and social democratic leaders who are living to-day as political emigrants in France and in other countries.

We are thus witnessing an action on the part of Mussolini in regard to the leading cadres of the Italian social democracy. This action was commenced some weeks ago, when it was reported that a representative of Mussolini had got into touch with certain leaders of the Italian social democracy and was definitely negotiating with them regarding conditions for their return to Italy.

The Italian bourgeoisie and fascism are faced with the problem of how to master a situation which is becoming more acute from month to month, in fact from week to week, and to meet the prospect of a "terrible winter", as the leader of the blackshirts himself admitted, with two millions unemployed in town and country and with millions of starving, desperate people in the whole country. The aim of the Italian bourgeoisie and fascism is to adopt the necessary measures in face of the prospect of a growing mass movement, which can no longer be checked by the persecutions and the monstrous terror, and which is even gaining ground in the fascist organisations.

At the same time, however, Italian fascism has the task of coping with an international situation which is characterised by ever increasing antagonisms—and this at a moment when the foreign policy of fascism has to record serious defeats in almost every sphere.

What do the social democratic leaders living in emigration do at such a moment? The fire of mass revolt is threatening to destroy the shaken edifice of Italian capitalism. The revolts of the workers and peasants, which are more and more influenced by the Communist Party, seriously threaten the capitalist system—this system which the social democracy has pledged itself to save.

Mussolini has issued the slogan of alliance. With his world-renowned cynicism, he gives to understand, in fact he openly declares, that to-day a place is reserved in Italy for the social democratic leaders in order to co-operate directly or indirectly with the fascist hangmen, in order to retard the development of the mass movement and stay the advance of the Communist Party.

The fascist system is ready for compromise. But are not these Italian social democrats, with a Petro Nenni, at one time a leader of the blackshirts at their head, who have in their ranks a Signor Barro, who has long proclaimed the inevitability of the co-operation of the social democrats with the fascists in order to counter the threatening danger of Communism—are they not equally prepared to enter into a compromise with Mussolini?

I will not indulge in prophecies. I will only indicate the general line of development. I know very well that these things are not so simple for the fascists, who are striving to secure the support of the social democracy, to whom however it is almost completely impossible to make even formal concessions which could be used in one way or another to extend the mass movement.

These things are also not simple for the social democrats, whose aim is openly to play their role as social buttress of the bourgeoisie, but who find themselves driven into a corner by the constant development of Communist influence and the Communist movement among the masses.

The key to the situation is in our hands. The movement of the masses, the struggle of the workers against fresh wage reductions, the fight of the unemployed, the fight of the poor peasants, the fight of the whole of the working population of Italy for bread, work and freedom, can and must, under the leadership of the Communist advance-guard,

become the decisive element of the situation. The revolutionary fight of the masses will drive the fascists on the one hand and the social fascists on the other to radical solutions.

For this reason it is exceedingly important that the fight against Italian fascism, against this regime of terror, blood and starvation, shall flare up again abroad wherever the working class are conscious of the immediate and final aim of their fight for emancipation.

The fighting front against fascism is not a fighting front confined within national frontiers. The moment our Party, the Communist Party of Italy, redoubles its efforts to extend and deepen the fight in Italy, the workers of France, Germany, England and America must support us and help us by their active solidarity; for our fight is their fight.

The moment Mussolini publishes through his agents the news of an amnesty, which he intends shall be only a sham amnesty and which only aims at reaching the hand to the social democratic leaders who wish to return to Italy in order to carry on their reactionary work—precisely at this moment it is necessary that the demand for an amnesty for the victims of fascism, for all victims of fascism, be raised by the masses of toilers of the whole world.

The international solidarity of the working people is a power with which fascism must reckon. It can wrest from the clutches of fascism hundreds of thousands of fighters for the revolution who today are suffering and perishing in Mussolini's prison hells.

Let every revolutionary worker recognise and completely do his duty! The Italian workers living in emigration in France and in other countries must stand in the front line of the fight. Our comrades in Italy expect active help from us. Not words but deeds—deeds of mass struggle, which will rob the hangman of his prey.

## Germany

# Social Democracy, National Socialism and their Role in Rescuing German Capitalism.

By Th. Lorenz (Berlin).

### What are the German "Letters to Leaders"?

We publish in the following article revelations from the "Letters to German Leaders" (Deutsche Führerbriefe), namely from Nos. 72 and 75 of 16th and 20th September 1932 respectively. This is a "political-economic private correspondence" intended only for the "Olympians" of German capitalism, for the heads of finance capital, for a select circle of less than 100 persons—trust kings and bank magnates. The editor of this correspondence, Dr. Franz Reuter, was for years employed in the National Federation of German industry, which body commissioned him to edit the "Letters to Leaders".

### Salvation or Ruin of German Capitalism?

Under the title, "The Social Reconsolidation of Capitalism", the above-mentioned numbers of the "Letters to Leaders" deal with the great question which is engaging the attention of all capitalists: Is capitalism threatened with inevitable decline, or is there a means of rescue for it, a means of reconsolidation of its rule? And if there is a means of reconsolidation, in what way is it to be found?

In the circle of finance capital there exists no doubt that Papen's Presidential Cabinet does not mean such a rescue but only a decline. The "Letters to Leaders"—precisely because they were intended to be kept secret—speak quite frankly as to where the great weakness of capitalist rule lies:

*"The problem of consolidating the bourgeois regime in post-war Germany is generally determined by the fact that the leading bourgeoisie, who have control of the national economy, have become too small in order to uphold their rule alone. They require for this rule, if they do not wish to rely on the extremely dangerous weapon of a purely military exercise of force, an alliance with strata which do not belong to them socially, but which render them the indispensable service of anchoring their rule in the people and thereby being the actual and final bearers of this rule.*

*This last or "outside bearer" of bourgeois rule was, in the first period of post-war consolidation, the social democracy."*

### A Lesson in "Democracy".

The above-quoted passage from the "Letters to Leaders" is of the greatest importance to the German working class. Precisely at the present moment the social democracy are endeavouring to make out to the masses what a good time they had in that period of "democracy", and how necessary it is to reconquer "democracy" for "freedom and popular rights". For a Marxist this passage contains nothing new. It only confirms what Marx and Engels taught regarding the nature of bourgeois "democracy":

*"In reality, however, the State is nothing else but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and this in a democratic Republic no less than in a monarchy" (Engels, Civil war in France).*

The social democracy, however, endeavoured to deceive the masses regarding the class character of democracy, to suggest to them that this State of finance capital is a people's State, is "our State". They actually succeeded in deceiving broad strata of the working class in this respect, and they wish to-day to repeat this deceitful manoeuvre. This is what makes the revelations of the "Letters to Leaders" so important; they show the working masses what the financial capitalists think and in what way, with the aid of the German social democracy and its "democracy", they have consolidated and exercised their rule.

### The Chief Danger to the Rule of Capitalism.

The "Letters to Leaders" openly speak of the chief danger threatening the rule of finance capital:

*"The necessary condition for any social reconsolidation of bourgeois rule possible in Germany after the war, is the splitting of the workers' movement. Any united workers'*



*movement springing up from below must be revolutionary, and this rule would not be able to hold out against it for long, not even with the means of military power."*

Here trust capital says quite plainly: **the chief danger to the rule of capitalism is the united front of the proletariat.** This confirms what the Communists have never tired of telling the masses; the capitalist class can be defeated only by the proletarian united front. This united front, the "Letters to Leaders" state, must be revolutionary, i. e., Communist. This emphasises that there is only **one** united front: under the leadership of the Communists; there can be no united front under the leadership of the social democratic party. When the social democratic party declare: "The Iron Front is the united front", this is a deliberate fraud practised in the interests of finance capital. The secret correspondence of the trust kings states that no military dictatorship can hold out for long against the real united front.

### **The Role of the Social Democracy: to Split the Working Class!**

All revolutionary workers know from the experience of the past 13 years that the role of the social democratic party consists in preventing the united front of the working class, in splitting the working class. But the social democratic leaders try to represent the boot as being on the other foot, and raise a demagogic cry about "Communist splitters"; and many social democratic workers have believed them. It is of the very greatest interest for these social democratic workers to see what the masters of finance capital think regarding this matter:

*"In the first reconsolidation era of the bourgeois post-war regime, in the era from 1923/24 to 1929/30, the split in the working class was founded on the achievements in regard to wages and social policy into which the social democracy capitalised the revolutionary upsurge."*

**It was only due to the fact that the social democratic party split the working class that it was possible for finance capital to maintain its rule!**

Precisely at the present time, when the social democratic and reformist trade union leaders are again trying to make out that they wish to overcome and do away with capitalism, it is important to see how finance capital estimates the role of the social democratic party:

*"Thanks to its social character as being originally a workers' party, the social democracy brought into the system of reconsolidation at that time (1918/19. Th. L.), in addition to its purely political force, something more valuable and enduring, namely the organised working class, and while paralysing their revolutionary energy chained them fast to the bourgeois State."*

The social democratic party was able to save capitalism in the year 1918/19 only because it had behind it the revolutionary trade unions:

*"It is true, November socialism was also an ideological mass flood and a movement, but it was not only that, for behind it there stood the power of the organised working class, the social power of the trade unions. This flood could ebb, but the trade unions remained, and with them, or more correctly stated, thanks to them, the social democratic party remained."*

From this there arises for the workers organised in the trade unions the question which is to-day the most burning of all trade union questions: Do you want your organisations to continue to be defence organisations for the rule of finance capital (as the social democratic and trade union leaders wish), or fighting organs for the overthrow of finance capital, as the Communists wish?

### **By what Means did the Social Democracy Succeed in Splitting the Workers' Ranks?**

We have already quoted the passage in the "Letters to Leaders" in which it is stated that the disruptive work of the social democratic party was possible because the social democratic party capitalised the revolutionary upsurge of the masses into achievements in regard to wages and social policy. This confirms what we Communists have continually said to the working class: All these "achievements" were only the "mess of pottage" by means of which the social democratic party cheated the working class of freedom and power. The German capitalist class agreed for the time being to such concessions

to the working class, because they had realised that only by this means could the social democratic party save the rule of capitalism. The establishment of this fact involves an important admission: When to-day the social democratic party tells the workers what "achievements" they have to thank the party for, this is a mere shameful cloaking of the treachery of the social democratic party towards the working class.

The "Letters to Leaders" elaborate this idea and show in what way the social democracy was able to split the ranks of the working class:

*"These (the achievements in regard to wages and social policy. Th. L.) functioned as a sort of sluice-mechanism through which, in a falling labour market, the employed and firmly organised part of the working class enjoyed a graduated, but nevertheless considerable advantage compared with the unemployed and fluctuating masses of the lower categories, and were relatively protected against the full effects of unemployment and the general critical situation on their standard of living. The political frontier between social democracy and Communism runs almost exactly along the social and economic line of this sluice-dam, and all the efforts of Communism, which, however, have so far been in vain, are directed towards forcing a breach into this protected sphere of the trade unions."*

Translated into plain language this means; the social democratic party and trade union bureaucracy succeeded in splitting the German working class into two parts, into a brutally oppressed and exploited part, and a part which is relatively better off. This last part of the working class was under the leadership of the social democratic party and of the trade union bureaucracy. But the other part, which did not enjoy the advantages of the "achievements", which had to bear all the terrible results of the crisis, the army of the unemployed and the lower categories of workers, came under the influence of the Communists.

Trust capital has observed the efforts of the Communist Party of Germany to capture the factories. It thinks, however, it can record with satisfaction that, thanks to the action of the trade union bureaucracy, these efforts have not succeeded. Trust capital thereby emphasises: that the capture of the factories by the Communists is the first prerequisite, the breaking of the reformist influence in the factories and trade unions a precondition in order to overcome capitalism. This is a point on which many Communists could learn from finance capital!

(To be continued.)

## **STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT**

### **The Fight of the Unemployed in Great Britain.**

By R. Bishop (London).

On September 15, 1931, the working class of Britain were electrified by the news of the mutiny of the sailors of the Atlantic Fleet, then engaged on manoeuvres at **Invergordon**, against the "economy" cuts of the National Government. Invergordon was the signal for a widespread wave of militancy in all sorts of quarters. Not only were there great demonstrations of the workless in many centres but elements such as school-teachers, postal employees etc. hitherto outside the struggle, actively demonstrated their determination to fight back against the attacks of the new Government.

Almost exactly a year later, on September 13 to be exact, there broke out in the Mersey port of **Birkenhead** fierce fighting between police and unemployed of a more bitter and protracted character than had been experienced in Britain since the war. Like Invergordon a year earlier, it was destined to have a big effect on the mass movement against the National Government of Hunger and War.

The ferocity of the Government's offensive has called forth such a bitter response from the workless that already, within a few weeks, a number of substantial concessions have been gained, while in all sorts of bourgeois circles there are murmurings that the Government had better, for safety's sake, ease up, temporarily at least, in its attacks on the workless.

The Birkenhead affair started in quite a small way. A demonstration of about 3,000 workers supported an unemployed demonstration to the Town Council. The police had erected a barricade outside the Town Hall, and suddenly from behind it they savagely and wantonly charged the demonstrators. The attack was quite unexpected and in the confusion the police were able to seize one of the demonstrators and drag him as a prisoner back over the barricade with them. The workless made desperate efforts to rescue their comrade from behind the barricade. On this occasion the police were successful—but not for long. During the next two days there were more and bigger demonstrations and the resistance of the workers was such that on more than one occasion the police were put to flight.

On the night of the 15th, 10,000 workers demonstrated. The main body went to the office of the Public Assistance Committee, but about 2,000 went to the house of the chairman of the P.A.C.; here there was another savage police attack, which left 50 unemployed wounded lying on the ground to be picked up later by ambulances. Half a dozen arrests were made. On the 16th fighting was still continuing in the town. The attack of the police batons was countered with sticks and stones, and in some instances with railings pulled up from outside parks and gardens. By this time Birkenhead was in a state of virtual siege.

Every available policeman was called up for duty and reinforcements were rushed from Liverpool on the other bank of the Mersey. At the same time the Mayor of Birkenhead sent a panic-stricken telephone call to the barracks at Chester, demanding that troops be kept available for any emergency that might arise.

All the available forces of the State were mobilised for action against the workers, but all the forces of the workers were also mobilised. Trade union branch after trade union branch passed resolutions condemning the action of the police and calling for a Workers Inquiry. The employed workers of Birkenhead lined up as one man with the unemployed. In these circumstances the authorities realised that the time had come to make concessions.

A statement was issued by the Public Assistance Committee that the maximum scale of relief for able-bodied single men should be raised from 12/- to 15/3, and for single women from 10/- to 13/6. At the same time the Town Council passed a resolution deciding to protest to the Government against the continued operation of the Means Test. The unemployed of Birkenhead had been demanding: the abolition of the Means Test, the increase now granted in relief scales, the supply of boots and clothes and extra winter relief for coal and light. All demonstrations were prohibited, all meetings of the Communist Party and N.U.A.W.M. were banned, the offices of the C.P. raided and documents stolen and dozens of militant workers arrested under circumstances of almost unbelievable brutality. It is significant that of those arrested, some have been released on payment of fines, others have been remanded, but the police and the magisterial authorities have not dared impose heavy sentences yet, for fear of the mass anger of the workers surging up again.

Altogether 44 workers were arrested, over 100 received serious injuries, but the police did not get away without a number of injuries inflicted upon them also by infuriated workers . . . and the concessions which the Birkenhead workers had been fighting for for a year were conceded, in part, by a Town Council which realised that the fighting spirit of the workers could not be suppressed by terrorist methods.

On the 21st of September, a huge demonstration of unemployed came into conflict with the police in **Liverpool**, on the opposite bank of the Mersey. As the police sailed into action they were met by the determined resistance of workers shouting, "Remember Birkenhead", just as a year earlier the slogan "Long Live the Spirit of Invergordon" was on every workers lips. On the next day another, and still larger demonstration in Liverpool, was attacked by the police, but defended itself so heroically that it drove the Cossacks off. That night the Liverpool unemployed had a huge mass meeting where a resolution was passed declaring that:

"We feel sure the success of the Birkenhead workers will act as the Clarion call for the abolition of the Means Test and the defeat of the National government of Hunger and War."

And so it has. From every part of Britain there are daily reports of great mass meetings and demonstrations against

the Means Test and for the other demands of the workless. From every part there come reports of the heroic defence of the workers against the attacks of the police, and everywhere the workers are going into action with the cry of "Up, Birkenhead" upon their lips.

As last year's huge mass movement embraced large numbers of workers of the kind who had previously been outside the main stream of struggle, so has this year's resulted in action in all sorts of places that are not in the main industry. Quiet market towns, with a few small industries, like **Chelmsford** have echoed to the marching feet of the unemployed. In **Croydon**, the skilled artisans of which have in the past been far removed from the desperation of the largely casual workers of places like Birkenhead, have met the attacks of the police with the courage and coolness of seasoned veterans.

In West Ham, in North Shields, in Tottenham, in Motherwell—all over Britain, the unemployed have been demonstrating for their demands. In many places the local Councils, fearful of the anger of the unemployed, have refused any longer to operate the Means Test, and have thrown the responsibility back on the Government. But nowhere have the Councilors, Labour or otherwise, done anything to help the workless in their fight. The Labour Party Conference passed a resolution condemning the batoning of workless demonstrators and calling for all facilities to be given to the unemployed to demonstrate, cynically disregarding the way in which the two Labour Governments invariably defended the police from any criticism when they attacked the workless in those days. Up in the **Vale of Leven**, the power of the workless, backed by the employed workers, compelled the Council to increase relief rates and to leave service pensions etc. out of consideration in computing the Means Test.

Another feature is the amazingly successful strike of the Relief Workers in **Belfast**. In the Ulster capital, workers struck off the Means Test receive the lowest scale of relief in the country and for it they have to perform arduous task work. Last Monday they came out on strike—and struck to a man. They were supported by the whole of the unemployed of the city and a great demonstration of 30,000 marched through the city. So imposing was the demonstration and so powerful that the police were routed. Armoured cars were called out against the workless. Impressed by the unshakeable solidarity of the workers—no longer artificially divided into the imperialist categories of Orangemen and Catholics—the Ulster Home Office have offered to increase the relief rate by 50 per cent., to give three day's work a week to every man at trade union rates, and other minor concessions. But the Belfast relief strikers know their strength, they are confident that they can win their full demands and have rejected the concessions. A fund has been started and within a few days the poverty-stricken workers of Belfast have contributed no less than £300 to the funds of the relief strikers. The Trades Council has declared its support for them, so have the bulk of the trade union branches.

No chronicle of the mass activities of the unemployed would be complete without a reference to the great **Hunger March** which is now assembling to reach London on October 27, to voice the anger of the workless, and their backing by the employed, to the Imperial Parliament itself. Banned by the Labour Party, condemned by the Trade Union Congress, the march has won more mass support than any previous effort of its kind. Three hundred and fifty marchers are on the road from Scotland, three hundred from Tyneside. A women's contingent left Burnley on the 10th inst. Within the next week seven more contingents take the road.

Taken in conjunction with the magnificent fighting spirit displayed by the weavers, the militancy of the London bus-workers, the overwhelming strike-ballot of the spinners, it can be seen that the workers have never been more ready to struggle. While the unemployed in Belfast, Birkenhead and the Vale of Leven have gained partial concessions, a real working class victory has yet to be won in the present wave of struggle. The weavers and the busmen were both betrayed at a crucial moment in their struggle by a treacherous leadership. The same gang of reformists are seeking ways and means of betraying the spinners similarly. The railwaymen are also facing new attacks, and their leaders are uttering a spate of fiery oratory as a preliminary cover to their contemplated treachery.

But there is no sign of discouragement in the workers ranks. The struggle goes on to ever greater heights. The National Government, as foreshadowed by Neville Chamberlain at the Conservative Conference, contemplate still further "economies" directed against the workers and primarily against the workless. It is certain that these will be met with increasing resistance on the part of the workers attacked and that an ever-growing support will be afforded in every struggle by those workers not at the moment affected.

The pressing forward of the independent fight, involving the rejection of Labour Party and reformist leadership, is the way to victory, and in that direction the face of the workers is being turned.

\* \* \*  
London, October 11, 1932.

The Belfast Unemployed and relief workers' demonstration which was called for three o'clock this afternoon was banned by the Police. Nevertheless huge crowds assembled at the appointed places. Immediately the Police tried to disperse them with baton charges, but the workers retaliated with stones. Immediately armoured cars were brought into action and driven into the crowds. Barricades were erected in four places. Picks and shovels were seized from workers who were mending the roads and used against the police. In two districts the police opened fire on the demonstrations and a number of casualties occurred, but the exact number is not yet known. Four linen mills came out on strike this morning in support of the relief strikers.

Yesterday the bonfires which were lit as part of the preparations for to-day's demonstration were put out by the Police and many fierce fights took place. A strike meeting in the centre of Belfast last night was savagely broken up by the police and the speakers arrested. At four o'clock to-day fighting was still proceeding in all the working class districts.

## THE WAR

### The Lytton Report and the Antagonisms in the Camp of Imperialism.

Moscow, October 7, 1932.

The "Pravda" publishes the following article under the title: "The Lytton Report and the Antagonisms in the Camp of Imperialism."

The Lytton Report and the struggle which has arisen over it between the imperialist groupings reflect the whole sharpness and depth of the imperialist antagonisms. This struggle signalises the enormous danger threatening the cause of peace.

What is the essence of the report of the Lytton Commission? The Lytton Commission was appointed by the League of Nations to investigate the Sino-Japanese conflict. By appointing this commission, by dragging out its work and by delaying to submit the report of the Commission, the League of Nations has rendered valuable service to Japan, as Japan was thereby enabled to carry out its policy in Manchuria and China without being disturbed by the interference of other imperialist Powers. At the same time, the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang militarists had the possibility, under the pretext that it was necessary to await the report of the Lytton Commission, to cloak their treachery. All the imperialist big Powers, with the exception of Japan, were represented on the Lytton Commission.

Accordingly, the report of the Lytton Commission—as was to be expected from a League of Nations Commission—defends the common interests of the imperialists against semi-colonial China. Whilst the Lytton Commission formally recognises the sovereignty of China in Manchuria, it recommends the actual separation of Manchuria from China. Taken as a whole, the proposals of the Lytton Commission mean nothing else but the separation of Manchuria from China. The sovereign rights of the Chinese central Government over Manchuria are formally maintained, but it is actually proposed to transform Manchuria into a colony under the control of the foreign Powers. The setting up of an international control in Manchuria would be a big step in the direction of the partitioning of China.

The Lytton Commission seeks to justify this partitioning by urging that territories in which individual imperialist Powers or groups of imperialist Powers have "rights and

interests" can and must be converted into colonies or territories under international control, and in which foreign bayonets would compel the colonial working people to obedience.

The Lytton Commission recognises the "special interests and the special rights" of Japan not only in Manchuria but also in Inner Mongolia, and particularly in the province of Jehol. At the same time it points to the special rights and interests of the other imperialist Powers. The references to the special position of the customs, post-office, salt gabelle, the wine and tobacco monopoly aim at furnishing proof that the economic and political key positions which the international imperialists have got into its hands and which secure to them the control of foreign trade and the payment of China's international debts, must be maintained also in the future. English imperialism is particularly interested in these questions.

The Lytton Commission proposes the conclusion of a Sino-Japanese treaty dealing with Japanese interests in Manchuria and in the province of Jehol. This means that all the important economic key positions in Manchuria and in the province of Jehol would be secured to Japan. The Lytton Commission even proposes the extension to the whole of Manchuria of the right to settle and lease land, coupled with some modification of the principle of extra-territoriality. The Lytton Commission makes the further proposal to unite the Southern Manchurian railway—this tremendous Japanese concern which controls the whole of the economic life of Southern Manchuria,—with the Chinese railways. It is hardly necessary to point out that these measures, as well as the "participation of Japan in the economic development of Manchuria", would mean that in Manchuria, which is under the political control of international imperialism, economic rule would be left to Japan whilst the rights and interests of the other imperialist Powers would be maintained. This is to be carried out in addition to the formal recognition of the sovereignty of Manchuria.

The Lytton Commission, however, does not confine itself merely to the proposals regarding the establishment of a special status in Manchuria and Jehol. It proposes at the same time the conclusion of a new Sino-Japanese commercial treaty, which "would naturally have as its object the establishment of conditions which would encourage as much as possible the exchange of goods between China and Japan", and "should also contain an undertaking by the Chinese Government to take all measures within its power to forbid and suppress organisations and boycott movements against Japanese trade". It is not hard to guess that a new commercial treaty would extend the economic position of Japan in the whole of China, under the pretext of encouraging as much as possible the exchange of goods between China and Japan. It is also not hard to guess that the other imperialist Powers would insist on the same rights as Japan in accordance with the "most favoured nation" principle and "the open door".

The Lytton Commission devotes extraordinary attention to the Soviet movement in China. The representatives of international finance capital carefully analysed the programme of the C.P. of China, the successes of its agrarian policy among the peasantry, as well as the spread of the Soviet movement, and emphasise that the Communist Party has become the rival of the National Government and that Communism in China has set up its own army and its own government. The report points out that the Communist danger has increased, that in the present year Nanking has not achieved any noteworthy successes in the fight against the Red Army and the Chinese Soviets, and that the Central Government is endangered by Communism. At the same time, the report points out that a condition for the settlement of all these questions is the existence of a central government, and that "international co-operation in regard to the question of the transformation of China" and "temporary international co-operation in the inner transformation of China" are the pre-conditions for such a central government. This means in plain language: 1. support of the Nanking Government in crushing the Soviet revolution in China, 2. establishment of an international control in the whole of China, transformation of China into a colony of world imperialism, making use of the Nanking Government for this purpose.

The report of the Lytton Commission deals in detail with the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Soviet Union's interest in the solution of the Manchurian question. The Lytton Commission, however, represents the Soviet

Union's interest as being the interest of an imperialist Power. At the same time, the report expressly emphasises that the policy of the Soviet Union was opposed to the policy of all other Powers based on the existing treaties. It is not heard to see that—translated into plain language—this means an appeal to all imperialist Powers to unite against the Soviet Union.

The report of the Lytton Commission is an attempt to find a common standpoint for all the imperialist Powers for the purpose of solving the Chinese question. Hence the report to a certain extent represents a compromise. Hence also the imperialists of the United States are trying to make out that they are satisfied with the report. The imperialist antagonisms, however, have become so acute that a common compromise-decision is impossible. The fight which has arisen over the report proves that the knot of imperialist antagonisms can no longer be unravelled, that the time is rapidly approaching when the imperialists must cut through this knot by means of war.

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### The Socialist Party of France Against the United Front Against War.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The campaigns for the preparation of the Amsterdam Congress against war, and later for popularising its decisions, have had a considerable effect upon the socialist workers, and increasing numbers of them are declaring themselves ready to fight together with the Communist workers on the basis of the decisions adopted by the World Congress.

The "Populaire" fully and entirely approved the attitude of the Government when the latter sharply defended the treaty of Versailles in its reply to Germany's Note regarding equality of armaments. It wrote, "The whole text is drawn up in well-chosen and fitting language". Blum openly declared that his fraction saved the Ministry in the debate on the debt conversion, because France's answer to von Papen had inspired them with the firm confidence that Herriot would seize the necessary initiative in the disarmament question. The socialist leaders waxed enthusiastic over Herriot's speech in Gramat in which he again announced the sacredness of the treaties.

The socialist party and their leaders come forward as the defenders of the "sacred rights of France" at a moment when a breach has been forced in the military dominance of this country over Europe as a result of the capitalist crisis. The rank and file of the socialist party, thanks to the uninterrupted campaign of the Communist Party, are becoming aware of the extent of the war preparations of French imperialism and of the deceitful bankruptcy of the "Left" Government, which was lifted into office by the socialists and is supported by them. As a result there is considerable strife within the Socialist Party, which grows to the extent to which fresh elements declare themselves supporters of the united front.

It will be remembered that the first warning on the part of the socialists against the Amsterdam Congress emanated from the leaders of the French Party, a fact which earned them the good wishes and congratulations of Fritz Adler in his report to the Secretariat of the II. International, in which he described the proposed Conference as a Communist manoeuvre". In spite of this, many socialists communicated with the Initiatory Committees or directly with the Congress expressing their support. At the Workers and Peasants Congress of the Paris district, held on July 2 and 3, there were present 4 socialists representing a Left group of the socialist party of France. Also whole sections, for instance that of the 15th Paris municipal district, St. Ouen, the Lannion district, Socialist Youth of Clermont-Ferrand, Algier, Laon, as well as socialist municipal councillors etc., expressed themselves in agreement with the aims of the Congress.

Numerous functionaries of the Socialist Party of France and even two deputies, Georges Monnet and Planche, took part in the actual Congress. One of the delegates, Poupy, took

part in the big meeting held on September 2 in the Bullier Hall in Paris, at which reports were delivered on the work of the Congress, and spoke in support of the decisions. Since then the movement has continued, particularly in the Paris district. The "Humanité" receives letters almost every day from socialist workers condemning the attitude of their party leaders. We are at the commencement of the formation of a powerful movement of members of the Socialist Party of France on behalf of those forces which are rallying the workers for a real action against imperialist war.

The leaders of the Socialist Party of France, who had passed over the Congress in silence, scented the danger and therefore took up the fight. On September 7 they adopted a decision threatening with punitive measures those socialists who belong to the permanent organs set up in Amsterdam.

In its campaign against the supporters of the Amsterdam Congress the "Populaire" gave special space to contributions by the so-called Left leaders, such as Paul Faure, Pivert, Zimowski etc., as they believed that their words would carry more weight among the rank and file members.

It must be said, however, that the Left demagogues did not achieve any great success. On September 30, the socialist delegates to the Amsterdam Congress, in collaboration with the Swiss deputy Nicole held a closed conference in Paris, to deal with the results of the Congress. There were present at this Conference about 700 socialist workers, most of whom energetically supported the delegates. A resolution was adopted calling for the continuation of the anti-war action, for the publication of articles in the central organ and the convocation of a national Congress for discussing the decisions of the World Congress.

This last demand disturbs the leaders all the more because it is constantly gaining support. At the Party Congress of the Socialist Party held in Tours in 1931, a resolution was adopted recognising the necessity of national defence. The leaders of the socialist party have hitherto succeeded in preventing this question of the attitude of the socialists to war being seriously discussed. They know that such a discussion would now lead to fierce fights.

The meeting of the district committee of the Seine Department of the Socialist Party, which was held on October 3, adopted a resolution threatening the recalcitrant functionaries with expulsion and the undisciplined sections with dissolution. At the same time the meeting decided to propose to the II. International to convene a new World Congress against war, to which the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions should be invited.

These manoeuvres already met with a considerable response at the recent meeting of the National Committee of the reformist C.G.T. True henchmen of Jouhaux saw themselves compelled to give expression to the pressure of the reformist masses by opposing the participation of Jouhaux in the French delegation to the Disarmament Conference; they voted however for his further participation in the delegation, but imposed on Jouhaux the obligation to be more energetic, and in case of need to withdraw from the delegation. This fraudulent demagoguery reveals the profound ferment among the working masses.

It is certain that a differentiation is inevitable between the elements which sincerely desire the united front on the basis of the Amsterdam Congress, and those who have joined the movement only in order to maintain contact with the masses and to disintegrate them at the moment when the question of practical action against French imperialism will be raised in the local committees.

That confusion prevails in the movement for the united front which is in the course of formation is obvious. There are socialist workers who sincerely believe that it will suffice to fight against the so-called Right leaders in order to bring their party again on to the correct path. Others have a sentimental attitude towards the question of unity between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Nevertheless there exists a solid cadre which is capable of growing, once a split has been effected.

For the first time the Communist Party is going beyond academic speeches regarding the united front and is in the midst of a big campaign for rallying the masses for the fight. The Communist Party has the opportunity of developing a broad-scale mass work. But this has not yet been recognised by all districts, especially the Northern district, in which the social democrats have their strongest positions.

# THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

## The European Trade War.

By E. Lorenz (Berlin).

The bourgeois weather prophets, who for the past three months have announced that the crisis of world capitalism is being overcome, are beginning to look ridiculous. What has become of the "silver streaks" which they professed to see on the horizon? Instead of this the world has plunged still further into disaster. Japanese imperialism, aided by ruthless dumping, is conducting an exceedingly aggressive commercial war on the East-Asiatic markets, as a result of which not only England, but above all the United States and Holland are severely affected, whilst in Europe the situation is still worse.

If in the majority of the capitalist countries of Europe today the resentment is concentrated against Germany's commercial policy, it must nevertheless be emphasised that it is not the German bourgeoisie alone who are disorganising world trade. France was the first country to set up a comprehensive quota system, and other countries followed its example. Last Autumn England set up a tariff wall which has become ever higher; in addition it has entered into agreements with its Dominions at Ottawa, which seriously affect most of the European States. It is true, however, that the Ottawa decisions have not yet been carried out, and to what extent they are realisable remains to be seen. On the other hand, Germany's import-quota policy had an immediate and very big effect: it exceedingly intensified the commercial war and thereby greatly aggravated the political antagonisms between the European States.

It was only under the very great pressure of agrarian capital that the Papen Government decided to introduce this quota policy; it wished to give the big agrarians fresh hope of the possibility of "rescuing agriculture". An increase of customs duties did not suffice for this purpose, for a large part of the peasants had already come to realise that protective duties, no matter how high, could not help them. Thus the Government had to find a means not yet employed; and they found no other than import quotas.

The opponents of the import quota policy, the big industrialists, pointed out that a considerable part of Germany's exports, amounting to 4,000 million marks, was being risked in order to shut out a part of the exports, which amount to 500 million marks.

How the different countries are affected by this quota system is shown by the following table, taken from the "Berliner Tageblatt" of 28th September 1932, showing the figures for the first half of 1932:

Goods Imported	Total	Holland	U.S.S.R.	Denmark	Poland	Italy
Cabbages . . . . .	10.3	3.3	—	—	—	5.8
Tomatoes . . . . .	7.2	4.3	—	—	—	—
Onions . . . . .	8.3	1.4	—	—	—	0.5
Cut flowers . . . . .	5.0	2.1	—	—	—	2.2
Grapes . . . . .	21.7	—	—	—	—	7.3
Fruit . . . . .	17.8	0.1	—	—	—	0.9
Wood . . . . .	23.7	—	5.4	—	1	—
Cattle . . . . .	3.9	—	—	3.9	—	—
Lard . . . . .	34.0	—	—	6.7	—	—
Bacon . . . . .	5.7	5.3	—	—	—	—
Butter . . . . .	59.0	7.2	6.7	16	—	—
Peas . . . . .	0.8	—	0.6	—	0.1	—
Rice . . . . .	4.7	0.4	—	—	0.3	0.3
Cheese . . . . .	18.4	13.3	—	—	—	0.3
Germany's total imports in first half of 1932 . . . . .	220.5 2387.0	37.4 140.6	12.7 147.8	26.6 62.8	1.4 28.0	17.3 78.4

In addition to the countries mentioned in the above table, there are also a whole number of countries which are affected by the quota policy for instance Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Norway, Sweden, Belgium etc.

When Germany argues that the imports of these countries are affected only to a certain percentage (up to 40 per cent),

the States in question reply firstly that in this time of world economic crisis it is necessary to defend every market possibility, and secondly that departure from the most favoured nation principle means a serious danger, and thirdly, nobody knows where Germany's import quota policy, which has just begun, will finally end.

It was in vain that Warmbold, the Reichs Minister for Industry, tried to appease the countries concerned. The Commission which the Reichs Government sent out in order to bring about an agreement with the most important treaty countries, immediately encountered serious resistance.

In Belgium, where the German Commission had reckoned on encountering the least difficulties, it had immediately to grant the most favoured nations clause, a circumstance which called forth a great storm among the German agrarian capitalists. In Holland, the second country which the Commission visited, it had to leave immediately because the Dutch Government declared that the Commission's proposals offered no basis for negotiations.

The negotiations will not be any easier in Italy, for Italy has immediately proceeded to the counter-attack. It has ruthlessly prohibited foreign exchange transactions for payment of exports from Germany, and thereby almost completely shut out German imports. The Reichs Bank replied to this action by refusing to grant foreign bills to pay for imports from Italy. Thus there is already an open commercial war between Rome and Berlin, in which Italy is in a more favourable position: its exports to Germany amounted in the first half of 1932 to only 78.4 million Reichsmarks, whilst its imports from Germany amounted, on the other hand, to 112.5 million Reichsmarks. The commercial war with Italy is thus a heavy blow to German industry.

In Holland, voices are already being raised demanding a boycott of German goods. Holland's exports to Germany in the first half of 1932 amounted to 140.6 million Reichsmarks, its imports from Germany, on the other hand, to 321 million marks. A trade war with Holland therefore means an extraordinary heavy loss for German capitalism. It is reported that a boycott of German goods has already commenced in Denmark and Norway. A boycott of German goods is also reported from Finland. In the Scandinavian and Baltic countries English industry is making great efforts to oust German goods from the market.

Of special importance is the attitude of Germany to the Soviet Union. In the first half of 1932, Germany imported from the Soviet Union goods to the value of 187.8 million marks and exported goods to the value of 356.6 million marks. Thus the Soviet Union is Germany's best customer. After the Soviet Union is already affected by Germany's heavy import duties on wheat, it cannot remain indifferent if now its most important export article, timber, is hit. The Papen Government must not be surprised if Soviet orders, which at the present time provide work for half a million German workers, are sharply reduced.

The aggravation of the antagonisms between the capitalist countries which has resulted from this commercial war, acquires special importance in view of the political situation in Europe. For Germany in particular it means that its isolation has become complete, as it has given offence even to those States from which it might have expected economic or political support. The Papen Government has undoubtedly thereby facilitated the game of French imperialism. There is every indication, however, that the Reichs Government will be compelled to give way to at least a number of countries, in the first place Italy and Holland.

But behind this commercial war there stands a far bigger and more important question. How can world capitalism obtain sales markets for its surplus products for which there exists no demand? Behind the commercial war there looms the spectre of a new imperialist war. The "Northern American Review" recently stated: "We need a new war, which will last longer, kill more people, destroy more churches and cost more money than the last war. Otherwise we shall probably revert to cannibalism."

In this "dernier ressort" of capitalism the bourgeoisie of all countries are united against the common enemy; Bolshevism and the Soviet Union. The essential feature of the present European commercial war is not the immediate direction in which it finds its expression, but the enormous tension in the capitalist organism, which is making for explosion, and the fact that the capitalists of all countries, in order to find a vent, are uniting for a common war against the Soviet Union. Therein lies the chief danger.

## The Crisis in Egypt and the Poverty of the Toiling Masses.

By B. (Cairo).

In addition to its importance to the British Empire from the strategical standpoint, as a sales market, as a suitable sphere for the investment of capital and for extorting extra colonial profits, Egypt plays the role of chief supplier of raw cotton to the textile industry. English policy during the last half century has converted Egypt into an agrarian hinterland for supplying raw material to English economy. Cotton became the chief product of Egyptian agriculture. The area under cotton has continually increased. This is shown by the following table:

Year	Area under cotton
1914/15 . . .	987,735 Egyptian feddans*)
1924/25 . . .	1,924,382 " "
1930 . . .	2,064,000 " "

Nevertheless only a very insignificant part of the cotton remains in the country; more than 99 per cent. of the total output of raw cotton is exported. The following figures show the average annual output of cotton in the last 20 years and how much was exported:

(In thousands of Egyptian cantars — 1 cantar = 45 kilogrammes)

Year	total output	Exported	Consumed by the home industry
1910—15	7,301	7,182	27
1915—20	5,304	5,328	52
1920—25	6,181	6,097	55
1925—30	6,087	6,667	53

England's importation of Egyptian cotton was greater than that of any other country. In the years of prosperity 40 to 50 per cent. of the total cotton crop of Egypt were exported to England. The sum which Egypt realised from the export of cotton was used almost exclusively in paying for goods which it was obliged to import. (These imports included corn, for when Egypt went over to the cultivation of cotton it became a grain-importing country).

With an economy so crippled by imperialism it is not surprising that the world economic crisis proved fatal to Egypt. The drop in the price of cotton destroyed at one stroke the basis of Egyptian economy.

The following figures clearly illustrate the effects of the crisis and the drop of the price of cotton on Egyptian foreign trade:

Year	Imports in Egyptian Pounds	Exports in Egyptian Pounds
1926	52,400,059	41,759,391
1927	48,685,785	48,340,503
1928	52,043,369	56,165,256
1929	56,089,312	51,751,994
1930	47,488,328	32,906,000
1931	31,528,791	27,939,000

The consequences of the crisis and the drop in the price of cotton affected in the first place the Egyptian fellahin. Even in the years of "prosperity" their situation was exceedingly difficult. The fellahin had a hard struggle to live whilst the profits from the sales of cotton flowed into the pockets of the big landowners and speculators. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the fellahin could pay their rent to the big landowners, their debts to the money lenders and their taxes to the government, so that there was only a bare pittance left over to them. Nevertheless, in the last few years the situation of the fellahin has pronouncedly deteriorated. The fact alone that the price of cotton has dropped to 63 per cent. of the pre-war level, whilst the price of food is 4 per cent. above the pre-war level, shows that the fellahin have not even the possibility of maintaining the already miserable standard they had hitherto; that their situation has become simply disastrous.

The Egyptian Government, which is in the hands of the English puppet Sidki Pasha, not only does nothing to help the fellahin in any way, but takes advantage of their position in order to exploit and subjugate them all the more. This Government, which is supported by English bayonets and is based on the power of the English imperialists, the monarchist clique of King Fuad, and the big landowners and business people, protects the interests of British imperialism and of the foreign and Egyptian exploiters. Whilst the Government brutally extorts taxes from the fellahin (it suffices to mention that in

spite of the crisis, the drop in the price of cotton and the lowering of the standard of living of the fellahin, the sum which is squeezed out of the rural population in the shape of taxes has remained almost the same as it was in the year 1929), it aids the landowners by buying cotton of them out of government means. The Egyptian Government has at present purchased no less than 17 million pounds of cotton. A parliamentary committee set up by Sidki Pasha to enquire into the burden of taxation borne by the peasants, recorded that the peasant has to yield up on an average 50 per cent. of his income as taxes to the government. When it is also remembered that Sidki Pasha has repealed the "5 feddans law", according to which in the event of a fellah's land being confiscated at least 5 feddans had to be left to him, then it becomes clear how the Egyptian landowners and English imperialists take advantage of the crisis in order to consolidate their power and secure their profits at the cost of the working population of Egypt.

The ruin of the peasants, however, is not the only effect of the crisis. The working urban population are immediately exposed to the blows of the crisis and suffer poverty, misery and hunger. The number of unemployed in Egypt has rapidly increased. The Egyptian Government evades compiling exact data regarding the extent of unemployment or granting any aid to the unemployed. Even the so-called "philanthropic" measures which were resorted to at the commencement of the crisis in order to "pacify" the people are now being done away with. In the meantime, the position of the unemployed in the towns is becoming continually worse.

On top of all this there is an increased attack on the wages and working conditions of those workers who are still engaged in production. In the two years of the crisis the wages of the workers have been reduced on an average by 50 per cent, whilst at the same time it should be remembered that the Egyptian currency has lost nearly 33 per cent. of its purchasing power since September 1931.

Strikes are becoming more and more frequent, which is an indication that the workers are opposing the attack of the employers. The police are sent against the strikers. Every conceivable compulsory measure is employed in order to force the workers to work for lower wages. The "Labour protection law", which has been repeatedly promised to the workers in the last few years by the various governments, is sabotaged.

These are the effects of the crisis in Egypt at the present stage. What are the prospects for the coming Autumn and Winter? The bourgeois opposition paper "El Ballah", published in Cairo, replied to this question in an article entitled: "The catastrophe is to be expected in October." The paper publishes official figures showing that the area under cotton in 1932 has declined to 1,093,701 feddans as compared with 1,480,000 feddans in 1931 and 2,064,000 feddans in 1930.

"As we must reckon with a deterioration of the soil on which the cotton is grown, the cotton crop can be estimated on an average at 3 cantars per feddan, so that the value of the crop as a whole on the basis of the present reduced cotton prices, will not amount to more than 8 million pounds. What a difference in comparison with 1919, when the value of our cotton harvest amounted to 100 million pounds! . . . 8 million pounds do not suffice to save the fellahin from disaster!" (4. 8. 1932.)

Sidki Pasha himself had to admit, in reply to a question put to him by a journalist, that he doubted whether the means at the disposal of the Government would suffice to avert the approaching disaster. By "disaster" the Egyptian Government mean not only the complete ruin of Egyptian economy, the accentuation of the financial crisis and the undermining of the main branches of Egyptian economy, but in the first place an outbreak of indignation on the part of the broad masses of the Egyptian workers and peasants. The present policy of terror and coercion pursued by the Government cannot check the growing ferment among the masses. The increasing peasant disturbances, which frequently take the form of fights with government expeditions, as well as the tenacity which the workers display in their strikes, indicate that whilst the bourgeoisie and the imperialists are seeking a way out of the crisis by further enslaving the masses, the toilers are more and more turning to the path of fight for the revolutionary way out.

The Communist Party of Egypt, which is persecuted by the government, unceasingly attacked by the official and also the so-called "oppositional" press and forced into illegality, will take an active part in the approaching fresh upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Egypt.

\*) 1 feddan = 4200 square metres.

## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# Open Letter

## From the Working Men and Women, the Specialists and Office Clerks of Dnieprostroy.

To all workers, specialists, collective farmers, individual peasants, red army men, red sailors, office workers and toilers.

Dear Comrades:

On the Dnieper there has been carried out one of the most wonderful and tremendous efforts of the Bolshevik Party. A hydroelectric station has been built surpassing all other stations of the world in power.

In the U.S.A., an advanced capitalist country with regard to technical development, the Niagara electric station has a capacity of only 430,000 horse-power. The biggest power station in North America, in Tennessee, has a capacity of 620,000 h.p. **Our Dnieprostroy Station has a capacity of 810,000 H.P.** This alone brings pride to the hearts of the proletarians and our friends in the Soviet Republics and throughout the world.

However, the superiority of the Dnieprostroy electric station over the American stations, with regard to the capacity in horse-power, is only **one** side of the matter.

The history of Dnieprostroy is so instructive, so valuable for all our great works in the second Five-Year-Plan and for the Bolshevik work of the present day that every toiler must to some extent know of the great plan of the Bolsheviks, the building of the biggest hydro-electric station in the world, on the river Dnieper, carried out by them in the epoch of the Proletarian Revolution.

The fact that the proletariat, under the leadership of their Party, led by Comrade **Stalin**, has compelled the foaming Dnieper to flow in the form of electric energy through wires; the fact that the proletariat has made a tremendous river, 2,000 kilometers long, navigable for steamers from source to mouth, covering its previously raging and impossible rapids with deep water—all this puts new energy and new courage into the hearts of the proletarians—creators of the new world.

Such a tremendous work was only possible for the proletariat and only, as the Leningrad workers stated in their manifesto: "by the heroic struggle of the Communist Party, in the armed revolt of the workers and soldiers, in the thunder of the cannons of the 'Aurora', the Socialist Revolution conquered on the river Newa, in the city of Lenin".

For centuries and for decades the Dnieper riveted on itself the attention of all thinking people, engineers and scientists, but nothing but projects were ever produced. For untold ages the river Dnieper, raging fiercely over its rapids, has flowed aimlessly from a height of 37 meters between Dnieperpetrovsk and the village of Kichkass.

Under the shameful rule of the Romanoff dynasty, beginning from 1785, twenty different plans were drawn up to dam and utilise the energy of the Dnieper, but not one of these projects was realised or could have been realised.

The shores of the river Dnieper were owned by princes and landlords, who cared nothing for the interests of national economy. It was only when the workers and the toiling peasants raised the standard of the Proletarian Revolution and drove out the landlords and capitalists—it was only then that the road was free for such work as Dnieprostroy.

Comrades, Dnieprostroy is the child of the most beautiful creation of the Leninist plan of electrification. H.G. Wells, the prominent English author and middle-class Philistine, visited Soviet Russia in 1920, and spoke with Lenin. Then Wells, with the narrow mind of a bourgeois, tried to be sarcastic.

"Lenin, who, like a good orthodox Marxist denounces all 'Utopias', has succumbed at last to a Utopia, the Utopia of the electricians. He is throwing all his weight into a scheme for the development of great power stations in Russia to serve whole provinces with light, driving force, and industrial power. Two experimental stations he said had already been established. Can one imagine a bolder project in a vast flat land of forests, and illiterate peasants, with no water power, with no technical skill available, and with

trade and industry at the last gasp? Projects for such an electrification are in process of development in Holland and they have been discussed in England, and in those densely-populated and industrially highly-developed centres one can imagine them as successful, economical, and altogether beneficial. But their application to Russia is an altogether greater strain upon the constructive imagination. I cannot see anything of the sort happening in this dark crystal of Russia, but this little man at the Kremlin can."

How pitiful do these words sound now, and these are not only the words of Wells; it is not important that he alone spoke them. These are the words of the whole of the bourgeoisie. And, who is right now—the great Lenin, or the Philistine Wells? And who was capable of carrying through the plan of electrification—the Soviets or that Holland and England praised by Wells, which are convulsed by the greatest economic crisis of capitalist economy in history?

The starting up of Dnieprostroy gives a clear reply to all these, stunning the bourgeoisie. Comrades, the question of Dnieprostroy was raised as early as 1920, on the initiative of Lenin. At that time he expressed his splendid idea of electrification, at the third Congress of the Y.C.L.:

"Communist society cannot be built up if industry and agriculture are not reconstructed, and, furthermore, they must be reconstructed on the basis of the most advanced modern scientific technique. You know that this basis is electricity; that only when the whole country is electrified, all branches of industry and agriculture, then you will fulfil this task; only then you will be able to construct that Communist society which could not be built by the old generation."

As one of the practical results of these words, the plan of **Goelro** was drawn up, of which Comrade **Stalin** stated:

"An excellent and well composed book, a wonderfully drawn up uniform and practical government plan".

The **Goelro** plan stated:

"The concentrated fall of water which exists at present on the rapids of the River Dnieper can enable a hydro-electric station of tremendous power, to be set up and at the same time convert these rapids into a navigable river."

This was the beginning of the history of Dnieprostroy. Six months after this decision, on the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, we began to construct the "electric heart" of the Ukraine, a hydro-electric station of terrific power.

We realised the tremendous responsibility which was placed on us, the builders, by the Party and the government, and we justified the trust of the Party and the Soviet Government.

We constructed the station and produced electric current two years earlier than the American specialists planned for, and six months earlier than our own plans.

As years pass the great Soviet Union will build still more enormous stations, on the Volga, and later on the Angara, but in the memory of the toiling people will ever remain the mighty and beautiful epos of the construction of the biggest electric station in the world at the present time, on the River Dnieper.

During the construction work we beat all world records for concrete-laying. The world's record was held by the Wilson dam in America, 380,000 cubic meters of concrete in a season. The Americans shouted this achievement from the house-tops to the whole world. On the Dniepr dam we planned to lay 427,000 cubic meters in the 1930 season, and actually laid 518,000 cubic meters. Such was the force of the Bolshevik energy of the masses, their unlimited loyalty to their Party, to the cause of socialism. The labour enthusiasm of the masses knew no limits. In order to give the first electric current, not in December, but already in May, 1932, it was necessary during

the winter to put on the crest of the dam a further 60,000 cubic meters. Neither the icy blizzards, nor the severe frosts of the Winter of 1931 could stop us, the builders. At the black hours, when we were behind the plan, thousands and tens of thousands of people came to help us from the other villages and towns of the region, so that they could help, by their voluntary communist labour, to build up more rapidly one of the most astonishing constructions of the working class in the Soviet Union.

In December we had the task of laying 8,000 cubic meters. We put forward a counter-plan of 16,000 cubic meters, and actually laid 18,000 cubic meters. In January, in the same way, we laid 22,000 cubic meters, including 2,000 cubic meters above the plan, which we laid as a present to the 17th Party Conference. In February there were severe frosts and blizzards, making work almost impossible, but, nevertheless, we laid 15,000 cubic meters of concrete on the crest of the dam.

Owing to the unprecedented upsurge of Leninist-Socialist competition for the honour of laying the last cubic meter of concrete on the crest of the dam, we were able to report to the whole country, on March 28th: "The Dam is ready." Even the Americans were astounded at the record figures of concrete-laying. In 1930 the Americans laid 85,000 cubic meters on one dam in the U.S.A. On the Dnieper, in Oct., 1930, we laid 110,500 cubic meters of concrete. The American specialist, Thompson, at a meeting of engineers of Dnieprostroy, characterised our work as follows:

"We have seen concrete work in various countries of the world for many years, but this is the first time that any of us have seen an avalanche of concrete. This is a picture which creates a tremendous impression. The most outstanding thing is the fact that the avalanche is continuing to rush forward with unabated force, and that every worker, without exception, is seized by the impulse and is attracted to the rapid march forward".

The workers on other sections of the construction work produced equally heroic tempos. The country already knows of the world records of our machine-fitters on the assembly of the biggest turbines in the world. The biggest American generator has a capacity of 57,000 h. p. One of our Dnieprostroy generators has a capacity of 85,000 h. p. The Americans assembled a turbine of less power than the Dnieprostroy station in the course of 45 days. We assembled the first turbine in 34 days, the second in 29 days, the third in 26½ days, the fourth in 29 days, and the fifth in 23½ days.

The American specialists, on the basis of American tempo, considered that we should build the electric station in 7 years, and thus they dated the opening for 1934. Without any experience of the construction of big hydro-electric stations, we completed the tremendous Dnieprostroy works in two years ahead of the schedule laid down by the Americans, and produced the cheapest electric energy in the world, not on December 1st, as was formerly planned, but already on May 1st, 1932.

"Dnieprostroy has done things which I thought impossible". Thus stated the well-known American specialist, Cooper.

Thousands of proletarian delegates from our Soviet Republics and abroad, who have been at Dnieprostroy, have been delighted at the great works of proletarian hands, but also the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have been at Dnieprostroy cannot conceal their unwilling admiration.

The German professor, Schlesinger, a specialist of world-renown, who showed in his report at Berlin that he is a person far from communism, was nevertheless compelled to admit that the achievements of the Soviet Union astounded him. With regard to Dnieprostroy Prof Schlesinger said:

"I talked with the chief engineer, with the American and German specialists, on the plan. Their opinion was that no station has ever been built on such a large scale, so thoroughly, in such an organised manner, with such few delays."

**Comrades, What is it that made possible such tremendous success in the construction of the biggest electric station in the world? First of all, the leadership of our steeled, unshakable Leninist Party, the C.C. of the C.P. of Ukraine, the C.C. C.P.S.U., under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.**

The great victory on the Dnieper in such a short period is a brilliant confirmation of the correctness of the general line of our Party, the correctness of the Bolshevik tempo of

industrialisation undertaken by our country. Dnieprostroy is a symbol of the introduction of Bolshevik tempo. The victory on the Dnieper is a fresh, annihilating blow to the opportunists, grumblers and the incredulous. This victory is the result of an irreconcilable struggle against right opportunism as the chief danger at the present stage, against "left" exaggerations, against the conciliatory attitude towards deviations, the result of a struggle for the general line of the Party.

We owe our victory on the Dnieper which is of world importance, directly to the Bolshevik leadership of one of the foremost detachments of the Leninist Party, to the leadership of the 5,000 strong Party organisation of Dnieprostroy. Always at the advanced posts, always the first in the most difficult places, the Communists, by their personal heroic example, led the mass of the workers in their efforts to overcome the numerous and enormous difficulties of this gigantic undertaking. All the main victories—500,000 cubic metres of concrete in the 1930 season, the successful installation of machinery, the completion of the dam before the fixed date—are connected with the leading role of the Dnieprostroy Party organisation. On the basis of a consistent carrying through of the general line of the Party and the realisation of Comrade Stalin's Six Conditions, the Dnieprostroy Party organisation was the organiser and leader of socialist methods of work—socialist competition and the shock brigade system. Under the leadership of our Party organisation we carried on the competition on truly Leninist socialist lines. We, 30,000 Dnieprostroy shock brigades, have shown clearly and convincingly that to us labour is a "matter of honour, of glory, prowess, and heroism".

A very prominent part was played by the Young Communist League of Dnieprostroy—the most reliable and foremost helper of the Party organisation on the building site. The whole country knows the famous Y.C.L. shock brigades of the Dnieprostroy.

The correct organisational and technical guidance of the administration of the undertaking and of the staff of engineers and technicians, as well as the valuable advice of the American and German experts, have played a prominent part in the success of the undertaking. Of great service to the Dnieprostroy has been our Bolshevik press, especially, our glorious militant organ, "Proletarii Dnieprostroya". A very important part has also been played by the complete mastery of reading and writing of all our workers—the result of the Bolshevik activity of our cultural workers who helped us to grasp the complicated technique implied in the huge undertaking. That our undertaking had at its service the achievements of advanced technique, the use of the best machines in the world, was an important factor of our victories.

Comrades! Though justly proud of our great victory on the Dnieper, which is of world importance, we, Dnieprostroy workers do not forget that still greater tasks confront us. On the left bank of the Dnieper, around the hydro-power station, we are erecting the largest industrial enterprises of the S.U., which exceed in magnitude Magnitogorsk and other undertakings. We are building a whole city of factories and works which will be consumers of the enormous volume of the power of the Dniepr Hydro station.

The country knows as yet very little about this gigantic undertaking. A brief enumeration alone gives an idea of the extraordinary proportions and the exceptional significance of the works of the Dnieper industrial combine.

The coke chemical works will produce every year 1,300,000 tons of coke, it has 275 ovens divided into four batteries.

The metal works will produce 1,055,000 tons cast iron a year, 280,000 tons construction steel, 33,000 tons of tool steel, 55,000 tons wire of the highest grade.

The steel alloy works will produce 80,000 tons of Manganese steel, 20,000 tons ferro silicium, 4,000 tons Chrome steel and 1,600 tons tungsten steel. All these steel alloys are required for the production of high grade steel.

The Aluminium combine will produce every year 15,000 tons aluminium. The building material works—cinder cement, bricks fire-bricks, limestone—will have a yearly output of hundreds of thousands and millions of tons.

The repair works has cast iron, steel and copper smelting departments, a machinery and a construction department. The fine buildings of the industrial combines are of noble propor-



tions, but there is a serious hitch here. The powerful Dniepr-Hydro station is forced to slacken the speed of its turbines, for the main consumer—the industrial combine—is not yet ready to receive the electrical current. We, too, are partly responsible for this hitch. But the chief culprits are the factories and works which did not in time carry out the orders for the combine. We, the conquerers of the Dniepr, we who have fully justified the confidence of the Party, promise on the eve of the XV. Anniversary of October to make gigantic efforts so that the construction of the combine be carried on at the same rapid rate as the construction of the dam and the hydro station. **But we have the right to demand and do demand that the purveying factories and works should carry out the orders for our combine in a truly shock brigade manner. "The whole country is building the Dniepr Industrial combine"—such is our slogan.**

We heartily support the appeal of the foremost detachment of the heroic U.S.S.R. proletariat—the Leningrad proletarians—to the Donbas miners, to the metal workers of the Urals and the South, to the railwaymen, the collectivised peasants, men and women, the trade union, Soviet and cooperative workers,—to usher in on the eve of the glorious anniversary of October a new wave of socialist competition, to overcome the difficulties and carry out the industrial and financial plan.

We, who have overcome enormous difficulties on the Dniepr and the opposition of the henchmen of the class enemy, and have won a great victory, fully understand these words of the Leningrad proletarians: "Comrades! We are the masters and makers of the destiny of one-sixth of the globe. We have attained all this with struggle and difficulty, with enormous efforts. The country is surrounded by enemies. Nothing great has ever been done without difficulties. We are building socialism, a new society, new relations between human beings.

"We bury forever beggary, poverty and misery—the outcome of capitalism. We build a new world, a new socialist life for the workers and peasants.

"Yes, we have still great difficulties. The class struggle is not yet ended, the kulak is on the watch, he will not leave the arena without a fight. He tries now to plunder our property. The remnants of the kulaks have a hankering for the foundation of our social order—for the sacred, inviolable, common property.

"But it isn't for us, who storm the heavens, not for us, the shock brigade of the world proletariat, to shrink from difficulties, it isn't for us, who took Perekop, drove Yudenich from the suburbs of Leningrad, the international imperialist armies from the precincts of the country, who created a new Leningrad industry which equips Dnieprostroy, Magnitogorsk, Kuznetzk, etc., who transform the aspect of the country,—it isn't for us to be scared by difficulties.

**No, and a thousand times no! Close up the ranks, Comrades!**

**"To overcome difficulties depends on yourselves."**

The experience of the Dnieprostroy men is a brilliant vindication of these noteworthy words of our class brothers, the proletarians of Lenin's city. We back enthusiastically the appeal of the Leningrad workers:

**Onwards, Comrades, raise high the October banner!**

**We are for fulfilment of our obligations!**

**For the fulfilment of the industrial and financial plan!**  
**For cultural socialist control over enterprises!**

**For strengthening the collective farms!**

**For grain collecting and storing and the spring sowing in a truly bolshevik manner!**

**For an increased output of articles of primary necessity and for development of Soviet trade, for improving food supply for factories and for more extensive building of houses!**  
**For the fulfilment of the Five Year Plan in four years, for attention to the concrete needs of the toilers!**

**Keeping watch over socialist property, we are for the Bolshevik Party, for its Central Committee headed by Comrade Stalin!**

**Onwards to the World October.**

**411 signatures of shock brigade workers and the engineering and technical staff of the Dnieprostroy.**

## The Opening of the Dnieprostroy.

Moscow, 11th October 1932.

The solemn opening of the Dnieprostroy power station took place in Kitchkas to-day. At eleven o'clock Michailov, the representative of the building workers opened the great meeting. Thousands of worker delegates and special delegations from the government, party and other organisations were present. Immediately the meeting was opened all the hooters began to sound. The representatives of the government Comrades Kalinin, Orjonnikidze and Kossior, the secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Tchubar, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, and other prominent comrades were welcomed with storms of cheering.

The speaker declared that the Soviet Union was now celebrating one of its greatest triumphs. The Dnieper power station was the pride of the Soviet Union. It had been built in world record time and the masses not only in the Soviet Union, but all over the world had followed the stages of its construction with close attention. Dnieprostroi was not only a gigantic power station, but the basis of a huge industrial combination forming the industrial centre of Ukraina.

From to-day on the Dnieprostroi station will bear the name of Lenin and a monument to Lenin will be erected. This decision was received with tremendous enthusiasm. Across the huge dam in giant letters is Lenin's famous slogan: **"Soviet Power plus Electricity equals Communism!"** This slogan is illuminated after dark by two powerful searchlights which flood the dam with light. On the right bank of the river is a huge construction bearing Comrade Stalin's slogan: **"There is no invincible fortress against the advance of Socialism!"**

## The Port of Vladivostok Once and Now

By Otto Heller.

Vladivostok is a young town. It was founded in 1860, but its development commenced with the building of the Trans-Siberian and Chinese-Eastern Railways in the second half of the nineties. Vladivostok is an ideal port, apart from the fact that it is ice-bound for three months in the year.

Up to 1901 Vladivostok was a free port. Transit traffic to and from Manchuria was almost entirely via Vladivostok; it was only after the loss of Port Arthur and Dairen to the Japanese that Vladivostok lost its monopoly position. Nevertheless up to recently it remained the port of North and East Manchuria.

Before the imperialist war Vladivostok was mainly a harbour for imports. During the world war huge consignments of arms and munitions from Japan and the United States went to Vladivostok, which fact, after the outbreak of the revolution, made it a point of attraction for the Japanese and also for the Czechish legions. After the end of the intervention Vladivostok became more a port for exports, the transit traffic from Manchuria for some time playing a very considerable role. In the last few years, however, pure export traffic has acquired increasing importance in the harbour of Vladivostok. Exports of timber occupy first place, as Vladivostok is the port from which the whole of the timber export of the Soviet Union is shipped to the countries of the Pacific Ocean, chiefly to Japan, China and Singapore, but also to Australia. The second place is occupied by the exports of fish and canned food, which have greatly increased in the last few years. In order to meet the requirements of the fish-export trade, a huge refrigerator has been built in the port which will commence working in the course of the coming Winter. Finally glass, furs, minerals and hides are exported via Vladivostok.

Shipping traffic in the port has increased tremendously in the last year or so. The number of ships calling at the port increased from 1025 in 1930 to 2,233 in 1931. The year 1932, it is true, owing the decline of transit traffic, will show a decline of the total shipping traffic; nevertheless, owing to the increased export of timber and the increasing coastal traffic with Sakhalin, Kamtchatka etc., the total shipping turnover will be considerably higher than that of the year 1928/29 (1147) and 1927/28 (1176).

In the year 1913 the amount of goods passing through the port of Vladivostok was 1,364,283 tons, of which 850,923 tons were import goods and 513,360 export goods. In 1923/24 the goods traffic was only 68 per cent compared with 1913. In 1925/26 the goods traffic was already 114 per cent; in

1928/29 it was 173 per cent. and in 1929/30 it had reached 204 per cent. compared with 1913. In the two last years, exports exceeded imports fourfold. By 1927/28 the transit traffic had increased three and a half times compared with 1913, after which it declined a little. In 1931, it again showed a slight increase; the figures for 1932, however, are bound to show the results of the Manchurian events.

The first six months of the year 1932 likewise show a further upward movement. The goods turnover in this period amounted to 1,334,300 tons, which represent an annual turnover of 2,650,000 tons, that is to say, in round figures an increase of 800,000 tons compared with 1931. The cutting off of Manchuria from Vladivostok, the hampering of traffic on the Chinese Eastern Railway, can only affect transit trade but not the actual harbour, whose development is proceeding rapidly.

Vladivostok has considerably changed its appearance this year. It must be borne in mind that civil war did not come to an end here until October 1922. It is only ten years ago that the Japanese occupation troops, and with them the last remnants of the Whites, withdrew from the coast district. Up to 1931 Vladivostok had achieved very little in regard to building construction. Now, however, a tremendous building activity has set in here also. In addition to the refrigerator already mentioned, buildings are being erected for specialists and above all for schools and factories. The biggest factory in the Far East, "Dalsavod", is erecting dwelling houses and a whole series of new works. "Dalsavod" not only repairs ships in its docks, but is building a series of iron electro-welded motor cutters. The whole town is being renovated; nearly all the houses are being re-whitewashed, the pavements are being repaired, the hotels extended and modernised. A new electric power station is being erected in order to put an end to the state of affairs in which the town is often for days without light owing to the fact that the old power station is no longer able to meet the enormous demands of the port and factories for current.

The sanitation of the town is making great progress. The disreputable Chinese quarter is being gradually cleared out and a big modern dwelling combine with clubs, dining halls, mechanical laundry is being erected for the Chinese workers.

The number of ships of the Sovtorg fleet in the Pacific whose basis is Vladivostok is 37, with a gross registered tonnage of 85,000. The demand for tonnage can, of course, only be partly met by this fleet. It therefore charters foreign vessels, mostly Japanese but also Chinese and Norwegian. The crews of these ships consist mainly of Chinese.

In the course of the coming Winter a direct air service will commence running between Moscow and Vladivostok. The Ussuri railway will be converted into a double-track railway as far as Chabarovsk; the stretch of railway line connecting Ugolnaya, Kangaus, Sutchan, and Nachodka, part of the B.A.M. (Baikal-Amur railway) now under construction, will in 1933 connect Vladivostok with the big coal fields of the coast district.

The tenth anniversary of the affiliation of the Far Eastern Republic to the U.S.S.R., which will be solemnly celebrated on November 10, will find socialist industrialisation in full swing also in Vladivostok.

Vladivostok, in Tsarist times a military and mercantile town, has become a workers' town. The Chinese dock-workers, who are working in hundreds not only in the transit docks but also in the timber and bunker docks, are exceedingly active. Socialist competition, shock brigades, training courses, abolition of illiteracy—one finds all these to an equal extent among the European and the Asiatic workers. "Dalsavod" is not only the biggest but also the best factory in the Far East, which in the first six months of 1932 has fulfilled its plan 120 per cent. Vladivostok is the seat of a Chinese workers faculty; the factory newspapers appear in Russian and Chinese. The latinisation of the Chinese alphabet is making great progress; it considerably facilitates the cultural work among the Chinese workers. The neighbourhood of Vladivostok, in particular the coast of Amur Bay, has many health resorts and sanatoria for workers. Pioneer camps and children's homes are situated in the shades of the wonderful forests. That Vladivostok belongs to the workers and seamen can be seen by every foreigner as he approaches the town from the sea. There towers up on the front the huge building of the International Seamen's Club. The influence of this club is felt in all the ports of Eastern Asia.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### United States Supreme Court Postpones Scottsboro Decision.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Under heavy police guard, with Negroes in the majority among those ejected from its chambers, the black gowned judges of the United States Supreme Court, at Washington, heard the appeal of the International Red Aid against the Scottsboro judicial lynching of seven Negro children and then reserved decision until **November**.

These rich corporation lawyers, appointed for life to the high court of dollar class justice, the centre of a world protest storm aroused by the International Red Aid, decided that the closing weeks of the national presidential elections was no time to hand down an unfavourable decision.

For the first time in its history, this highest court of American class justice was under fire from the world's working class. Over the United States, in Canada, throughout Europe and the other continents, workers' delegations sought Wall Street's embassies and consulates to roar their protest in spite of local mobilisations of police. But the protest of October Tenth, because of the manoeuvre of the high court at Washington in postponing decision, must increase many times in volume.

The **International Red Aid**, preparing for its **World Congress**, also in November, makes the mobilisation of protest against the Scottsboro judicial lynching and the demand for the release of **Tom Mooney** and **Warren K. Billings**, sixteen years in the dungeons of the dollar reaction, a central task of its struggle against the white terror, fascism and capitalist class justice, against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. If the court had been inclined to a favourable opinion it could have made its decision five minutes after the lawyers had finished their arguments.

There must be no illusions about the Scottsboro case. The Sacco-Vanzetti case was long drawn out over nearly a decade. The Scottsboro case to-day, compared with the Sacco-Vanzetti case—is already on the threshold of the death house with its electric chair hungry for the lives of the Scottsboro Negro children.

Only the broadest and continued mass protest, with the utmost vigilance can prevent the dollar reaction from throwing the seven lifeless bodies of the Scottsboro children as a challenge at the feet of the world's working class.

This is the same dollar reaction that gives bullets instead of bread to its unemployed. No unemployment relief or social insurance of any kind. Poison gas, bayonets, armoured tanks for the veterans of the last world war merely seeking the immediate payment of their bonus already approved.

Increase of lynchings of Negroes: 1929, 13 lynchings; 1930, 44 lynchings; 1931, 117 lynchings; measuring the growing sharpness of the economic and the agrarian crisis. Savage denial of Negro rights, as in the present election campaign. Four million Negroes are disfranchised in the United States.

The appeal of the International Red Aid before the United States Supreme Court was based principally upon the charge that the Negro children were deprived of their constitutional rights in that they did not receive a fair trial in the Scottsboro courts. According to the American constitution every prisoner is entitled to a trial by a jury of his peers, and is supposed to be considered innocent until proven guilty. This is based on old English law. The International Red Aid through its lawyers declared before the highest American court that the Scottsboro judicial lynching was carried through against all the formalities of the law, and in violation of all the safeguards supposed to be granted to a prisoner. The boys were put on trial in the very city where a mob tried to lynch them, the mob lynching being frustrated by the promise that the legal lynching would be carried through almost as quickly and as effectively. The court denied the demand that the trial be held in some other section of the state in a less hostile atmosphere. The trial jury itself was selected from the mob of would-be lynchers. While the trial was in progress thousands of would-be lynchers stormed about and inside the court

house, maddened with liquor and carrying guns in full view. The mob even, threatened to shoot down the Negro children upon the witness stand. The trial itself was a farce. The Negro boys had no lawyer of their own. They were not in touch with their families. They were not allowed to call any witnesses. The prosecution violated all legal procedure in putting through its frame-up, carrying through its intimidation and terrorisation of the two white prostitutes, Victoria Price and Ruby Bates, to the very last, even upon the witness stand, in order to put through the characteristic American frame-up, as in the prosecution of Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, and hundreds of other outstanding cases of judicial tyranny against the working class.

The International Red Aid, in the Scottsboro case, raises the demand for a majority of the jury members to be Negroes. In the Southern states, Negroes are denied the right to sit on juries at all.

There is a slight conflict here between the Alabama (state) law and practice, and the United States (federal) law. The state law is a survival of Negro slavery days. The federal law and practice, supposedly that of the republican party, which has been in power most of the time since the Civil War (1861—1865), when the rising young Northern industrial capitalism took power away from the landed aristocracy, the slave-holding, feudalistic Southern states, looked with greater favour upon the Negroes as a basis for strengthening its power in the Southern states. Negroes are, therefore, supposed to enjoy the right to sit upon federal juries in the South.

In recent years, however, the reactionary North, more than ever, makes its appeal to the white reaction in the Southern states, and the republican party unites with the democratic party in crushing underfoot all the rights supposedly guaranteed to Negroes, even those of the United States Constitutional Amendments adopted after the Civil War. The republican party, with Herbert Hoover as its candidate, was victorious against the democratic party in the traditionally "Solid South" in the presidential elections in 1928, and the United States is now in the midst of new vote-seeking elections.

We must face the fact that the federal court—United States Supreme Court—is as much a lynch court as the state courts in Alabama. Only the mass protest, mobilized worldwide and daily increasing in volume, will save the Negro children from the clutches of the dollar judicial lynch mob.

## British Terror in Cyprus.

London, September 30, 1932.

The British section of the League against Imperialism has received a letter describing current incidents under the murderous imperialist rule in Cyprus where terror has been intensified since last year's revolt. In the unarmed rising of last year no Englishman, soldier or civilian, was harmed, but ten Cypriots were killed and 100 wounded.

Thousands of arrests have been made since. Every inhabitant of Limassol who owned an Underwood typewriter was recently arrested because the officer in charge of the British military forces had received a letter written on an Underwood machine. The whole of the Greek population of Cyprus were subjected to a special punitive tax of £ 34,000. Recently in the village of Pissouri, near Limassol, 60 British soldiers led by a sergeant, called all the men of the village together and after tying them up, flogged them in order to force them to denounce the person who had set fire to a customs station.

Failing thus to elicit the information they required, they took the 12-year old son of the British headman, bound a rope about his head and began twisting this rope by two wooden sticks until it sank nearly half an inch into his flesh, in order to make the boy's father give the desired information. Detailed reports of this and of the rape of two women were filed in the office of the Archbishop of Limassol.

Only a fortnight ago a Cypriot hotel-keeper at Limassol, named Apostolides, died in consequence of a beating administered by a British naval officer for alleged "insolence". So enraged have the population become that the British authorities are beginning to fear for a fresh and more serious upheaval than that of last year. In order to save their faces the British authorities have instituted proceedings against the officer involved in this last case.

## THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

### The Anti-Imperialist Struggle of the Filipino Peasants.

By Paul Levin (Manila).

In the last few months there have been a number of facts which go to show that the patience and endurance of the poor peasants of the Philippine Islands, especially in Luzon, are at an end. These peasants are realising that the only course open to them in order to escape death from starvation is to fight against the semi-feudal exploitation of the landlords and American imperialism. From May to July last there were continual strikes of tenants in Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Bulacan and other provinces in Luzon. All branches of Philippine economy, without exception, have been very seriously affected by the capitalist world crisis, and the situation is deteriorating from day to day. The disastrous drop in prices of agricultural products has deprived the peasants of almost their entire income. The prices of sugar, cocoa-nut oil, copra, hemp and rice, which are the main products of the Islands, have dropped to one fourth of the 1919 level, whilst ground rent and interest on loans have increased twofold. On top of all this, enormous tax burdens have been imposed on the toiling masses. Under the pretext of combating "Soviet dumping" and protecting home industry, customs duties have been increased which have resulted in a rise in the prices of articles of daily use, and further customs measures are contemplated. This double exploitation by American imperialism and the native bourgeoisie has brought the toiling masses to the verge of starvation and increased the indignation of the peasants against imperialism in general and the landlords in particular.

According to the official estimate, the number of peasants renting land in the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Tarlac and Bulacan is about 10,000 to 15,000. Their standard of living is very much below the minimum level, a fact which is admitted by the Bureau of Labour of the Philippine Insular Government. These peasants went on strike against the landowners and usurers. The recent largest strike started in the district of Aliago, Nueva Ecija, at the beginning of July; it then spread to San Antonio, Jaen, Cabanatuan, Quimba, San Isidor, San Carlos etc. in this same province, and finally developed into a general strike covering the whole province of Nueva Ecija with more than 1000 tenants actively participating in it. Their demands were: 30 per cent reduction of the usurious rate of interest on loans; fifty-fifty share in the expenses of planting and harvesting, which hitherto have been borne solely by the tenants, etc. Owing to the strike big tracks of land were left uncultivated; the most fertile country, parts of Nueva Ecija became a wilderness. Faced with the prospect of further losses as a result of the firm attitude of the peasants, the landlords were forced to give way and grant most of the demands put forward by the militant tenants. The strike lasted for three weeks and ended in a victory for the tenants.

During the strike tremendous fighting enthusiasm prevailed among the strikers, and red flags with the sickle and hammer were displayed in many towns. Nevertheless many weaknesses were revealed: The provincial governor was allowed to intermediate between the tenants and the landlords; the strike committees did not function as well as they should, and in some villages no strike committees were set up; mass meetings were not held in every town affected by the strike; there was a lack of broad propaganda.

Similar strikes also occurred in San Miguel, Bulacan. The strike-wave, which is still rising, has considerable prospects of developing into a nation-wide movement. The "Manila Daily Bulletin", the organ of American imperialism in the Philippine Islands, has issued a definite warning to the landlords, pointing out that dissatisfaction with the present tenancy system is already evident in many places and it is to be feared that unless the system is improved there will soon be open hostility among the tenants against their landlords.

The slogans of the Communist Party of the Philippine

Islands, such as "confiscation of church lands and the estates of the big landlords" and "abolition of usury", became very popular among the peasants. The toiling masses of the Philippine are coming to recognise that the complete emancipation of the Philippine peoples can only be achieved by an agrarian and imperialist revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party.

In order to maintain "law and order" the American imperialists and their native puppets have resorted to terroristic measures against the peasants. Within the last two months 120 revolutionaries have been arrested, charged with arson, robbery, vagrancy and sedition. Bestial tortures were applied in order to force the accused peasants to sign statements, which were drawn up by police officers, confessing that they had committed robbery and arson and that they had acted on the instructions of the National Peasants Confederation of the Philippine Islands. These statements are then

used as evidence in the trial of the peasants confederation, which has long been illegal. Its president, Comrade Jacinto Manahan, and its secretaries, Comrades Feleo and Castillo, have been arrested on similar charges. As a further means of crushing the revolutionary movement in the Philippine Islands, three well armed companies of constabulary soldiers have been stationed definitely in Nueva Ecija. According to the statement of Captain Caedas, provincial commander of Nueva Ecija, they are "standing by, ready for any emergency". But all this display and use of force will not succeed in destroying the revolutionary movement of the Philippine Islands. The oppressed Filipinos, however, need the active support of the international proletariat, especially of the American proletariat, in order to free the Islands from the yoke of American imperialism, and in addition to destroy American imperialism's naval base in the Pacific, which is a direct menace to the Soviet Union and Soviet China.

## In the International

# Ruthless Repulsion of the Enemies of the Leninist Party.

### Decision of the Presidium of the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. of October 9, 1932.

The Presidium of the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., after examining the material in connection with the enquiry regarding the members and confederates of the counter-revolutionary group of **Rjutin, Ivanov, Galkin** and others decides:

#### I.

The following members and confederates of the counter-revolutionary group of **Rjutin** (already expelled from the Party), **Ivanov** (member of the Party), **Galkin** (member of the Party) are to be expelled from the Party as elements who have degenerated into enemies of the Party and of the Soviet Power, as betrayers of the Party and of the working class, who have attempted, by illegal means, under the deceitful flag of "Marxism-Leninism", to set up a bourgeois organisation for the restoration of capitalism and especially of kulakism in the Soviet Union:

- Galkin, P.**—Formerly participator in the Right opportunist group, organiser of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Ivanov, M.**—Organiser and secretary of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Samyatın, P.**—Expelled from the Party from 1921 to 1924. In addition he has been several times punished by the Party on account of Right opportunist practice. Organiser of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Fedorov, P.**—From 1914 to 1920 member of the "social revolutionary party", organiser of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Temidov, W.**—Excluded from all party work on account of conciliatory attitude towards the Right opportunists. Organiser of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Kayurov, W.**—Organiser of the counter-revolutionary group, connecting man with the former "Workers' Opposition".
- Kayurov, A.**—Member of the counter-revolutionary group. Produced and distributed its counter-revolutionary literature.
- Slepkov, A.**—Already expelled twice from the Party as Right opportunist. Supported the counter-revolutionary group by spreading its literature.
- Marezki, D.**—Already expelled once from the Party as a Right opportunist. Helped in spreading counter-revolutionary literature.
- Moebel, M.**—Active spreader of documents of the counter-revolutionary group. Made false statements to the C.C.C.
- Rochkin, G.**—Former Bundist. Already expelled once from the Party for distorting the Party line. Active distributor of the counter-revolutionary literature of the group.

- Ptaschny, B.**—Already expelled once from the Party on account of Trotzkyist activity. Member of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Tokarev, S.**—Organiser of the group, active distributor of the counter-revolutionary documents of the group.
- Vassiliev, N.**—Already expelled once from the Party on account of membership of the Trotzkyist opposition. Member of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Kayurova, N.**—On account of producer of counter-revolutionary documents of the group.
- Samjatina Tschernych, K.**—Expelled for the same reason as the above.
- Kolokolov, N.**—As concealer of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Gorelov, W.**—Expelled once already from the Party on account of his active participation in the illegal counter-revolutionary work of the Trotzkyists. Participated in the activity of the counter-revolutionary group.
- Zinoviev, G.**—and
- Kamenev, L.**—Former organisers of the anti-Party and anti-Soviet block of the opposition group; both were once expelled from the Party and readmitted after their declaration to the XV. Party Congress that they "subordinated their will and intentions to the will and intentions of the Party". They have abused the confidence which the Party placed in them, and betrayed the Party. Although they knew of the existence of the counter-revolutionary group and received the documents from this group, they omitted to inform the Party of this and thereby supported the activity of this group.

#### II.

The following members have been expelled from the C.P.S.U. They are allowed, however, the right to demand the rescission of their expulsion after the lapse of a year, each according to his conduct:

- Sten, J.**—Former member of the opportunist opposition. He spread the counter-revolutionary documents of the group and made false statements to the Central Control Commission.
- Petrovski, P.**—Former member of the Right-opportunist opposition. He concealed from the Party the existence of this group and thereby promoted its counter-revolutionary activity.
- Uglanov, N.**—Former member of the Right-opportunist opposition, he knew of the existence and the activity of the counter-revolutionary group, but concealed it from the Party and thereby supported the counter-revolutionary activity of the group.
- Ravitsch-Tschkaski, M.**—Concealed from the Party his connections with the counter-revolutionary group (he received documents from it) and thereby supported its activity.

Presidium of the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

Moscow, October 11.

Regarding the above decision of the Presidium of the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., the "Pravda" of October 11, writes:

By following the instructions of Lenin, and continuing the fighting traditions of Bolshevism, the Party has achieved tremendous successes in all spheres of the economic life of the country. It has grown tremendously and has received in its ranks the best elements of our heroic working class and our peasantry organised on the collective farms. It has proved itself capable of accomplishing such tremendous tasks as the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction in four years. It has defeated all attempts of various anti-Party groups who strove to demoralise its ranks, to weaken its will and determination. The Party has been able to achieve the greatest successes in all spheres of work, because it ruthlessly repelled the opportunists of all varieties, because it crushed the organisations of the Trotzkyists and Right opportunists.

The great bulk of the former followers of the Opposition who have perceived their mistakes, who have corrected them and become convinced of the correctness of the Party line, returned to the Leninist position. The workers in the ranks of the Party and the peasants, in co-operation with millions of advanced workers and peasants, are building the first Socialist State in the world.

In the course of these years tremendous international and inner difficulties have been overcome. The Soviet country stands as the unshakeable fortress of the proletarian dictatorship and of Socialist construction in face of the whole world, which is shaken to its very foundation by the crisis. The tremendous successes of Socialist construction, which even our enemies are unable to deny, call forth the fierce hatred of our class enemies. This growth of the land of the Soviets and its socialist advance cannot proceed so "smoothly" and "frictionless" as the opportunists dream—without struggle, without overcoming the bitter resistance of all those who are hostile to the path of socialist transformation of our vast country. This means, however, that "the working class can achieve fresh successes of Socialism only by fighting against the remnants of capitalism, by decisively overcoming the resistance of the perishing capitalist elements and overcoming bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices among the working people, and through tenacious work in re-educating them socialistically." (Resolution of the XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.)

The XVII. Party Conference foresaw "that also in the distant future, at various moments and especially in various spheres and parts of the front of socialist construction, an intensification of the class struggle is unavoidable, whereby there is emphasised the inevitability of the maintenance, in many cases even a strengthening, of bourgeois influence on individual sections and groups of the toilers, as well as, in the course of a long period, the inevitability of the penetration into the ranks of the working class and even into the Party of influences alien to the proletariat."

That is the reason why we saw in the last few years how individual party members, at a moment of specially sharp resistance on the part of the class enemy, succumbed to these alien sentiments, became their mouthpiece and formed groups to fight against the consistent Leninist Party line. These attempts, however, are becoming more feeble every time. These groups express the sentiments of disgruntled big peasants, speculators, and narrow-minded petty bourgeois. Such a group is the group of Rjutin-Galkin-Ivanov and others, who made common cause with the expelled Trotzkyists and other anti-Party elements on the basis of giving voice to the most reactionary views which have up to now been preached by various anti-Party and anti-Soviet groupings.

These counter-revolutionary groups elaborated in their documents a genuine programme of capitalist reconstruction and restoration of the kulaks, in that they proclaim the necessity of **dissolving the Soviet farms and collective farms** and demand a policy which means the handing over, as concessions to the capitalists, of the socialist enterprises created as a result of the heroic work and enthusiasm of the working class.

This group consists in the main of people who have already fought for a number of years against the line of the Party. Their venomous "criticism" is directed to-day against that Party leadership which over a number of years has proved its fidelity to Leninism, to the socialist revolution and the Communist International; which has shown to the world the greatest capacity to promote the socialist revolution, not

by high-sounding phrases but by glorious deeds of living socialist construction. The decision of the Presidium of the C.C.C. deals an annihilating blow to this new attempt of sharpers who remained hidden in the Party to attack the Party. Needless to say, one or two dozen of oppositionals who have slid into the counter-revolutionary camp cannot shake our ranks, just as little as the combined forces of the one-time fairly numerous anti-Leninist groups could not divert our Party from the Leninist path. In spite of this, this incident compels us to direct the attention of all members of the Party to the necessity of an even more determined fight against all attempts to shake confidence in the decisions of the Party, and also the necessity of still greater class vigilance towards the slightest symptoms of opportunism.

Such men as **Zinoviev, Kamenev** and **Uglanov** have shown themselves to be confederates of this counter-revolutionary group. Fifteen years ago, on the eve of October, Zinoviev and Kamenev displayed such an attitude towards the proletarian revolution that Lenin stigmatised them as strike-breakers and demanded their expulsion. In spite of this, the Party afterwards placed confidence in them. Ten years later they rewarded the Party by again openly rebelling against the Party and attempting to drag the Party organisations on the path of anti-Party struggle. They amnestied at that time the Trotzkyists and other members of the Party, forgetting that only just previously they had sworn they had no differences of opinion with the Party. Defeated in this fight, they declared to the XV. Party Congress that they "subordinated their will and intentions to the will and intentions of the Party". The Party again accorded them the greatest confidence, received them into its ranks as it had received again many others into its ranks, and entrusted them with responsible work. But the logic of fraction-struggle drove them on to the path of conspiracy against the Party. Instead of ruthlessly repelling the counter-revolutionaries and all those who maliciously maligned the Party, instead of immediately and unreservedly exposing the miserable kulak agents who spread counter-revolutionary documents, they preferred to discuss these documents in secret, without informing the Party regarding them, without exposing their authors, without supporting the Party in the fight against the counter-revolutionary groupings. Thus they became their confederates. They acted according to the logic: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend". Therefore they supported the counter-revolutionary **Rjutin** group, just as a number of others who have been expelled in connection with this affair have done.

The Presidium of the C.C.C., by its decision, emphasises that the Party ruthlessly removes from its ranks anyone who adopts the path of opportunism, of fractional struggle. For this path leads, as the whole of our former experience in the fight against the Trotzkyists and the Right opportunists has shown, and as the history of the Rjutin-Galkin-Ivanov group shows once more, into the camp of counter-revolution.

A living example of this is Leon Trotzky. The Party will fight more irreconcilably than hitherto also against the slightest conciliation towards opportunism. It will demand of every Party member absolute sincerity towards the Party and its leading bodies; it will demand of everybody unconditional and unhesitating support and defence of the Party. Only a few days separate us from the XV. anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution. Fifteen years ago, when the capitulants prophesied the downfall of the proletarian revolution, our Party boldly led the workers, peasants and soldiers into the fight. At that time, 15 years ago, we were only a quarter of a million Communists. As an army of three million, supported by the enormous reserves of the Communist youth, by the millions of organised workers and collective peasants, by the powerful basis of the proletarian dictatorship, by the socialist economy of the Soviet Union and the experience acquired in the fight for Socialism—our Party celebrates the 15th anniversary of October. The Party, which on the eve of this anniversary is ridding itself of a score of sharpers who adopted the path of counter-revolution—this Party is proceeding to the carrying out of the second five year of socialist construction, more firmly convinced that it represents the great cause of the proletarians and toilers of the whole world, and that it will carry out to a victorious end the fight which has commenced for Communism.

# Expulsion of the Traitor Celor from the French Communist Party.

By Marcel Cachin (Paris).

*The Central Political Control Commission of the C.P. of France has expelled Pierre Celor, former member of the Pol-Bureau and of the Central Committee of the C.P.F., and one-time leader of the Paris Party organisation, from the ranks of the Communist Party, on account of treachery to the Party and the working class.*

This decision of the Central Control Commission on the expulsion of Celor will doubtless come as a surprise. And this is quite understandable. Celor, who left the Party in the dark with regard to his unknown past, who concealed his treachery behind an "exemplary" simplicity and unassumingness of demeanour, who always gave the impression that he lived only for the Party work, grudging himself the slightest recuperation in spite of his illness, and who was invariably energetic and zealous—was no common traitor.

On the contrary, he has shown himself a master of dissimulation, and has displayed the utmost skill and cleverness in this art. Hence it can be understood how this agent of the bourgeoisie contrived to abuse the confidence and the sympathies of numerous comrades, and became a responsible leader of the Party.

Celor's position in the Party made the investigations, which were commenced some time ago and have now led to his exposure, extremely complicated. The inquiry, and the adducing of the proofs of Celor's treachery, have thus had great difficulties to overcome.

How did Celor come under suspicion? One of the factors playing a part in the investigation of Celor's activities—and strengthening the suspicions against him—was the fact that the Party knows by its own experience, and by the experience of the international communist movement, that the groups and fractions which arise in the Party very frequently serve as convenient cover for traitors and agents of the bourgeoisie.

The comrades forming the one-time "group" were greatly in error. The Party criticised and condemned these errors. But to commit political errors, and to have taken part in the sabotage carried on by the former "group", is one thing; to be a traitor like Celor is quite another. In the course of the inquiry leading to the exposure of the traitor Celor, the members of the former "group" had given active assistance to the Party.

The results of the inquiry, which is still going on, show that our Party, with the aid of the workers, is able to expose with inexorable severity every traitor and every agent of the bourgeoisie, even the cleverest and most adroit of them, and especially if they have or have had responsible positions in the Party. A Party able to expose and expel such skilful and crafty traitors as Celor is a Party deserving of the faith of the broad masses of the workers.

This expulsion decision, issued by the Party of the working class in order to purge and defend its ranks, teaches very valuable lessons to the whole Party and to the whole revolutionary labour movement.

After a long and exhaustive inquiry, instituted by the competent organs of the Party, Celor's treachery has at last

been put an end to. The inquiry up to the present, and the results of the examination to which Celor has been subjected, have brought to light the following facts among others (these are admitted by Celor):

In 1925, during the Morocco war, Celor was a soldier in Morocco, and was arrested. Leaflets against the war and Party documents were found on him. In order to save himself when brought before the court, he betrayed the communist Party group of Casablanca. In reward he was released at once, without having to stand trial. At the same time—remarkably enough—he was released from military service!

According to his own explanations, he was simply sent to France. Had he promised, had he agreed, to "work" for the police? This is still a secret.

After his "discharge" from the French army in Morocco, and after his return to France, this young soldier, although he had only recently been arrested for communist activities during the Morocco war, now obtained a well paid position with a share in profits, through the intermediation of his uncle, a police officer. What services had he to render in return? This too is still a secret. After hesitating for six weeks, he "preferred"—as he says in his statement—to work in the Communist Party.

Celor concealed these facts, deceived the Party and its functionaries with great dexterity, and rose to the position of a responsible leader of the Party. He maintained contact with such agents provocateurs as Joubert, Jany, Cormon, Icard, etc., who have meanwhile been exposed by the Party as police spies. The commission of inquiry has ascertained that he was warned regarding certain individuals, members of the Party, who have since been exposed as provocateurs. He took no measures against them, nor did he inform the Party.

These facts were systematically concealed from the Party by Celor, and their subsequent effects deliberately kept dark. When describing his life, and in the course of the inquiry into his activities, Celor gave various versions of his past and of events during his sojourn in Morocco. With respect to his betrayal of the Party in Morocco, to the circumstances of his return to France, and to his connections with his uncle in the police force and with the director of an imperialist firm, Celor preserved the profoundest silence. The warnings against provocateurs and letters containing very exact information on this point, he kept entirely to himself. Thus he suppressed for two years the letters from a comrade in the provinces, denouncing the provocateur Izard, who was subsequently exposed in Toulon, and took no measures whatever.

These are the facts which have been admitted by Celor, and form part of the basis of the energetic measures taken by the Party. Celor admitted these facts after a long examination, during which the traitor made several attempts to befog the questions, contradicted himself frequently, and finally admitted only the facts which it was impossible for him to deny. These facts and admissions show that Celor has delivered many comrades into the hands of the police, and has covered and protected provocateurs. And they show further that Celor, who has done his utmost up to the last to conceal all this from the Party and to prevent his treachery from coming to light, intended to continue to abuse the confidence of the Party in this clever but despicable manner.

The exposure of such an agent of the bourgeoisie is a very important and positive action on the part of our Party and of the working class. The bourgeoisie, and its main support the Social Democratic Party and its renegade branches, will express their rage and anger at this exposure of their agents by attempts at slandering and calumniating our Party.

The workers, especially the social democratic workers, will judge for themselves. They will see the difference between our Party, which publicly pillories all traitors, and the Social Democratic Party, which accepts the police and the betrayers fraternally into its ranks.

## Decision of the I.C.C. of September 3, 1932 in the Matter of Karl Tomann.

In view of the fact that Comrade Karl Tomann who was removed from the Austrian work on account of fractional activity has since resumed his Austrian work without the permission of either the E.C.C.I. the I.C.C. or the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, and has twice ignored the request of the I.C.C. to appear before it to answer charges of having flagrantly broken the discipline of the Communist International, the I.C.C. decides to expel Karl Tomann from the Communist Party. This decision must be published in the communist Press.

(Sig.) Angaretis.

The Social Democratic Party and its central organ must be asked to account for the fact that, precisely at the moment when our Party took steps to unmask Celor, they launched the dirtiest possible campaign of lies and slanders against our Comrade Semard, attributing to him all the misdeeds which have now had to be booked to the account of Celor. This campaign was a classical example of side-tracking on the part of the police. The reason for the slander drive in the "Populaire" is now obvious. Cover was to be provided for Celor. This is the dirty role played by the Social Democratic Party.

The Communist Party, whilst proclaiming to the toiling masses the expulsion of Celor, this betrayer of the working class, calls upon them at the same time to take part in the inexorable mass struggle against the bourgeoisie and its main social support, the Social Democratic Party. French imperialism intends to starve out the toiling masses, to force them into an armed attack on their Socialist fatherland, the Soviet Union. The radical socialist government, supported by the social democratic party, is continuing the policy of im-

perishment, of reaction, and of war, which was already the policy of the Tardieu government.

The Communist Party and the workers will not permit themselves to be misled by the despicable attacks of the bourgeoisie and its agents. Recently we were able, with the aid of the workers, to expose the Tardieu-Gorgulow provocation. To-day we unmask the traitor Celor. Treachery and provocation will not save the capitalist system now in its death throes.

The mighty tzarist "Ochрана" was unable to stem the advance to victory of the Party of Lenin and of the proletariat of Russia. That enormous organisation, the "Intelligence Service", cannot prevent the uprising of the colonial peoples oppressed by British imperialism. The "Sûreté générale" and the "Renseignements généraux" (political police and General News Service), and the whole cunning system of treachery and espionage of French imperialism, will not be able to prevent the victory of the toiling masses of France, who are gathering in ever growing numbers around the flag of our Communist Party!

## Documents of the International

# The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

## The Lessons of Economic Strikes and the Struggle of the Unemployed.

(Resolution adopted by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Report of Comrade Thälmann and the co-reports of Comrades Lenski and Gottwald.)

1. The growth of the revolutionary upsurge and the character of strike struggles and the struggles of the unemployed.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge in the sphere of the economic struggle of the proletariat is expressed in the development of the mass strike movement (Spain, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, France, Belgium, Bulgaria, England, India, U.S.A., etc.), in the inclusion of new sections of the proletariat in the economic struggle in countries where the crisis developed late (the miners' strike in Borinage, Belgium, the textile strike in Tvente in Holland, the paper makers' strike in Odalen in Sweden, the fitters' strike in Zurich, Switzerland), in the rapid conversion of small economic movements into mass economic and political strikes (Brüx, Borinage, etc.), in the increase in the role of the Communist Parties and revolutionary T.U. movement in strike struggles and in the struggle of the unemployed, in the rise of a new, non-party group of worker activists who fight heroically against the attacks of capital in spite of and against the reformist T.U. bureaucrats.

The Communist vanguard and the revolutionary T.U. movement, however, has not since the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. succeeded in rousing the majority of the working class to the struggle against the unceasing attacks of capital. The chief cause of the insufficient development of economic struggles is the still unsatisfactory application of the line of independent leadership of economic struggles, on the basis of the tactics of the united front from below, in the underestimation of partial struggles, in the weak contacts with the masses in the factories and among the unemployed, in the weakening of revolutionary positions inside the reformist trade unions, in the inability to expose the manoeuvres of the reformist T.U. bureaucrats, in capitulation to reformist T. U. bureaucrats, openly or concealed by "left" phrases.

On the basis of the experience of all the big strike movements, since the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and in view of certain new objective difficulties that have arisen, and also the new and growing possibilities, the Communist Parties, which, while being among the masses must always march at the head of the masses, must organise the struggle of the proletariat for the smallest every-day demands of the workers, must be ready quickly to take the leadership of all forms of the spontaneous movement against the capitalist offensive, and to raise the political level of the movement, extending the partial fights of the proletariat to the greatest possible extent and directing them along the channel of the mass political strike.

The economic struggle of the proletariat is assuming more and more a revolutionary character, and combining, in an increasing number of cases with various elements and forms of political activity, is, at the present stage, in the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries, the fundamental link for leading the masses to the forthcoming big revolutionary battles. The greatest possible development and strengthening of the struggle of the proletariat against wage cuts and the worsening of the conditions of labour, the exertion of all the efforts of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary T. U. organisations to ensure the independent leadership of strike struggles and the unemployed movement, the raising of the fighting capacity of the masses, leading them on the basis of their own experience from the struggle for every-day partial demands to the struggle for the general class tasks of the proletariat—represent the chief tasks for all sections of the Communist International, especially under the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilisation.

2. The Fight against the Capitalist Offensive and the Tactics of the United Front.

The experience of a number of strike movements since the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (Brüx, Borinage, the tramway strike in Warsaw, the telephone strike in Shanghai, the Underground Railway strike in Tokyo, the textile strike in Tvente, etc.), shows that the Communist Parties and the revolutionary T.U. organisations have achieved successes in the leadership of the economic struggle of the proletariat in those cases when they have consistently applied the tactics of the united front from below at all stages of the struggle, when they have promptly put forward demands and slogans of the strike intelligible to the masses, when they have organised them on the basis of broad proletarian democracy, drawn all sections of the fighting workers into the leadership of the strike, and when they have decisively exposed the manoeuvres of the reformist T. U. bureaucrats and the "confiding" conciliatory attitude towards them.

In addition to this the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that in the overwhelming majority of the sections of the Comintern serious shortcomings and a number of serious opportunist mistakes have been discovered in carrying out the tactics of the united front from below, which have been utilised by the social democrats and the reformist T.U. bureaucrats in their tricky manoeuvres. These shortcomings have arisen both from an underestimation and an insufficient application of the tactic of the united front (especially with regard to social democratic workers), and

also from opportunist capitulation to the reformist T.U. bureaucrats (unity at any price), and in fact they have been the chief causes of the insufficient advances of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary T.U. movement in the development of the independent leadership of the economic struggle of the proletariat.

The Communist Parties and the revolutionary T.U. organisations, basing themselves on the growing, spontaneous strivings of the workers towards unity in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and organising this striving, must carefully prepare every economic struggle of the proletariat among the broadest masses of the workers, establish the closest contacts with the new worker activists coming from below and thus ensure the revolutionary leadership of the struggle and the splitting of the social democratic workers from their treacherous leaders.

### 3. Methods of Leading Unemployed Struggles.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. directs the special attention of all sections of the Comintern to the tremendous and ever growing political significance of the **unemployed movement** which is being directed more and more **directly against the capitalist state** (the struggle for food, for relief, for social insurance, against forced labour, etc.). The struggle of the unemployed has up to the present time been prepared by the Communist vanguard and organised by it to a much less degree than the strike struggle of the proletariat. The Communist Parties and the revolutionary T.U. organisations **have not succeeded** in organising serious mass activity by the **employed workers** in defence of the interests of the unemployed, although it has been found possible more and more frequently, to get the unemployed to support actively workers on strike.

The most serious shortcoming in the mass work of the Communist Parties among the unemployed has been that insufficient attention has been paid to the organisation of the struggle for the partial demands of the unemployed. At the same time, the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. points out the extremely poor popularisation of the programmes of demands for the unemployed which have been prepared by a number of Communist Parties, an active struggle for which is a sign of the establishment of the united front of the unemployed themselves as well as between the unemployed and the employed workers. The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that the decisions of the XI. Plenum and of the Prague Conference on the methods of work among the unemployed and the forms of organisation of the unemployed have not been carried out, and the unemployed movement has been left without proper revolutionary leadership, which to a certain degree has been taken advantage of by the social democrats and fascists. In cases when Communists and adherents of the revolutionary T.U. movement have properly estimated the political importance of work among the unemployed and have widely popularised the programme of demands of the unemployed, capably combining them with the concrete defence of the every-day interests of the unemployed, in most cases they have been able to obtain material successes and to extend their political influence.

The Communist Parties, while systematically explaining to the working masses that unemployment is an inevitable accompaniment of the capitalist system and can only be abolished by the dictatorship of the proletariat, must devote special attention to the wide mobilisation and organisation of the broad masses of the unemployed for a struggle for their every-day demands and social insurance, but must not allow the red trade unions and the Red Trade Union Opposition serve as substitutes for the broad organisation of the unemployed.

The Communist Parties must combine the defence of the interests of the unemployed with the struggles of the part-time workers and advance in the interests of the latter, in addition to the demand for full wages, also the demand for special relief, reduction of rent, reduction of the rates for lighting, heating, water, etc. In leading struggles against dismissals, against overtime and capitalist rationalisation, the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions should learn from the experience of the Communist Parties in the Pabianitz, Hortensia and Ozorkowo textile mills in Poland, in Kleisterley and Reichenberg factories in Czechoslovakia, in the Renault works in France etc., and resort to the most varied forms of struggle, including the occupation of the

factory by the workers. If in spite of a determined struggle against dismissal, dismissals do take place, they must demand that the employers pay compensation to the dismissed workers. Finally, the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions must wage a determined struggle against the mass dismissals of young workers and married women workers and devote serious attention to strengthening the work among unemployed women and unemployed youth.

### 4. Work in the Reformist Trade Unions.

One of the chief causes of the insufficient mobilisation of the masses by the Communist Parties and the revolutionary T.U. organisations in the struggle against the capitalist offensive is the impermissible weak revolutionary work carried on **inside the reformist trade unions**.

The consistent every-day struggle of Communists and supporters of the revolutionary T.U. movement for the establishment of the united front of the workers urgently raises before all the sections of the Comintern and of the R.I.L.U. the question of work **inside** the reformist trade unions and the **methods** of this work. The influence of the reformist T.U. bureaucracy, especially in countries with long established and strong reformist trade unions, is one of the chief hindrances to the development of the class struggle, and cannot be broken down by shouts about wrecking the trade unions, for which Communists are not striving nor by deserting the trade unions, but by persistent work inside the reformist trade unions, by fighting hard to win every member of the reformist trade unions, for **every eligible post** in the trade unions, for securing the dismissal of the reformist T.U. bureaucracy and winning over the local organisations of individual trade unions and the local trade union councils of the reformist unions.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all sections of the Communist International to continue the struggle with all Bolshevik consistency and determination against capitulation to the reformist T.U. bureaucrats, as against the **chief danger**, and against those opportunist elements in the Communist Parties and the revolutionary T.U. movement which still in practice oppose the existence of red trade unions and the R.T.U.O. and the organisation and the carrying on of independent economic strikes by them, and who, as substitute for them support the slogan: "Make the leaders fight". The E.C.C.I. instructs all sections of the C.I. to explain to the Party members and the revolutionary non-Party workers that the trade union bureaucrats can only be successfully exposed and the mass of members in the mass reformist, Catholic, Nationalist, Kuomintang, yellow and similar trade unions can only be liberated from their influence if, in addition to, detailed every-day work, and explaining and putting forward their own proposals, the supporters of the R.I.L.U. speak at all meetings, conferences and congresses on all questions concerning the organisation and the tactics of the economic struggle and criticise and expose the leaders of these trade unions because they are carrying on negotiations with the employers behind the scenes, because they voluntarily agree to a worsening of the conditions of labour, because they sabotage the struggle of the masses, strangle the initiative of the masses of members and individual members, and when they cannot prevent the struggle any further, they commence after considerable delay and then capitulate to the employers behind the backs of the workers.

The sections of the C.I. must wage a ruthless struggle against those "Leftist" sectarian elements in the Communist Parties and the revolutionary T.U. movement who take advantage of the struggle of the Comintern against the opportunist slogan of "Make the leaders fight" in order to give up revolutionary work in the reformist trade unions. The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls on all sections of the Comintern to wage a determined struggle against "leftist" sectarian refusal to fight for eligible positions in the reformist trade unions, which is the duty of every Communist according to the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

In countries where there are **mass fascist trade unions** or similar mass reactionary organisations (Italy, China) and especially in places where the fascist trade unions have the monopoly, Communists must actively work inside them in an organised manner, utilising all legal and semi-legal opportunities to draw the masses of members of these organisations into the class struggle, to discredit these organisations in the eyes of the masses, to strengthen the positions of the revolutionary trade union movement among the masses.



## 5. Achievements and Defects in the Work of the Red Trade Unions.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge, the maturing of the crisis in the reformist trade unions and the impending big revolutionary battles, create all the pre-requisites for a serious improvement in the mass work of the Red trade unions and for the consolidation of their role as organisers and leaders of the economic struggles of the proletariat.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that in spite of a number of serious successes (Czechoslovakia, Poland, Spain, Japan), the majority of the Red trade unions have not succeeded in taking advantage of the growth of the discontent among the masses against the capitalist offensive, and of the sharpening of the class struggle, in order to take the lead of the strike struggles and of the unemployed movement.

In France, precisely in this period of crisis, the C.G.T.U. has not only failed to influence the strike struggles and organise a broad movement of the unemployed, but in certain localities it has even lost ground. In Czechoslovakia, the Red trade unions achieved important successes in organising and leading strike struggles and the unemployed movement. Nevertheless they have not yet achieved a decisive improvement in a number of important branches of industry (metal, munitions) and are still weak in the factories. In Spain, where in the process of development of the revolution independent Red trade unions arose which affiliated to the C.G.T.U., the tempo of their transformation into mass organisations as well as the struggle to overcome reformist and anarcho-syndicalist illusions are still inadequate. In Germany, the Red trade unions (metal workers, miners) have failed to organise the struggle against the capitalist offensive and have now stagnated. In U.S.A. the Red trade unions, which determinedly took part in a number of important strikes (Pennsylvania, Kentucky and others) failed to lead these to the end and failed to extend their political and organisational positions. In China, notwithstanding the enormous sweep of the revolutionary movement, the role of the Red trade unions as organisers and leaders of the economic struggles of the proletariat has declined, although it has recently begun to rise again. In Japan, the Red trade unions and the Red Trade Union Opposition have pursued a correct, revolutionary policy in the struggle against the imperialist war and recently have grown. Nevertheless, they have not yet managed to penetrate deeply among the masses of the workers, especially in the big industries, munition industries and transport.

The chief shortcomings and weaknesses of the leadership of the economic struggles of the proletariat by the Red trade unions, which arise in the main from the absence of a firm and practical line for the independent leadership of economic struggles, from the extremely insufficient contacts with the masses, from the existence of considerable relics of social democratic (in some countries, anarcho-syndicalist) methods of work, have found expression in the inability to seize on the concrete economic demands and the political slogans which excite the masses, the inability in most cases to decide on the concrete moment for commencing a struggle, the narrowness of the organisational basis in the red trade unions, the absence, even now, of a serious organisational basis in the factories, the extremely poor development of democracy in the trade unions, and the smallness and political weakness of the cadres resulting from this.

## 6. Achievements and Defects in the Work of the Red Trade Union Opposition.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, as organisations embracing the organised and unorganised workers, has achieved a number of successes in a number of countries since the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Nevertheless, politically and organisationally, it still lags behind the growing revolutionary upsurge of the masses of the workers.

The main task of all the Revolutionary Trade Union Oppositions is to unite the organised and unorganised workers on the basis of the class struggle, to independently lead economic battles, to work in the reformist, Catholic, and similar trade unions, to isolate the treacherous trade union bureaucracy from the mass of the trade union membership and to build up a mass organisation which will link the Communist Parties with the masses.

The main weakness of the R.T.U.O. lies in the fact that, with few exceptions, it has not formed groups in the factories, has worked badly in the trade unions, has not set up its organisations in all the links of the reformist, Catholic, etc. trade unions, and, in the majority of cases, has not led the struggle of the organised and unorganised workers against the capitalist offensive.

In those countries where the Communist Parties are small where there are mass reformist trade unions and where there are no mass revolutionary trade unions, it is necessary to consolidate and expand the work of the R.T.U.O. by recruiting the unorganised for the trade unions and also by the members of the R.T.U.O. joining their respective trade unions.

In those countries where there are red trade unions parallel with the reformist trade unions (France, Czechoslovakia, Japan, U.S.A. etc.) as a rule, the R.T.U.O. should consist of organised workers, for the unorganised workers should be recruited for the red trade unions.

On the wave of the mass movement against the reformist trade union bureaucracy, the R.T.U.O. must become the lever and the organisational base for the creation of independent, red trade unions.

## 7. The Growth of the Revolutionary Upsurge and the Fight Against Deviations.

The development of the economic struggle of the proletariat under conditions of the end of capitalist stabilisation urgently requires that the Communist vanguard pursues a clear and distinct struggle against opportunism, which becomes more dangerous in proportion as the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat rises higher.

Adaptation to the ideology and policy of social democracy, capitulation to the reformist T.U. bureaucrats in the independent leadership of the economic struggle of the proletariat, a confiding attitude to the "left" manoeuvres of the reformist T.U. bureaucrats (in particular to the slogan of the "demonstrative" general strike), refusal to link up partial economic demands with general class slogans, the tactics of a "bloc" with reformist T.U. bureaucrats instead of the policy of a united front from below, refusal to form the R.T.U.O. on the pretext of defending the unity of the T.U. movement and finally, repudiation of the leading role of the Communist Parties in the revolutionary T.U. organisations and hiding of the face of the C.P. in economic struggles—these form the chief danger at the present stage of the development of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

A necessary condition for a successful struggle against this chief danger of right opportunism is a determined struggle against "left" opportunist deviations which are expressed in a leftist "theory" that the workers organised in the reformist trade unions, represent a "reactionary mass", in the leftist sectarian underestimation of the tactic of the united front, in the statement that the reformist trade unions are "schools of capitalism", in a sectarian attitude to work inside the reformist trade unions, in reducing all the work in the reformist unions to the task of wrecking the apparatus and in the bureaucratic ignoring of the methods of proletarian democracy.

## 8. The Tasks of the Communist Parties in the Economic Struggles of the Proletariat.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is of the opinion that an immediate and radical change, **not in words but in deeds** is necessary in the whole of the revolutionary work of the Communists for the mobilisation of the masses for economic struggles, for the organisation and leadership of strike struggles and the unemployed movement, and particularly in all trade union work, both in the revolutionary trade unions and the R.T.U.O. and also in the reformist trade unions. The chief condition for the development of the economic struggle and independent leadership of this struggle at the present stage, is the correct Bolshevik application of the tactics of the united front from below, which requires a **radical change in the Mass work of the Communist Parties.**

For this purpose it is necessary:

a) To ensure that all Party and revolutionary T.U. organisations establish contacts with the majority of the **employed and unemployed, promptly** formulate the slogans of struggle and to determine its methods and forms on the basis of a **really** concrete knowledge of the economic situation, of the requirements and the sentiments of the employed and the unemployed workers.

b) Ensure the wide adoption of the **tactic of the united front from below**, and in particular a proper approach to the reformist workers, patiently overcoming their reformist illusions and prejudices, raising their class consciousness step by step, drawing them into the revolutionary organisations and leading them more and more to the decisive revolutionary battles.

c) To ensure **proletarian democracy** in all stages of the economic struggles (election of strike committees and other organs of struggle) attracting the broad masses of the fighting employed and unemployed workers to the discussion and decision of all questions of the struggle. While fighting the efforts of trade union bureaucrats to sabotage strikes by means of a **referendum**, Communists must actively participate in a referendum, when one is taken, and formulate their own slogans, **simultaneously they must prepare** and independently **organise** the strike struggle.

d) To exert every effort to make the strikes of employed workers and the actions of the unemployed result in some **material gain**, in this way the confidence of the masses in their revolutionary vanguard will be strengthened and the revolutionising of the masses will be facilitated.

e) To lead the struggle against the attacks of the employers and the government on wage agreements, energetically resisting both the Right opportunists who capitulate to the reformist trade union bureaucrats on the pretext of defending collective agreements, and against the "leftist" sectarian underestimation of the importance of collective agreements.

f) To fight not in words but in deeds, for the **united front of the unemployed and the employed workers** on the basis of a joint struggle for social insurance, against forced labour, against the worsening of social insurance conditions, and mass dismissals, and for drawing of the unemployed into the strike struggle of the proletariat. While creating and strengthening extensive organisations of the unemployed, while carrying on a decisive struggle against the replacement of mass unemployed organisations by bureaucratic trade union organs formed by the reformist trade union bureaucracy with the aim of splitting the unemployed movement (Germany, England), the Communists must at the same time **actively participate** in all the organisations of the unemployed which are formed by the social democrats, fascists, and other counter-revolutionary organisations.

g) To convert the R.T.U.O. and the red trade unions into **mass fighting organisations** of the working class enjoying the confidence of the masses, and capable of leading the economic struggles of the working class. The R.T.U.O. and red trade unions must be reorganised on the basis of the factories; their work must be organised on the basis of consistent trade union democracy; an extensive recruiting campaign should be conducted during economic struggles and the latter should be utilised for the purpose of enlarging the ranks of the local active members.

h) To ensure the **immediate restoration and extension of revolutionary positions in the reformist trade unions**. To ensure the preparation of every strike, of every action of the employed and unemployed also inside the reformist trade unions.

i) To ensure the all round leadership of **all factory organisations and the mass organisations of the unemployed** (factory committees, unemployed committees, etc.) by the red trade unions and the R.T.U.O., **without overshadowing or domineering** them; to convert them into constantly acting organs of the united front of the organised and unorganised workers and in particular to strengthen the confidence of the masses in the factories towards the Red factory committees by concretely showing to the workers in what way red factory committees differ from reformist committees.

j) To ensure that the activities and forces of the Party organisations are **concentrated** on the development of the strike struggle and the unemployed movement, especially in those important branches of industry (metal industry, transport and munitions) where there has been the greatest lagging behind up to the present. To ensure the rapid formation, consolidation and regular working of **Communist fractions** in all trade union organisations, including the R.T.U.O., unemployed committees and factory committees, without which it is impossible to establish a correct political line, to control its application, to give correct instructions (without overshadowing or domineering), or in general to strengthen the role of the Party and the revolutionary trade union organisations as the directing and

leading force in the strike struggle, the unemployed movement and the general class struggle of the proletariat.

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The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. reminds all sections of the Comintern that the Communist Parties, which represent the interests of the working class as a whole, are responsible for the organisation of the economic struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive, and makes it obligatory for the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organisations to bring about a rapid change for the better in the organisation of the economic struggles of the proletariat, transferring the centre of all Party and trade union work to the factories, to the work inside the reformist trade unions and to the strengthening of the R.T.U.O. and red trade unions. It is only by bringing about the most rapid change in the organisation of resistance to the attacks of capital on the standards of life of the workers and the unemployed, it is only by raising the mass work of the Communist Parties to the level of the revolutionary political and organisational tasks put before the working class by the development of the crisis and the revolutionary upsurge at the end of capitalist stabilisation, that the C.P.'s will be able to develop mass strikes and the unemployed movement and convert them into one of the main levers for winning over the majority of the working class, directly leading the masses to decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### Sir Oswald Mosley: "The Greater Britain."

By R. Bishop (London).

Oswald Mosley has definitely thrown overboard the last of his democratic pretensions and has avowed himself a fascist, and his mission, the building of a fascist movement in Britain.

The New Party of inglorious memory—founded a few months before the last General Election and deceased a few months after—has been revived under the title of the **British Union of Fascists**, and its policy, if anything so nebulous can be thus termed, is expounded at length in "The Greater Britain".

"The object of this book", says Mosley, "is to prove by analysis of the present situation and by constructive policy that the necessity for constructive change exists."

He declares himself a fascist because "fascism is based on a high conception of citizenship-ideals as lofty as those which inspired the reformers of 100 years ago".

Whilst Mosley declares for fascism, he also declares, as befits a nobleman, that it will be a different fascism from the Continental variety, a truly British fascism—despite its Italian name and the inspiration derived from an Austrian-led German movement.

"We seek to organise in this country by British methods", says Mosley, "in a form which is suitable to and characteristic of Great Britain."

"The fascist principle", we are told, "is Liberty in private, Obligation in public life." Liberty in private gives Mosley the opportunity to display the demagoguery of which he is a past master. He takes up the red herring cry of the reactionary press for longer opening of shops and public houses—"it is a simpler task for limited intelligences to keep public houses closed than factories open". This is the personal liberty. The public obligation is to be reached by the Corporate State in which every vestige of working class organisation is crushed—"every interest in the State must be subordinated to the interest of the State"—which within the fascist State means to the interest of the dominant capitalist interests.

In the Corporate State, we are told, "class war will be eliminated by permanent machinery of Government for reconciling the clash of class interests... Wage-questions will not be left to the dog-fight of class-war, but will be settled by the impartial arbitration of State machinery; existing organisations such as trade unions and employers federations will be woven into the fabric of the Corporate State".

Parliament is not to be abolished; but once it has chosen the form and leadership (Sir Oswald Mosley?) of its Govern-

ment, its functions will cease. Legislation will be by Orders in Council. Parliament will be elected on an occupational basis. The present House of Lords will be abolished and will be replaced by a National Corporation, functioning as a Parliament of Industry. This would consist of the most powerful industrialists and the chiefs of the fascist unions.

Naturally the British fascist chief visualises the subordination of women—"We want men who are men, and women who are women", he says sententiously, relegating the female of the species to the kitchen and the scullery.

A High Protectionist policy is put forward under the plea of "insulating the Empire" so that "No matter what happens in the rest of the world this great structure of economic and political interests can weather the storm".

Complete subjugation of the colonial peoples is also visualised by Mosley.

"Disorder, anarchy and organised violence will be ruthlessly suppressed... We will certainly not abdicate the beneficent power of British government in favour of one small class of Indians."

"Insulation", a savage policy of colonial repression, complete subjection of all working class organisation—this with a few demagogic trimmings and the placing of all power in the hands of a small Fascist Directorate is the programme put forward by Mosley.

That the movement is essentially directed against the rising tide of working-class revolt is admitted:

"Fascism to-day has become a world-wide movement, invading every country in the hour of crisis as the only alternative to a destructive Communism... We seek to create the Modern Movement in Britain in a form very different from Continental forms, with characteristics which are peculiarly British and in a manner which will strive to avoid the excesses and horrors of Continental struggle."

Which latter piece of pious humbug is not likely to deceive the British workers who realise ever more that whenever it has been seriously challenged—in India, in Ire-

land, aye and in the General Strike of 1926—British Imperialism has shown itself to be as savage as any in the world.

"We are so British" says Mosley. Yet his sudden decision to come out openly in the fascist colours comes only after a series of interviews and discussions with Mussolini and the Nazi chiefs. A large part of this year has been spent by the wealthy Mosley in paying visits and sending his henchmen to Rome and Berlin, while Nazi chiefs have visited his offices in London.

The Mosley fascists are already appearing in the West End of London in grey shirts (plus flannel trousers) in place of Hitler's Brown Shirts. Storm Troops are being organised with a uniform of black shirts. These latter will be trained athletes who are undergoing training in boxing and fencing.

Until recently Mosley has denied the fascist basis of his movement. When he first left the Labour Government and started the New Party he let it be understood that his purpose was to start an organisation more vigorous than the I.L.P., but repudiating "Communist excesses". It was clear from the start that fascism was his goal—but it was never admitted. Quickly the honest working class elements lured into the New Party under a misconception became disillusioned and left the Party. Now Mosley is in the open.

It is not without significance that despite the present numerical insignificance of the movement—perhaps a few hundred middle-class youths in London and as many more scattered all over the country—the bourgeois press, usually so careful of its valuable space, is devoting columns to the B.U.F. The "Daily Mail", with a circulation of close upon 2 millions, devotes the bulk of its Leader page to a review of the book, in which Mosley is hailed as a potential saviour of his country.

The British capitalist class is preparing the way for fascism. A boosting of the demagogue Mosley—the wealthy convert to the Labour Party, the dashing rebel of the I.L.P., the ambitious young man who now aims at becoming the British Mussolini—is one way of doing this. But working class converts are not likely to be won to fascism by a reading of "The Greater Britain".

## ***The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries***

# **The Situation of the Working Class in Austria.**

By Guido Z a m i s (Vienna).

### **5. The Position of the Toiling Peasants.**

One would think that the lot of the Austrian peasants is less hard than that of the peasants in the other European countries. Thanks to the protectionist policy of the government, in which representatives of the big agrarians have held office since 1919, the prices of the most important agricultural products have remained stable during the last few years. This can be seen from the following table, published by the christian socialist paper "Bauernbündler" (Peasant Leaguer) a year ago, and to which we have added the figures for August 1932:

#### **Wholesale Prices in Austrian shillings per 100 kilogrammes.**

Product	first six months			July 1931	August 1932
	1913/14	1927	1931		
Wheat . . . .	33.45	40.83	22.37	30.—	32.— to 34.50
Rye . . . . .	27.29	36.39	21.31	31.—	26.—
Pigs . . . . .	184.—	219.—	138.—		160.— to 200.—
Oxen . . . . .	153.—	143.—	126.—		85.— to 165.—
Milk (100 litres)	30.—	35.90	30.40	32.—	31.—

As is to be seen, the price drop which set in at the beginning of 1931 for wheat and rye soon ceased. This was the result of the introduction of appropriate protective duties. Although the price of wheat has remained fairly stable, the purchasing power of agricultural products has undergone a considerable change since 1914, as is to be seen from the following table, in which the prices are calculated in kilograms of wheat:

	1914	1927	1931
A suit . . . . .	183	322	568
a shirt . . . . .	18	22	42
a pair ob boots . . . . .	58	69	136
100 kilogramms of salt . . . . .	120	152	318
100 kilograms coal . . . . .	17	24	50
100 kilometre railway journey . . . . .	17	14	32
100 kilograms of Thomas meal . . . . .	213	150	295
100 kilograms fodder meal . . . . .	64	81	100
Taxes for an acre of land . . . . .	31	48	109
Agricultural machines . . . . .	1000	880	1740

The doubling of the turnover tax which has just come into force will increase the disparity between the price categories. In addition, a further burden is imposed upon the peasants in the form of a 15 per cent. increase in the freight rates on the State railways for two of the most important fertilisers, potash and Thomas meal.

Whilst every peasant is affected by the increase in the price of industrial products, by the increase in mass taxes and customs duties, only the big agrarians profit by the stability of the price of wheat, for the small and middle peasants and the mountain peasants have very little wheat to sell. On the contrary, most of them have to purchase flour for their families and are therefore not interested in high prices of wheat and rye.

The case is different in regard to meat prices. These prices are maintained so high thanks only to the law regarding traffic in cattle. By this law the sending of cattle to the market is "regulated". i. e., is artificially throttled. The

working peasants complain that by this market regulation the whole of the profit (including, for example, the export premium) finds its way into the pockets of the middle men, while the big agrarians, of course, are protected against this robbery.

The effect of high protective tariffs is also to be examined from the point of view of the class antagonisms in the village.

The collapse of the price of timber is to be seen from the following table:

Price of timber in shillings:

	1 cubic metre of pine wood	1 cubic metre of timber for the manufacture of wood pulp	1 double cental of fire wood
1930	30-36	23-25	4.20-4.60
1931	21-24	14-18	3.60-4.—
1932	16-19	11-14	3.20-3.50

This drop in the price of timber hits in the first place the small mountain peasants, for whom the sale of timber is their chief source of income.

The case is the same with regard to the vintners. Whilst the large producers are still able to make considerable profits from their vineyards, the small vintners are left with unsaleable vine on their hands if they refuse to sell at the price offered by the middleman, which does not even suffice to cover the costs of production.

The sale of milk has always been an important source of income for the Austrian peasants. This applies especially to the small peasants. The Austrian Government boasts of its successes in increasing milk production. The big dairy companies pay the small milk producers, on an average, 20 to 28 Groschen for a litre of milk, whilst they retail it in Vienna at the price of 56 to 62 Groschen a litre. This big difference in the price paid to the producer and the price demanded of the consumer is a shameless piece of robbery on the part of the big capitalist dairy companies, which have a monopoly position thanks to the circumstance that the Government, which claims to protect the interests of the peasants, has issued an order, with the approval of the social democrats, according to which only pasteurised milk is allowed to be sold in the big towns.

In addition to the above-mentioned causes of the poverty of the Austrian small and middle peasants there are others which are connected with the general crisis. In many districts the small peasants, in addition to their farms, the proceeds of which never suffice to maintain their families, sought seasonal work in the town. With the growing unemployment these seasonal workers were forced to return to the village, so that now, in the midst of the world agrarian crisis, they are forced to live on the proceeds of their small farms, which even before the war never sufficed to maintain them and their families.

In those districts with fine pine forests, the small peasants rent a part of the forest in order to obtain the resin from the trees, from which is produced rosin and turpentine oil. In spite of the high protective duty, the effects of the disastrous drop in the prices of these articles in America make themselves felt also in Austria in a constant fall in the price of resin, so that the income of the peasant from this source is steadily declining.

After the war the Austrian peasants became quite free of debts, thanks to the inflation. But the conditions above described soon resulted in their being involved again in debt. With the outbreak of the world agrarian crisis, usury became a factor which tends to aggravate the crisis still further. A peasant who in 1930 negotiated a loan of 4000 shillings, received it after the following deductions had been made:

For interest and interest tax . . . . .	133.25 shillings
For various charges, stamp on deed of security, registration fee etc. . . . .	149.90 "
10 per cent. commission for the loan Bureau . . . . .	400 "
Lawyers charges and disbursements . . . . .	263 "
<b>Total</b>	<b>946.15 shillings</b>

That is to say, the peasant actually received only three-quarters of the sum borrowed. To-day, however, conditions are

even more unfavourable. It is perfectly obvious that small peasant economy is bound to collapse under such extortion.

To this is to be added the high lawyers' and court fees chargeable to the peasant in the event of his not meeting his obligations. There are cases where peasants have lost their house and farm on account of a debt originally amounting to 200 shillings.

And as the State, provincial and municipal authorities are just as ruthless as the money-lenders in distraining on the small peasants for arrears of taxes, whilst they calmly allow the big peasants to remain in arrear, the notice boards at the local district courts are too small to contain all the announcements of the sales of the peasants' farms and other belongings, such as bicycles, sewing machines etc. In Lower Austria the following orders for distraint on peasants were issued:

Year	Orders for distraint
1924 . . . . .	37
1925 . . . . .	84
1926 . . . . .	157
1927 . . . . .	377
1928 . . . . .	467
1929 . . . . .	640
1930 . . . . .	832
1931 . . . . .	1144

There is every indication that the year 1932 will achieve a further record.

The small peasants fight desperately to retain possession of their bit of land. They know that in spite of the market crisis their farms offer them the last possibility of anything like a decent human existence. If they once lose their farms they sink to the lowest depths of poverty and become the outcasts of the rural parishes. The peasant has no claim to poor law relief. Thus the small peasant who has lost his little bit of land and goods is compelled to hire himself out to the big peasants of the village in return for bare board and lodging, that is to say, he has to sleep in a stable and live on food which is hardly fit for a dog.

The small peasant therefore pays as long as he can whatever his bloodsuckers demand of him, even if he and his family have to go hungry.

When the middle peasant has no cash, he at least has something to eat. But the Austrian small peasant and small-holder is already actually starving. He and his family never taste meat all the year round; and the portions of hominy or potatoes constituting the chief articles of food for him and his family are becoming continually less.

At the General meeting of the Tyrol Peasants League held in May last, terrible descriptions were given of the misery prevailing in the Tyrol mountain valleys, in Eastern Tyrol, etc. Many peasants, in order to stay the pangs of hunger, are eating the chaff provided them at specially cheap rates by the Government for the purpose of cattle feeding.

No less terrible is the misery among the German and Slovenian mountain peasants of Carinthia, or the small peasants of Burgenland working on the frontiers of the huge latifundias of the Magyar nobles. Their lot, always hard, has now become unbearable.

No wonder that the working peasants are realising how they have been deceived by the Government, which acts in the interests of the big agrarians. Hunger is creeping as an agitator into the village. The peasants are beginning to fight. In many districts rent strikes have commenced. Forced sales are prevented by every means; arrested peasants are released from prison by mass demonstrations. Considerable confusion, however, still prevails among the working peasants. In many cases they are caught by demagogic fascist arguments. Nevertheless, the participation in the first Austrian peasants' delegation to the Soviet Union and in the coming Congress of the revolutionary peasants committees will show that a large part of the Austrian working peasants are already determined to adopt the path of revolutionary alliance with the working class, to follow the path of fight for the workers' and peasants' government.