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CONTENTS

Politics.	
The "Isvestia" on the Pact of Non-Aggression between the U.S.S.R. and Poland	1135
J. & M.: The Events in Geneva and the Role of Nicole Arne Munch-Petersen: The Parliamentary Elections in Denmark	1135
The Balkans.	
Dinu Pribezie: The Breaking off of Non-Aggression Pact Negotiations between Rumania and the Soviet Union	1137
The New Fascist Campaign against the Labour Movement in Bulgaria	1187
The War.	
L. Magyar: The Pacific Ocean—the Scene of a New World War	1138
J. B.: The Anti-Imperialist Wave in Syria	1140
The Situation in Cyprus	1141
The White Terror.	
W. L. Patterson: Only Mass Mobilisation Can Release the Scottsboro Boys	1141
Fascism.	
Vaclav Rosek: The Situation in Poland	1143
Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.	
D. Saslavsky: Academicians and Workers	1146
W.: New Work—New Life. II. and III.	1147
The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries.	
Masi: The Situation of the Landworkers under the Fascist Regime	1150
Organisational Questions.	
O.K.R.: New Elections of the Lower Party Organisations of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia	1151

The Fight Over the Question of War Debts.

By W. Baum (Berlin).

The reply of the President of the United States to the requests of the European States for a postponement of the debt instalments due on December 15, is a flat refusal. This is all the more significant as behind the categorical No! there already stands the "new man", Governor **Roosevelt**, who has just been elected President. Hoover made his decision only after having a long conference with his successor, in which he obtained the agreement of Governor Roosevelt on this very important international question. Hoover's decision, therefore, accords with Roosevelt's attitude.

The governments of the European debtor countries placed the greatest hopes in Roosevelt, who was wrongly reputed to have a strong European orientation. It was generally known what bitter resistance Hoover had to overcome last year in order to induce Congress to agree to the suspension for one year of payment of all international debts; and even then he was unable to prevent Congress, in December 1931, from adopting a decision forbidding any further concessions to the debtor countries. But it was hoped that Roosevelt, supported by a changed composition of the Congress, which has now become "democratic" in its majority, would adopt a different attitude.

If the requests for debt postponement had been granted, this would have been a prelude to a favourable final decision. The rejection of the requests, on the other hand, must naturally destroy any hope of a final agreement on these questions for a long time. Therefore the American reply had

the effect of a bombshell both in London and Paris, not to speak of the smaller States like Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Hungary etc., and immediately cause a sharpening of all the imperialist antagonisms.

Even in the case of England and France, the strongest among the debtors to the U.S.A., the payment of the December instalments will be fraught with great difficulties. **England** is to pay 95.5 million dollars on December 15. This is a very big sum having regard to the present financial situation of England. The gold reserves of the Bank of England have greatly declined and the Pound has already fallen to 3.20 dollars. If the British Government is compelled to purchase such a large sum of dollars in order to pay its debts, then a further big drop in the Pound is inevitable. The MacDonald Government therefore, in its request for postponement, quite openly stated that the rejection of the request would mean a serious danger to the British currency. Opinion in the Cabinet is therefore even now still divided, whether, in order to maintain the prestige of London and at the greatest sacrifices, to pay, or whether it would not be better to declare England insolvent. **The insolvency of England**—that would be a fact the international effect of which would be enormous.

France, it is true, is not able to hint at a jeopardising of its currency, for huge reserves of gold lie in the vaults of the bank of France, and that is a powerful argument in the hands of the American bourgeoisie. The capitalists of the

United States, however, forget that the gold holdings of the Bank of France do not belong to the State. The State, on the other hand, has a deficit carried over from last year of more than 5,000 million Francs, and it is expected that the deficit in the current year will amount to more than 12,000 million Francs, the problem of covering which is causing the Herriot Government the greatest difficulties. Herriot must fear that his position, already very precarious, will become completely untenable if, in order to pay the debt instalments, he is compelled to increase the burden of taxation. This is the reason why the French bourgeois press proclaims: "If France has to pay the United States, then Germany must pay France!"

Thus the question of inter-allied war debts again raises the **question of German tribute**. The Young Plan, which since Lausanne optimistic spirits considered to be dead and buried, has risen again. It is interesting in this connection to call to mind Papen's speech which he broadcasted on the eve of the signing of the Lausanne Treaty:

"The aim of the Lausanne Conference, the complete abolition of reparations, has been achieved. From July 1st 1933, Germany will not have to pay any reparations, no matter in what form. **The Young Plan is at an end...** The final abolition of reparations completely restores our independence, both economically and financially."

When Papen delivered his speech over the radio he was of course not aware of the "gentlemen's agreement" between MacDonald and Herriot, which made the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty dependent upon the previous cancellation of inter-allied war debts. But even later, when he had come to know how he had been led up the garden in Lausanne, Papen made the same assertion that the Young Plan had been abolished. History has very promptly pronounced its judgement upon Papen and his tribute policy. **What will happen now?**

The current annual payments of the various debtor countries to the U.S.A. amount this year to 246 million dollars, divided as follows:

England	161	Poland	6
France	50	Czechoslovakia	3
Italy	15	Estonia	0.5
Belgium	8	Finland	0.3
Rumania	0.8	Lithuania	0.2
Yugoslavia	0.3	Latvia	0.2
Greece	0.2	Hungary	0.1

That the small debtor States cannot and will not pay can be regarded as certain. Greece has already declared itself insolvent; but Belgium also declares that it will not pay, in order to give an example to other States. But the question is serious in the case of Italy, France and England. Mussolini, for reasons of prestige, declared at first that he would pay. The governments of Paris and London want to negotiate afresh; they hope that all avenues are not yet closed and that a way to a compromise will be found. There is nothing, however, which would justify such hopes.

This conflict can have the most serious consequences going far beyond the question of war debts and overshadowing the whole of international politics. Voices are already heard in Paris and London asking: What object the approaching **World Economic Conference**, to which the U.S.A. attaches such importance, can have if the question of debts is not settled and ever fresh disturbances are to be expected from this side?

If England and France, or even one of them, were to declare themselves insolvent, it would be bound to lead to a serious financial shaking of world capitalism and also to serious **political complications**, for the U.S.A. could not quietly put up with the fact of its biggest debtors repudiating their debts.

If, however, England and France decide to pay their debts, it will be only possible for them to do so by **further intensifying the economic war**, and thereby further promoting the crisis of world capitalism.

It is only necessary to bear these consequences in mind in order to realise how absolutely unfounded and deceitful is all the capitalist talk about the speedy overcoming of the capitalist world crisis. If any striking proof were necessary to show that the capitalist world is still hopelessly involved in its inner contradictions, this development of the war debt question has furnished it.

But this development of the international war debt question casts its shadows on the **Disarmament Conference**. "So long as the European States expend 20 million dollars

a year on armaments, they cannot expect us to cancel their debts in order that they can arm still further", declared Mr. Hoover; and in this case at least his logic is hard to refute. The imperialist States of Europe can only reply with a similar unanswerable logic: "So long as other States, like the U.S.A. and Japan, expend such enormous sums on preparing for the next war, how can they expect us to disarm?" Up to now the question of war debts has been a means of pressure in the hands of dollar diplomacy at the Disarmament Conference in order to induce the other imperialist States to accept America's "disarmament proposals", which were agreed to by the steel kings and poison-gas barons of the United States. If up to now the American representatives at Geneva have had little success, they will have scarcely more success now when the rejection of the request for an extension of the debt moratorium has called forth a strong chauvinistic wave against the U.S.A. in the countries in question, and when the armour-plate manufacturers and their paid war-inciters will increase their "fight for the safety of the fatherland".

The old plan for a "**European united front**" against the U.S.A. will now find fresh support. But not because such a "pan-European united front" against the United States could acquire any reality, but because this is a suitable cloak in order to permit the imperialist countries to carry out their military and political **war preparations** at an accelerated rate.

In the event of France being compelled to pay its debts to the United States, it is fairly certain that it will place the question of German tribute and the **Young Plan again on the agenda**. Does that not mean calling forth the most serious dangers to Europe? But if the German government, backed by the nationalist wave, refuses to pay? Will perhaps Herriot, or his successor from the Right, again seize "pledges", as Poincaré did in the Ruhr, in order to compel Germany to render payment? And what will this mean in face of the present situation in Germany and Central Europe, which is thoroughly shaken?

It is our duty to point out this perspective, to show the possibilities to the working masses of all countries in order to summon them to fight against this insane world of capitalism, which not only causes abyssmal misery but also calls forth the monstrous horrors of new imperialist wars.

Further Drastic Economy Measures in England.

London, November 25.

A committee appointed by the Government for the purpose of recommending further "economies" in respect to Local Government has issued its report, which makes recommendations which, by 1936, would restrict expenditure by £35,000,000 to £40,000,000 per annum.

These "economies" would be made at the expense of education, housing, medical services, mental treatment, road and bridge schemes and outdoor relief.

Among the proposals is the dismissal of 8,500 school-teachers, the closing of a large number of schools, the raising of rents for municipally owned houses, and the sending to the workhouse of thousands now drawing outdoor relief.

Education would be hit with particular severity. In addition to the dismissal of teachers and the closing of schools, it is proposed that grants for adult education be reduced, that certain deaf and blind schools shall be closed and that further accommodation for mental defectives shall be postponed, whilst school medical services are to be severely restricted.

Less money is to be provided for slum clearances, and the housing subsidy of 1924 is to be withdrawn. Without making specific recommendations it is suggested that there must be heavy wage-reductions and decreases of staff in all municipal undertakings.

The Report has now been received by the Government and a special Cabinet meeting will shortly be held to decide which of the recommendations shall be immediately embodied in legislation, which shall be included in the next Budget and which held over.

This, coming on top of the recent report of the Conservative Economy Committee, shows that the Government has no intention of modifying its offensive against the working class, but rather intends to intensify it.

POLITICS

A Success for the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union.

The "Isvestia" on the Non-Aggression Pact between the U. S. S. R. and Poland.

Moscow, November 28, 1932.

The "Isvestia" devotes a leading article to the ratification by the President of the Polish Republic and the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union of the Pact of non-aggression between the Soviet Union and Poland, in which it emphasises that this success of Soviet diplomacy is the result of the long years of struggle on the part of the Soviet Union for peace. The "Isvestia" points out that right from the first day of its existence the Soviet Union has conducted an active peace policy, and that the Soviet Government, even at the moment of intervention, when according to the words of Winston Churchill, the English Minister for war at the time, 14 nations had been thrown on the battlefield against the Socialist Republic, offered the hand of peace to the whole world. The Isvestia then writes:

"Our enemies regarded this as evidence of our weakness, but they soon became convinced that the policy of peace is one of the elements of our system, for whilst the imperialist bourgeoisie, who promised the peoples that the great war of 1914-18 would be the last war, are preparing a new war before the eyes of these peoples, the Soviet Union has become in the minds of the masses of peoples of the whole globe the symbol of the policy of peace. Nay more than that.

"Our policy of peace proclaimed to all peoples, from the greatest and most advanced to the most backward, who for the imperialists are only an object of their policy, that the Soviet Union bases its relations to all peoples on one and the same foundation, on the foundation of equality. The peace policy of the Soviet Union is expressed in the uninterrupted fight for real disarmament, in the struggle which has already commenced at the Geneva Conference, in the struggle for non-aggression also in the economic sphere.

The Soviet Union has always endeavoured to establish such relations with its neighbours that the masses of the people of these countries shall feel secure against any attack and offer resistance to the imperialist Powers who drive them to increased armaments, the whole weight of which is borne by the toiling population, and to new warlike adventures. With this end in view the Soviet Government proposed to each of its neighbours in turn to conclude pacts of non-aggression. The Soviet Government, in spite of the resistance of the big Powers, managed to achieve numerous successes in this sphere. The Treaties of Rapallo and Berlin with Germany, the non-aggression pacts with Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Finland, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan are proofs of these successes. The Pact with Poland is the biggest victory of the Soviet Union in this sphere, for Poland was allotted the chief role in the interventionist plans of the enemies of the Soviet Union. The conclusion of the Pact with Poland was promoted on the one hand, by the world economic crisis and, on the other hand, by the successes of the Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union.

The weakening of the international bourgeoisie and the increasing strength of the Soviet Union helped to bring about the victory of those elements who realise the advantages of peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. The non-aggression Pact with France which is shortly to be signed proves that these factors are also beginning to take effect in the case of the great Powers, but all the imperialist Powers are engaged in a mutual struggle. The relations between the capitalist States are becoming increasingly strained. The Versailles system is cracking at every joint. Of course, it would be a mistake to think that they have already decided to commence war against each other tomorrow. They are attempting to bring about an understanding, and if they should succeed in this, then some of them would certainly attack the first land of Socialism.

But they are still a long way from such an understanding. The inner conflict in the camp of imperialism impels some capitalist countries to improve their relations with the Soviet Union. The signing and ratification of the non-aggression Pact with Poland and the signing of the non-aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and France

which will take place shortly, called forth rumours in a part of the international capitalist press regarding a new orientation of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. These rumours either reveal a complete failure to understand the foundations of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, or they represent the wish to make use of even the conclusion of these non-aggression pacts, these acts in our struggle for peace, as a pretext for a new incitement, as a means of worsening the relations of one country with another. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union was never based on any other "orientation" than the orientation to its own powers, the increased striving of the mass of the people for peace.

We offered our hand by proposing a policy of peace to all States, and if one State gave a friendly answer before another, one can in this case speak only of their new orientation. The Soviet Union has no need to change its policy in any way. We want to live in peace and on the basis of mutual advantage with all States, quite independent of the regime prevailing in these States; to work together and to fight only against those who fight against us by preparing war against us. Public opinion in the Soviet Union receives with the greatest satisfaction the news regarding the ratification of the non-aggression Pact with Poland and the approaching conclusion of the non-aggression pact with France. Public opinion in the Soviet Union knows, however, that influential forces in the world are actively preparing war—influential forces which see in the non-aggression pacts an obstacle to that dirty game they are preparing. Whoever forgets this for a moment has only to remember the fate of the negotiations between Rumania and the Soviet Union and he will abandon the belief that a non-aggression pact does away with the danger of war.

Those circles of finance capital and those military circles in and outside of Rumania which sabotage the conclusion of the Pact between the Soviet Union and Rumania have not attempted out of formal considerations to frustrate the conclusion of the treaty which is desired by the overwhelming majority of the Rumanian people. We know how strong are the circles in Japan preventing the conclusion of a Pact pledging both nations not to resort to arms in order to settle disputed questions. The more difficult the situation of international capital becomes, the stronger the adventurist tendencies in numerically small but very influential circles of the international bourgeoisie can become.

This fact is proved by the complete fiasco of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. Public opinion in the Soviet Union, which welcomes the ratification of the non-aggression Pact with Poland, will follow with the greatest attention the work of those sinister forces who seek their salvation in a new war. We are convinced that this vigilance as well as the further increase of the defensive forces of our country will be the best guarantee that a non-aggression pact will not become a cloak concealing quite other things, but will become the basis of a real approachment of the Soviet Union to the other States.

The Events in Geneva and the Role of Nicole.

By J. and M.

The role played by Léon Nicole in the events in Geneva, is correctly characterised even by some bourgeois papers. It must be said, however, that even when for purposes of polemics, they represent Nicole as a fighter for the world revolution, in reality they do not fear Nicole but rather that the masses in Geneva will go beyond Nicole's intentions. It must be said that the bourgeoisie have shown a better grasp of the events in Geneva than many of our comrades. When Nicole took part in the counter-demonstration, which was suppressed by means of machine-gun fire, and was arrested, he was at once classed among the revolutionaries who are conducting a life and death struggle against capitalism and against fascism.

Following the same erroneous line of reasoning some of our comrades—it is true only a few of them—because Nicole was arrested together with revolutionary workers, desire that we cease for the time being our opposition to Nicole and the so-called Left socialist leaders of Geneva. But we shall not give ear to these opportunist counsels. It is true that Nicole is hated by the group of business people and bankrupt bankers who rule in Geneva. The moralising campaign which

Nicole conducted against the people connected with the banks of Geneva, who come from the same family as the heads of the cantonal Government, cause considerable annoyance to these gentlemen, whose sinister operations require secrecy. And the Union National, at the head of which is the fascist Ultramare, who conceals with the cloak of patriotism the policy of the bankrupts and squanderers of State funds, cannot forgive Nicole and Dicker for their agitation slogans, which were only intended for election purposes, but which when they have once penetrated the masses acquire in the present situation a definite class content and serve political-ly to strengthen the class struggles.

The demonstration organised by Nicole against Ultramare's meeting on the evening of November 9, according to Nicole's intentions was to have formed part of an election struggle which has taken place just recently and which has called forth fierce polemics. Of course, the masses went beyond Nicole's polemics, and the participation of the Communists in the demonstration against Ultramare's provocative fascist meeting, as well as the hatred against fascism which inspires the workers in general, lent to the anti-fascist demonstration the character of a class demonstration which went far beyond any election objective. What occurred in the evening of the 9th of November is generally known. The bourgeoisie of Geneva did not wish to strike at Nicole, but desired by means of the machine guns to strike at the anti-fascist militancy of the working masses.

Nicole was also arrested. This was an act of reprisal by the bankers who are behind F. Martin and Ultramare, who wanted by this means to take revenge for Nicole's campaign of exposure.

There is not a single bourgeois who seriously believes the legend of a conspiracy which Nicole is alleged to have organised in agreement with Moscow in order, on the evening of November 9, to destroy the capitalist government in Geneva and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. Nor can one believe that the Swiss bourgeoisie wanted, through the arrest of Nicole, to split the Swiss socialist party into Nicolites and anti-Nicolites. It is certain that several socialist leaders have been annoyed owing to certain results of Nicole's radical demagoguery, but the Swiss socialist leaders are far too cunning not to make political capital out of the arrest of Nicole. Even the paper of Kloetis—a socialist leader who on June 15 caused the workers to be shot down in Zürich—and which otherwise would have nothing but kicks for Nicole, today holds him up as a hero.

But in addition to the arrest of Nicole in Geneva there is also taking place the arrest of dozens and dozens of revolutionary workers and of all the most well-known Communists.

We demand the release of all who were arrested in Geneva, but we say to the workers that the arrested Nicole has not ceased to be Nicole, i. e. a danger to the revolutionary movement, a greater danger insofar as his "Left" attitude at Geneva prevents the building up of a strong Communist Party, the only party which is fighting for the proletarian revolution.

It must not be forgotten that Nicole never summoned the workers to fight for their immediate concrete demands, nor will he do so in the future. Whilst Nicole is at the head of the socialist party in Geneva, the trade unions are led by the most shamelessly treacherous reformist leaders. Nicole never concerned himself with strikes against wage cuts. And after the events in Geneva the leaders of the Socialist Party were against the proclamation of a general strike, whilst the socialist deputies on the town council later brought forward, in the name of the Socialist Party, in the name of the same Nicole, a miserable acknowledgment of guilt and through the mouth of Rosselet abused in the basest manner the victims of November 9 and the working class, attributing to them the responsibility for the blood-bath, whilst on the following day the press of the murderer Martin could express satisfaction at the "sound judgement which the leaders of the Socialist Party have displayed".

The development of the revolutionary class struggle clearly reveals the way which must be followed and presupposes a ruthless fight against the danger which the social democracy constitutes, a danger which will be still greater if the workers still allow themselves to be deceived regarding the role played by so-called Lefts of the type of Nicole.

The socialist workers of Geneva, who have definitely adopted the path of the revolutionary united front, will note that their "Left" leaders are pursuing another path.

The Parliamentary Elections in Denmark.

By Arne Munch-Petersen (Copenhagen).

On November 16 there took place the elections to the Folkething, the lower house of the Danish Parliament or Rigsdag.

The election was preceded by a period of three and a half years social democratic government. During this period Denmark was severely hit by the capitalist world economic crisis. The markets were closed, the farmers were unable to place their products on the world markets, industrial output declined, the number of employed workers greatly diminished and unemployment increased enormously. Even during the best season of the year unemployment remained greater than in the hardest Winters in normal times. Even according to official figures there are already 145,000 unemployed registered at the Labour Exchanges. It should be pointed out, however, that only a part of the unemployed receive unemployment benefit. The greater part of those who do not draw benefit do not register at the Labour Exchange and are therefore not included in the official figures. The actual number of unemployed therefore certainly already exceeds 200,000, which means to say that half of all the workers are unemployed.

In this situation the Danish bourgeoisie carried out a furious offensive against the working population of Denmark. The period of office of the social democracy was therefore at the same time a period of capitalist offensive, of cutting down of social services, of depreciation of the currency, of reduction of wages, relief etc.

The effects of the third post-war period in Denmark, the acute economic crisis, the anti-working class policy of the social democratic government and the repeated treachery of the reformist trade union leaders have called forth a considerable revolutionisation of the Danish working class. The mass influence of the Party has greatly increased during the last 18 months. The opposition movement in the reformist trade unions is growing and assuming clearer forms, the unemployed have been organised, the membership of the Communist Party has increased nearly fourfold, the circulation of the Party paper has increased more than threefold. The Party has repeatedly mobilised tens of thousands at demonstrations. It was clear to everybody that the mass influence of the Communist Party had greatly increased.

Precisely for this reason the social democratic leaders desired to hold the elections now, five months before they were due, as they hoped that supported by the reactionary electoral laws, they would still be able to prevent the Communist Party from gaining any seats in Parliament. The approaching Winter will be the severest the working people of Denmark have ever experienced. The employers are demanding a fresh wage reduction of 20 per cent. and further indirect wage reductions by means of customs duties and other measures. The reformist trade union leaders are preparing to commit fresh acts of treachery. The government of the Danish bourgeoisie will use the capitalist State apparatus more ruthlessly than ever against the workers. The social democratic leaders know that this Winter further thousands of their supporters will break away from the counter-revolutionary social democracy and go over to the red united front, and therefore they did not wish the elections to take place immediately after the Winter.

In spite of monstrous incitement by the social democratic leaders the Communist Party of Denmark succeeded in popularising its slogan of the red united front. In spite of the fact that only persons who have reached 25 years of age are entitled to vote, and in spite of the reactionary provisions according to which all those who have received poor law relief are disfranchised, the Communist Party polled over 17,000 votes, which is about five times number polled in 1929, and for the first time returned two members to Parliament.

The bourgeois-radical Left party, which participates with the social democracy in the coalition government, lost many votes; the big agrarian, so-called Left party, also showed a decline. The social democracy won more bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and peasants votes than they lost in workers' votes. The greatest gains were achieved by the Conservative party. The majority in the Folkething remains as before: social democrats plus Radical Lefts. The government therefore remains unchanged for the time being, and the Stauning Party, as the leading government party, will carry out the intensified

retrenchment policy of the bourgeoisie. It energetically defends the interests of Danish imperialism in Greenland, and on behalf of Danish imperialism and its big English allies conducts a campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union. It will employ the whole State and reformist trade union apparatus in order to force the workers to submit to the fresh shameful demands of the employers.

But the Communist Party of Denmark will make use of its newly won positions and do everything to mobilise the workers and the rest of the toiling population of Denmark for the counter-offensive, for the extra-Parliamentary fight against the attacks of the bourgeoisie and their social democratic confederates.

THE BALKANS

The Breaking Off of Non-Aggression Pact Negotiations Between Rumania and the Soviet Union.

By Dinu Pribegie (Bucharest).

The torpedoing of the non-aggression pact between Rumania and the Soviet Union by Titulescu, acting on behalf of French high finance and Sir Henri Deterding, has engaged the attention of both Houses of the Rumanian Parliament, the Chamber and the Senate, throughout several sittings.

Already before the last assembly of the Rumanian Chamber a whole number of questions had to be submitted to the new Foreign Minister. The press of every tendency even thought that the wave of protest against Titulescu's action would be bound to bring about his overthrow. It was only the intervention of the President of the Ministerial Council, Maniu, which this time succeeded in quieting the storm.

Although the debates in Parliament were already pre-arranged, they nevertheless furnished an interesting picture of the background of Rumanian foreign policy. It suffices in this connection to call attention to the declaration which the former Prime Minister, Yorga, made during the discussion on the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union:

"The policy of Rumania always was and still is subordinated to interests which are alien to the vitally important interests of Rumania."

In his long speech Titulescu attempted, by means of formal reasons, to explain the breaking off of negotiations with the Soviet Union. The Kellogg-Pact, he stated, was regarded by the Rumanian Foreign Ministry as sufficient. But quite from the Pact that France and Poland, who are also signatories to the Kellogg Pact, consider it necessary to conclude a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, it suffices to cast a glance at Titulescu's statements in order to see how right Yorga was when he declared that Rumanian Foreign policy was subordinated to other interests than those of the people of Rumania.

It by no means follows from this, however, that the former Prime Minister Yorga is now an irreconcilable opponent of such a policy of subordination to foreign interests and a supporter of the non-aggression Pact. In the discussion which took place in the Senate on November 24, Yorga only complained about the difficulties which the Rumanian government has to combat when obeying contradictory instructions from Paris:

"Following a Right government like Tardieu's, there is now a Left government, the Herriot government, in office. It is a matter of course that following the replacement of a Right government by a Left government, we have to record a change in the attitude to the great diplomatic problems."

Defending the attitude of his Government, Yorga added:

"How shall I work with anybody (Tardieu?) who does not officially represent the policy of his country."

But Titulescu was not bothered about the problem of choosing. He told the Rumanian bourgeoisie that the Herriot Government is bound to be followed by a Right government, and that only such a government enjoys the full support of high finance. Therefore Rumania, if it wishes to have the support of the Paris Bourse, must follow the instructions of

the reactionary party of France. Titulescu has submitted to the Rumanian press the text of the concessions granted by the foreign creditors. The payments in redemption of foreign debts are to cease on January 1st, whilst the payment of interest is to be made in Rumanian currency and in Rumania itself to the account of the foreign debtors. French high finance, which does not regard the game as finally won, leaves the damocles sword hanging over the head of bourgeois Rumania: the Rumanian bourgeoisie had demanded a reduction of the rate of interest; the creditors have not granted this but promised to consider this later.

There is no doubt that the Rumanian bourgeoisie have obtained a number of advantages by further betraying the interests of the Rumanian people. The postponement of the debt payments, however, does not bring in a farthing to the State treasury, which is completely empty.

The whole world, and before all the Rumanian people, has come to know who is responsible for the breaking off of negotiations for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Rumania and the Soviet Union. The notorious anti-semitic Professor Cuza, in criticising Titulescu's policy, called out: Mr. Minister, you ought not to have involved us in such embarrassing affairs which have landed us in the present situation, with the result that Russian diplomacy achieved a victory instead of Rumanian diplomacy winning a success."

In the same Parliamentary session of November 23, Dr. Lupa, Minister of the Interior in the Vajda-Vojvod government in 1920, when negotiations between Rumania and the Soviet Union were likewise torpedoed, stated:

"If, instead of turning with our lackey soul and with the mentality of a slave to others and requesting instructions from them we had allowed ourselves to be guided by our own interests, the Bessarabian question would now have been solved."

In spite of this stigmatising of the vassal-policy of Rumania, which is drawn in the wake of French imperialism, Parliament, into which not a single representative of the revolutionary working class is admitted, expressed its confidence in the government and thereby also in Titulescu's foreign policy.

In an interview which the former Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vajda-Vojvod, gave to the "Dimineata", he attempted to set forth the advantages which would have resulted for Rumania following a settlement of the relations between that country and the Soviet Union:

"Our products would have found just as good a sales' market in the Soviet Union as the products of Poland, France, America and other countries. The economic relations would have automatically resulted in a peaceful atmosphere, which would have placed us in a better position in the granting of credits. But this could only be the result of a non-aggression pact, of a number of economic agreements, and finally, the resumption of diplomatic relations."

In any case it is certain that all bourgeois Rumanian governments, the former and the present, pursued and pursue their class interests and the interests of their creditors. The interests of the working population have been betrayed by the "national-peasant" government of Vajda-Vojvod, just as they were by the "national-peasant government of Maniu. The workers and peasants of Rumania fully realise that the only guarantee of peace and the only guarantee against attack lies in their own hands.

The New Fascist Campaign against the Labour Movement in Bulgaria.

Letter from Sofia.

The more the economic crisis increases and the more the Bulgarian bourgeoisie seek to shift all the burdens of this crisis on to the broad back of the toiling masses, the more rapidly and deeply the radicalisation and revolutionisation of the workers and peasants of Bulgaria proceeds. All the attempts of the bourgeoisie to alleviate the economic crisis and prevent the collapse of the State finances, lead to further burdening and plundering of the working masses, to further increase of misery and starvation and to a further growth of the radicalisation of broad sections of the toiling popula-

tion, in the first place of the working class and of the poor peasants.

A state of emergency has existed for the revolutionary labour movement of Bulgaria for a long time. All meetings, demonstrations etc. of the Workers' Party, of the independent trade unions and of other revolutionary mass organisations of the Bulgarian working class are prohibited. Only recently the Government prohibited the Congresses of the independent trade unions, of the Workers' Party and of the Young Workers' League. Even local membership meetings are forbidden, attacked and broken up, workers' clubs are demolished, archives robbed or destroyed. The newspapers are daily systematically confiscated, and the confiscated copies are only handed back after several days or weeks.

A bloody pogrom against the labour organisations and their leaders is systematically and openly propagated and prepared. The police are seeking and "finding" Communist conspiratory documents, and plans of a putsch; police agents are organising provocative outrages for which the Communists are held responsible; the police are "discovering" connections between the legal organisations of the revolutionary working class and the suppressed and illegal C.P. of Bulgaria.

The Congress of the reserve officers (one of the storm troops of the fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria) which took place at the end of October in Küstendil, and at which, among others, the War Minister Kissow spoke on behalf of the king and Stefan, the Bishop of Sofia, on behalf of the Church,

conducted a fierce incitement against the labour movement and against Communism, and demanded that the government should not only dissolve all the revolutionary organisations of the Bulgarian toilers, but also physically annihilate all enemies of the State. The War Minister, who came forward with a personal mandate of King Boris, declared: "The aggressiveness of the enemies of the State must be replied to with the aggressiveness and energetic action of the State Power." And Bishop Stefan declared, that he could not understand the tolerance which is shown to the traitors and enemies of the State. The same thing occurred at the Congress of the reserve officers at Widin, the War Minister and Bishop Stefan delivering similar speeches there.

The leaders of the reserve officers, of the reserve non-commissioned officers, of the "Rodna Zastita", "Kubrat", etc., have ordered that all military formations shall be ready to take part in the approaching "important" events. Several troops of Macedonian fascist terrorists (Macedonian fascist organisation of Michailow) have been concentrated in Sofia in order to be used for crushing the working class.

We alarm the toilers of the whole world, the revolutionary workers and peasants of all countries! It is the revolutionary duty of the international working class to display their class solidarity with the militant Bulgarian workers by organising and carrying out a mass protest in order to prevent the planned pogrom against the revolutionary workers and peasants of Bulgaria and their cadres.

The War

The Pacific Ocean—The Scene of a New World War.

By L. Magyar.

"Already for decades" said Lenin in 1920, "an obstinate struggle has been going on between Japan and America for the Pacific Ocean and the possession of its coasts, and the whole diplomatic, economic and commercial history regarding the Pacific Ocean and its coast districts is full of indications of how this conflict is extending and rendering a war between America and Japan inevitable."

The occupation of Manchuria by Japan forced the imperialist antagonisms between the United States and Japan to the forefront of inter-imperialist contradictions. The press of both countries is engaged in sabre-rattling. The United States has ordered its fleet to the Pacific. In America there is already an agitation for a boycott of Japan. In this connection it must be remembered that about 40 per cent of Japanese exports goes to the United States and of this share about 80 per cent consists of raw silk. The Japanese currency is rapidly deteriorating, not without the "friendly assistance" of the American banks.

The occupation of Manchuria is only the prelude to the dismemberment of China. It is by no means due to chance that Tibetan (i. e. English) troops are advancing into Szechuan, that French imperialism is displaying increased activity in Yunan and Kwangsi.

The contradictions in connection with the Pacific Ocean, this scene of a new imperialist war, are not confined, however, to the struggle between the United States and Japan.

English imperialism has very big interests in this part of the world and also in China itself. In the Yangtse valley, the interests of English imperialism fiercely collide with those of the United States, as well as with the Japanese interests. Lancashire is engaged in a desperate struggle with Osaka for the textile markets in China and in other countries.

The largest colonies and dominions of the British Empire are situated in the Pacific Ocean. The erection of a military air-base at Singapore is intended to strengthen the position of British imperialism in the Pacific.

Right from the commencement of the present century up to the Washington Conference the diplomatic and military plans of English imperialism in the Far East were based on the alliance with Japan. England dissolved this alliance, under the pressure of the United States and on the other hand out of fear that Japanese imperialism might obtain too firm a foothold in China. The post-war development resulted in the contradictions between the United States and England being pushed to the forefront as the most important in the relations between the imperialists. Thus English imperialism was confronted with the urgent question of seeking an ally against the United States.

In Europe, France is the suitable ally of British imperialism. Japan's invasion of China, the aggravation of the antagonisms between the United States and Japan created a favourable situation for the rebirth of the Anglo-Japanese military alliance. This tendency was strengthened by the antagonism between England and the United States in regard to the question of war-debts, armaments, the redistribution of the gold reserves and by the struggle in South-America.

There are of course factors rendering difficult the restoration of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. There exist serious differences of opinion in this respect in the camp of the English bourgeoisie. The most important British Dominions, Australia, Canada, New-Zealand, are opposed to a new alliance with Japan.

French imperialism plays an exceedingly important role in the development of events in the Far East. The existence of a close military and political co-operation between France and Japan is a fact regarding which there no longer exists any doubt.

The League of Nations, a powerful instrument in the hands of the French and English imperialists, has afforded and is affording invaluable assistance to Japanese imperialism. At Geneva, Paul Boncour definitely championed the interests of Japan. The French bourgeois press makes no secret of its sympathy for Japan and defends almost unreservedly every action taken by Japanese imperialism. After the

publication of the report of the Lytton Commission it simply made the Japanese standpoint its own.

France has definite imperialist interests in the Far East: occupation of Yunan and Kwangsi, extension of its colonial possession, participation in the "economic opening up" of Manchuria, securing the frontier of Indo-China etc.

The main causes of the activity of French imperialism in the Far East, however, are to be sought elsewhere. The co-operation between France and Japan is directed in the first place not against China but against the Soviet Union. The Franco-Japanese co-operation, or the military alliance between the French and Japanese imperialists aims at immediately threatening the land of the proletarian dictatorship simultaneously from the West and the East. The English Conservatives would not fail to support such an intervention.

And finally, in the United States certain imperialist groups are to be found which consider such a solution of the question as the most advantageous from the standpoint of American imperialism, because the accentuation of imperialist antagonisms increase the tendency in the camp of the imperialists to find the solution of these antagonisms at the cost of the Soviet Union.

Therefore there is no problem of Manchuria in itself, for this is a part of the Chinese question, and the Chinese question is a part of the Pacific question. This latter, in turn, is closely interwoven with all world problems, with all the imperialist antagonisms.

Since a new grouping of the Powers became apparent, since it was seen that France has actually entered into an alliance with Japanese imperialism, England has also supported Japan in Manchuria in order to have an ally against the United States. American diplomacy attempted to upset this combination. It endeavoured to separate France from England and to buy French support, or at least neutrality, in the Chinese question. The knot of the Pan-Pacific antagonisms has become entangled with the knot of contradictions involved in the Versailles system.

The Lytton Report has not solved but intensified the imperialist antagonisms. This report recommends the transformation of Manchuria into a colony of international imperialism (international police, withdrawal of Chinese troops, appointment of foreign advisers), that all the economic key positions be handed over to Japanese imperialism on condition that the positions of the other Powers remain undisturbed. Under these conditions the formal recognition of China's sovereignty in Manchuria loses all meaning and is only a diplomatic manoeuvre.

At the same time the Lytton Commission proposes a new commercial treaty between Japan and China, i. e., further economic enslavement of China by Japanese imperialism and (through the most-favoured-nation clause) also by international imperialism. For the purpose of combating the Soviet revolution in China, suppressing the boycott movement and annihilating the Soviet districts in China, the commission recommends a provisional international cooperation, i. e., the establishment of international control over China, and an international intervention.

Japanese imperialism has rejected the proposals of the Lytton Commission and will obviously maintain its stubborn attitude at the League of Nations. The United States has sought to bring about the isolation of Japan by endeavouring to induce first France and then England to abandon it.

The contradictions in the Pacific Ocean form material for a fresh world conflagration. There are three main elements to be distinguished: the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the imperialists, the contradictions between the big imperialist Powers, and the contradictions between the imperialist metropolises and the oppressed colonies. The intensification of these contradictions calls forth a new imperialist war, a new intervention against the Chinese revolution, a new war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The sharpening of these contradictions is the most important factor marking the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism.

The sharpening of these contradictions, which are inseparably bound up with other world conflicts between States and classes, is one of the most important factors of the transition to the new cycle of revolutions and wars.

Fresh Fighting in Manchuria.

Mukden, 17th November 1932.

Japanese troops and the troops of the Manchukuo "government" have opened up military operations against the anti-Manchukuo troops in the province of Mukden. Naturally, the Japanese troops are the backbone of these operations and without them the "Manchukuo Army" would dissolve over night or go over to the enemy without firing a shot.

The new area of hostilities is along the railway line from Changchung to Kirin where about 30,000 anti-Manchukuo troops are concentrated and causing the authorities a deal of trouble. The Japanese troops are advancing in four groups. Behind the Japanese troops come the officials of the Manchukuo government in order to take over the administration in the conquered districts.

The Japanese military authorities express the hope that the little war will "be over in two weeks". Such hopes sound all too familiar. A representative of the Japanese troops in the field is less optimistic and declares that the nature of the ground in which the fighting is proceeding is favourable to the "insurrectionaries" and that it is difficult to destroy them. The final "pacification" of Manchuria would take place, he hoped, in the summer of 1933.

Shanghai, 25th November 1932.

The commander of the anti-Manchukuo troops operating against the Japanese in Northern Manchuria has sent a telegram to the national executive committee of the Kuomintang in which he declares that the 30 million Chinese in Manchuria will never submit to Japanese rule and are determined to continue their struggle to the end. He declares that the Chinese in Manchuria do not look to the League of Nations for assistance in their just struggle and that they will never agree to a so-called internationalisation of their country.

According to the statement of the Committee representing Chinese Citizens living Abroad, over 10 million U.S. dollars have been subscribed since the 18th September by Chinese residents abroad to the funds of the League for National Emancipation and that 8 million dollars of this have been forwarded to the anti-Manchukuo forces to enable them to continue their struggle.

According to a report from Harbin, bloody struggles are proceeding in Southern Manchuria between Japanese and Manchukuo forces on the one hand and large forces of anti-Manchukuo troops on the other. Heavy Japanese reinforcements are reported to be under way, including artillery, cavalry and aeroplanes. These reinforcements are marching towards Tsitsihar. Around Tsitsihar and on the lower course of the Sungari river heavy fighting is proceeding. Fighting is also proceeding to the North East of Harbin. The Japanese military commander in Harbin has issued an appeal to the population in which he calls for calmness and declares that the Japanese troops have no intention of abandoning the population to the advancing irregulars.

The "Manchukuo Government" by the grace of Tokio has now adopted a law against the "rebels". It is practically a copy of the Japanese law against "dangerous ideas". Persons occupying leading positions in "organisations hostile to the State" are liable to the death sentence whilst simple members are liable to hard labour for life or at the discretion of the courts they may be sentenced to death. Persons propagating "dangerous ideas" are liable to no less than ten years hard labour. The main idea of the population of Manchuria at the moment, admittedly a dangerous one for the "government", is to get rid of the Japanese and their tools at any price.

Harbin, 26th November 1932.

The Harbin press reports that very heavy fighting is proceeding between Japanese troops "supported by Manchukuo troops" and anti-Manchukuo forces in the province of Tsitsihar, to the north-east of Harbin and along the Kirin-Changchung railway. It is reported that after heavy artillery preparation the Japanese troops succeeded in winning back the town of Beizuyan. Japanese gunboats bombarded the town of Bayan whilst Japanese aeroplanes dropped bombs on it. Bayan is on the river Sungari. Strong Japanese forces, supported by an armoured train, are operating against the anti-Man-

chukuo forces along the Kirin-Shangtung line. There is no traffic of any sort on this line.

The Harbin "Nizi-Nizi" reviews the situation in Manchuria and writes: "The restoration of law and order in Manchuria is impossible with the existing Japanese army of occupation. The Japanese forces must be strengthened if they are to perform their task successfully. The very least necessary is a threefold increase of strength."

The sailors of two gunboats belonging to the Manchukuo government on the Sungari are reported to have revolted, disposed of their officers, or at least of those officers "loyal" to Manchukuo, and gone over to the "enemy".

AGAINST THE CAMPAIGN OF LIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

New Development of Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Britain.

By R. B. (London).

The most violently anti-Soviet journal yet published in Britain has made its appearance, under the title of the "Investigator". There are no avowedly White Russian papers in Britain as there are in a number of Continental countries, but this new journal is described as "The sole organisation in England working in conjunction with, and with the authority of, the Hetman of the Ukraine, Paul Skoropadsky, and has no connection with any other body."

The object of the new paper is bluntly set forth in the foreword as securing British support for counter-revolutionary activity in the Ukraine, the inducement set forth being that the Ukraine, by reason of its vast natural wealth, is the key to the Soviet Union and that therefore the detachment of it from the U.S.S.R. would lead to the latter becoming easy prey for the imperialists.

"An independent Ukraine under a Hetman", we are told, "would deprive Bolshevism of so much revenue—its mainstay, and the Ukraine would be able to buy all those things that Britain wants to sell."

The fantastic nature of the propaganda contained in this journal is shown in an editorial note appended to an article entitled "Soviet and Ireland", by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Imperialist murderer who sanctioned the bloody Imperialist massacre. The footnote says: "It is obvious to anyone with a knowledge of the Russian language that many of Mr. De Valera's speeches have been directly and unmistakably translated from Russian!"

Another article calls on Britain to hold the Balance of Power by an alliance of "England, Germany, the Border States not in the little Entente and the Ukraine with her Cossack and Georgian allies, on a common anti-Bolshevik basis". The writer of this article aptly signs himself "The Instigator"—of war and counter-revolution.

A glowing account of the short Skoropadsky regime is given. We are told that his popularity was great as he enabled the "peasants to make twenty times as much profit on their products as before the war"! The article concludes "The independence of the Ukraine is the key to two things of primary importance to the world to-day—the increase of the internal purchasing-power of Europe and the removal of the world-menace of Bolshevism".

The organisation of counter-revolutionary espionage is admitted in the second section of the magazine which is headed Red Currents, which consists of reports alleged to have been submitted by "our agents inside Soviet Russia and Soviet institutions abroad. Some of our contacts have been in active existence for over ten years". The propaganda in this section is clumsy to a degree but it is obviously intended to stimulate capitalist greed and to create a belief that support of the Ukrainian Hetman will provide untold opportunities of loot.

The journal has only 30 pages and sells at 1/-, so it is evidently not intended for workers' consumption. It is most prominently displayed for sale in the commercial area around the Bank of England.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Anti-Imperialist Wave in Syria.

By J. B.

The mass movement against French imperialism in Syria has considerably increased in strength of late. Mass demonstrations, in many cases leading to bloody collisions with the police and the troops, outbreaks of peasants' revolts, strikes of workers etc. in various parts of the country are expressions of the new anti-imperialist wave. It is significant that this movement is assuming far larger proportions than ever. Thus for example 40,000 people took part in an unemployed demonstration in Aleppo, and many thousands participated in the political demonstrations which took place at the beginning of September in Aleppo and afterwards in Damascus.

French imperialism regards the rising mass movement as a serious menace to its position. Its efforts are directed towards converting Syria into a reliable war base against its imperialist rivals and also against the Soviet Union. The feverish construction of strategic roads and bridges, the fortification of Beirut and Latakia, and the building of numerous aerodromes are all intended to serve this purpose. At the same time the French military forces in Syria are being more and more mechanised; the military authorities refuse to allow any reduction of the number of troops.

French imperialism is firmly pursuing its line of dividing Syria up into a number of small states. In individual "states" such as Jebel Druz and Alaouit, and also in Lebanon there exists a direct French administration. In the centre of Syria, in the so-called Syrian State, the French carried out a manoeuvre by having a "Parliament" elected. The fact that the elections to this Parliament were carried out with the aid of French tanks and mounted troops and that there were many injured among the ranks of the Arab masses who demonstrated against the elections, which resulted in a docile majority for the French imperialists, sufficiently shows the character of this Parliamentary manoeuvre.

The Arab national reformists in Syria are capitulating to French imperialism. A part of them, headed by Jemil Maradam Bey, crowned their capitulation by participating in the "government" formed by the imperialist agents. Jemil Maradam Bey, on behalf of French imperialism, carries out all the oppressive measures against the masses of the Arab population. The other part of the national reformists, headed by Ibrahim Hanano, seeks by "left" manoeuvres to deceive the masses; even the pro-imperialist press in Syria admits that the influence of Ibrahim Hanano was exerted during the bloody collisions in Aleppo in order to "pacify" the masses and restore law and order.

It is characteristic of the present stage of the anti-imperialist mass movement, however, that it often gets beyond the control of the national reformist leaders. The peasants' movement is directed not only against the taxes and the government decrees, but also against the big landowners. The urban petty bourgeoisie have become active, and the working population of the towns are resorting more and more frequently to the weapons of mass strikes and boycott. The economic crisis has brought ruin to large masses of the peasants, and in various districts of Syria wholesale famine prevails. Ever larger sections of the working population in town and country are seeking a way out in the revolutionary fight against French imperialism.

Particularly remarkable is the growth of the fights between labour and capital in the towns. Numerous workers' strikes in Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Hamas, Homs etc. had as their object to resist wage cuts and to enforce wage increases, reduction of working time, etc. The workers also took a particularly active part in the mass demonstrations.

The rising anti-imperialist wave confronts the Communist Party of Syria with big tasks. It has achieved a number of important successes in the last two years; it has succeeded in enlarging its organisations, playing a leading part in a number of actions and establishing contact with the Arab masses. The Party has overcome opportunist and sectarian resistance which stood in the way of its mass work. Its task consists at present in extending the mass work, establishing

a firm basis among the working class, carrying on agitation among the broad masses of the peasants and placing itself at the head of the working masses in the fight against the French imperialists. In this connection it must direct special attention to the fight against the "Left" national reformists.

The Situation in Cyprus.

Letter from Limassol.

Following the curfew introduced immediately after the revolt of October 23, last year, the imprisonment and the savage beating up of hundreds of poor villagers and town dwellers and the brutal sentences ranging from six months to ten years imprisonment, not to mention exile and deportation, martial law still continues to obtain in Cyprus and hangs like a sword over the inhabitants, and especially over the Communist Party.

The closing down of the Asbestos mines and copper mines, the merciless exploitation of the peasants by usurers and the growing world crisis, resulting in a disastrous drop in the price of the staple products of Cyprus, plunge the population into deepest misery. Hundreds of young workers in the towns are out of work, and on top of this the government has dismissed 152 employees, who will be added to the army of 28,000 unemployed in Cyprus.

White terror is raging all over the island. The **Communist Party**, however, is still carrying on energetic and courageous work among the masses in town and country, not shrinking from any sacrifice. The Party is now illegal. On the eve of October 23rd last, the Party distributed an appeal in commemoration of the revolutionary movement of last year and urging the population to carry on an unceasing fight against British imperialism. Under an emergency law passed by the provisional government any police officer can interrogate any person at any time of day or night. Nobody is allowed to be out after 11 o'clock at night without special permission.

Following the distribution of the above mentioned appeal the police arrested ten comrades at Nicosia, eight at Lanarca, eight at Famagusta and two at Kontea. The ten arrested at Nicosia were so brutally mishandled by the police that they were detained in order to allow time for them to recover from their injuries.

There is an embargo on all foreign revolutionary papers. On November 7, the anniversary of the Russian revolution, appeals describing this great event and pointing out that only the Communist Party can lead the workers in their fight for emancipation, were distributed all over the island. The police made fresh arrests, but in spite of all their efforts no incriminating material was discovered. Our illegal activity is followed with interest and sympathy by the great majority of the population.

On the 12th and 13th of this month the Bishop of Paphos was tried before the Court of assize on the charge of having in speeches, delivered in three different villages, attempted to incite to disobedience against the king. The trial resulted in the accused giving a written undertaking to remain a loyal subject and not to repeat the offence. The undertaking given by the Bishop is an eloquent example of how the nationalist leaders have abandoned the struggle against British imperialism.

Communist Election Advance in Belgium.

Brussels, 28th November 1932.

Election day was more lively than usual in Belgium yesterday when the general elections to the Chamber of Deputies took place. Fierce collisions took place at a number of points and numerous persons were injured. The full election results are not yet known, but the Communist Party has greatly increased its poll. The Belgian Socialist Party has also made progress.

The composition of the Belgian Chamber will probably be as follows: Catholics 80 seats (76), Socialists 73 seats (70), Liberals 23 seats (28), Flemish Front Party 8 seats (12), and the Communist Party 3 seats (1). The **Communist Party** has probably won two seats in **Charleroi** and **Liège** respectively whilst retaining its seat in **Brussels**. The main communist gains are in the industrial districts.

THE WHITE TERROR

Only Mass Mobilisation Can Release the Scottsboro Boys.

By W. L. Patterson (New York).

The decision of the United States Supreme Court granting the seven innocent Negro boys a new trial in the Scottsboro case, raises this case to a higher level of political struggle.

Nothing more clearly indicates the class character of the Scottsboro struggle than the decision itself, the editorial comment in the capitalist press, and the comments of those, who, from the beginning, have massed themselves in solid ranks to defeat the struggle defence programme of the I.L.D. Here is clearly indicated the tactics to be employed by the ruling class and its henchmen to smash all attempts to form an irresistible united front of the Negro and white workers around the Scottsboro boys, and instead to carry the Scottsboro boys to the electric chair as an indication of the power of American capital. The ruling class recognises the changing mood of the masses. It will now more desperately strive to separate the Scottsboro struggle from the general struggle of the American working class against mass unemployment, starvation and terror.

The **New York Times** takes the lead in crowning this manoeuvre of the Supreme Court:

"However people may feel about the case itself, there will be, we believe, general approval of the lofty position taken by the majority of the Supreme Court. That great tribunal appears once more as mindful of human rights." (Editorial, N.Y. Times, Nov. 8, 1932.)

This is a definite attempt to draw the masses back into the swamp of legalistic illusions—illusions clothed in lofty and high-sounding phrases, to lure the masses from that more intensive campaign of struggle without which no possibility exists for victory in the Scottsboro case. Thus the Supreme Court plays its role as the "Court of Last Illusions" and is supported by the arch-enemies of the masses; the reactionary press, the Negro reformists, the trade union bureaucracy, and the leadership of the Socialist Party that has from the beginning fought against the Scottsboro policy of the I.L.D.

Was the United States Supreme Court "mindful of human rights" when it declared the law prohibiting the exploitation of children in factories, mills and mines, unconstitutional and turned the children of Negro and white workers of America into the hands of sweat shop bosses, mill owners and the plantation slave drivers, to be the victims of capitalist exploitation and rapacity?

Was it "mindful of human rights" when it declared the minimum wage law unconstitutional—when it sent Sacco and Vanzetti, the innocent victims of ruling class terror in Massachusetts, to the electric chair? The human rights theory, members of the capitalist press, is too broad for the Supreme Court—you mean capitalist rights, gentlemen.

These gentlemen of the prostituted press would have the masses believe that the struggle in American and European streets led by Communists on behalf of the rights of the Negro peoples and particularly for the defence of the Scottsboro boys were not heard in the cloistered halls of the United States Supreme Court. The **Times** editorial says:

"Neither can it have been due (the Supreme Court decision—W.L.P.) to the outcry in Washington and in other cities as well as in Moscow and by European Communists, asserting that a spirit of wicked class prejudice pervades the United States and that here no justice can be had for the poor and ignorant."

If the nine old men who sit upon the Supreme Court are not sensitive to the voices of the masses, their masters are. The strength of the united Negro and white workers turned the bosses from their avowed purpose to cut relief in **Chicago**. (Chicago unemployed demonstration, November 3.) The reaction of the ruling class to the National Hunger March (December 7, 1931), the Ex-Servicemen's struggles (bonus march) are proof of the sensitiveness of America's ruling class to the voices of the masses.

But the decisions of the United States Supreme Court are

themselves proof of the existence of justice in America—capitalist justice. How slyly the “running dogs” of capitalism come forward to reaffirm their united front with the legal lynchers. How slyly Walter White seeks to turn the working class against its own when he so “broadmindedly” says, “It is hoped that prejudice from either side may be kept out of the retrial in Alabama and that the innocence of the defendants, of which we are convinced, may be clearly established.” The prejudices of the lynchers and the prejudices of those who support their victims. Is that right Mr. White!

Fifteen millions of unemployed Negroes and white workers—millions of part-time workers—the whole exploited toiling masses of America—black and white, native and foreign born, are asked not to show partiality for their own. So Mr. White is on “either side”! Is this an admission that the Scottsboro case is a symbol of the class struggle in America—that two sides stand pitted against each other? We are willing to agree. But then the court is on one side—will it not be partial to its own? This court of the legal lynchers—does not the record of the ruling class during the last three years of the crisis show definitely to what length it will go to protect its interest and its profits?

Mr. White is “gratified that the decision reaffirms the principle and precedent established in a previous case, the Arkansas riot cases of 1919, carried to the Supreme Court by this association.” (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—W.L.P.)

Is this true? Justice Butler unmistakably denies this in his dissenting opinion. He says, “the court putting aside—they are utterly without merit—all other claims that the constitutional rights of the petitioners were infringed, grounds its opinion and judgement upon a single assertion of fact. It is, that petitioners, were denied the right of counsel, with the accustomed incidents of consultation and opportunity of preparation for trial.”

The record supports the statement of “Justice” Butler. This corporation lawyer who helped to suppress free speech in Minnesota, who voted to uphold the syndicalist laws of California, showed his fanatical devotion to Klu Klux Klan justice in the Scottsboro case.

Arthur Garfield Hays, that noble knight of the bar, who with Clarence Darrow, champion of lynchers, so humanely refused to defend the Scottsboro boys because the “reds” were in the case, now heroically calls for more “mass pressure and mass protest”. But who, save the “reds”, will mobilise this mass action, Mr. Hays? How do you reconcile your call for mass action, Mr. Hays, with your earlier statement, “Unfortunately, the fight against injustice is too often left to those who do not believe in our institutions”? If our institutions are to be believed in, why then is mass action necessary?

And **Roger N. Baldwin**, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, hurries to bolster up the wall of illusion of the presence of justice in the capitalist court for the toiling masses.

“The United States Supreme Court could not have gone fairly to any other decision—considering the nature of the charges, these boys can never get a fair trial in Alabama.”

How, Mr. Baldwin, did the U. S. Supreme Court fail to decide “fairly” in the Child labour cases, in the minimum wages cases, in the Sacco-Vanzetti cases, etc.? And what would you ask the masses to do if no fair trial is to be obtained in Alabama?

The social base of reaction has been rallied during the months the Scottsboro case has been going on. Time and the crisis fight with the Scottsboro boys and their defenders. The unemployed have grown from twelve million to approximately fifteen millions, while the Scottsboro boys were behind the prison bars. Bloody clashes have marked the masses struggle against the capitalist starvation programme. Thousands of poor and middle class farmers have lost their all. The prostitute press and the reformist hirelings of capital have a more difficult task today than yesterday to build up the crumbling illusions about justice and impartiality, where American courts are concerned.

The Scottsboro case has taken its place as an **international factor** in the struggle of class against class.

The Scottsboro case will be tried and won in the streets. The Courts of the ruling class of America will echo the verdict of the masses in the streets only when the pressure of those masses breaks through the swinging doors of the legal lynchers court.

The masses must rally financially to the support of the I.L.D. Bail must be forced from the prisoners of the Scottsboro boys.

Eugene Williams and **Roy Wright**, whose cases did not come before the Supreme Court, must be freed on habeas corpus.

Every local case of defence must be linked up inseparably with Scottsboro.

Within the reformist unions, and the ranks of the revolutionary trade unions, **Scottsboro committees** must be built up.

Liberals must be rallied on every side to the struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys. The **European workers** must continue and intensify their support of the American working class in its struggle to save the Scottsboro boys.

The Scottsboro case is an inseparable part of the struggle of the Negro masses on an international scale against ruling class oppression. Within the Scottsboro case, the slogans “Full Social, Political, and Economic Equality, and the Right of the Black Belt to Self-Determination” finds new vitality. Onward to complete victory! Unconditional freedom for the Scottsboro boys! The Scottsboro boys shall not die!

The White Terror in Japan.

Tokyo, October 30, 1932.

Nihon Sekishoku Kyuenkai, the Japanese Section of the International Red Aid, is at present engaged in a great struggle to secure the immediate and unconditional release of 165 Communists who were given monstrous sentences by the court of the Mikado on October 29. Comrades **Mitamura, Sano, Shiga** and seven other comrades have received life sentences and 155 other comrades have received sentences amounting altogether to more than 700 years.

The Japanese Red Aid appeals for the international solidarity of the toilers of the world in support of the campaign it is conducting against this savage white terror. It expresses its gratitude for the solidarity shown by the Red Aid and fraternal organisations and points out that these solidarity actions forced the withdrawal of the death sentence for Comrade **Mitamura**.

The toilers of Japan are waging this campaign under the leadership of the “**Muzai Shakuho Yokuno-kai**” (a united front organisation embracing all workers) and are collecting signatures and money as well as gifts for the imprisoned comrades.

The Japanese Red Aid calls for further solidarity actions for the immediate and unconditional release of the imprisoned comrades, for protest actions at the Japanese Embassies and Consulates and for protest telegrams to be sent direct to the Japanese government.

Political Prisoners on Hunger-Strike in Yugoslavia.

Belgrade, 22nd November 1932.

130 political prisoners in the notorious prison of **Mitrovitza** have been on hunger-strike since the 14th November. The majority of the political prisoners are Communists and the others are Croat, Slovakian, Macedonian and Magyar national-revolutionaries. The strikers demand binding guarantees for the security of the political prisoners against murder and torture, the abolition of corporal punishment, the permission of books and other reading material, the warming of the cells and decent food. The news of the strike is being suppressed by the censorship. This is the fourth hunger-strike of political prisoners in Mitrovitza since 1929.

It was in Mitrovitza that ten prisoners made an attempt to escape a few weeks back. Their plan was betrayed to the prison authorities who, however, made no attempt to prevent the prisoners carrying out their plans, but prepared an ambush for them. The escaping prisoners were received with rifle fire and although they surrendered immediately two were shot dead, one bayoneted to death, four dangerously wounded and the remaining three frightfully mishandled. Since then the prison regime in Mitrovitza has been sharpened, the quality of the food has tremendously deteriorated and the political prisoners are subjected to continual persecutions and chicanery. The political prisoners are treated much more severely than the criminal prisoners and physical maltreatment at the hands of the warders is common.

FASCISM

The Situation in Poland.

Against the Fascist Dictatorship—for the Revolutionary Way Out of the Crisis.

By Vaclav Rozek.

We publish below—with a few omissions—the speech delivered by deputy Vaclav Rozek of the communist Sejm fraction in the Sejm in the budget debate on 3rd November 1932 (according to the stenographic report of the 70th Sejm Session). Ed.

Gentlemen!

In addressing you once more from this tribune, after a long interval, it is our most urgent duty to raise a protest against the bloody Terror, against all the deeds of violence and the crimes of the fascist dictatorship.

In the names of the millions of our electors, in the names of the masses of the workers and peasants of Poland, we protest against the courts martial, against the gallows being erected everywhere—especially in occupied West Ukraine and West White Russia—against the new Draconian code of penal law . . .

The President: "I call the deputy to order."

Deputy Rozek: . . . which prescribes lengthy terms of Draconian hard labour for participation in strikes, life sentences and even the death penalty for waging the struggle for emancipation from fascism.

We protest against the frightful prison regime, against the torture and murdering of prisoners by the Defensive (political police—Ed.), against the massacres and shootings of demonstrating workers and peasants.

We protest with the utmost energy against the bloody "pacification" in Volhynia, during which hundreds of Ukrainian peasants were tortured and murdered.

We call upon the working masses of Poland, of the Ukraine, and of West White Russia . . .

The President: "I call you to order."

Deputy Rozek: . . . to carry on an intensified and energetic struggle against the crimes of fascism, against every description of violence and terror.

This meeting of the Sejm for a so-called regular budget session takes place at a time when the economic crisis has greatly increased in acuteness on an international scale, and at a time when the economic and political crisis in fascist Poland has reached an unprecedented intensity. The class struggle is spreading and growing acuter in town and country; the revolutionary forces are increasing in strength, and no system of Terror, however intensified, can destroy them.

The budget, which will pass its first reading here to-day, gentlemen, mirrors the whole policy of fascism. This policy is striving to strengthen the rule of capitalism and to find a way out of the crisis by means of the increased and unbounded exploitation of the masses, by means of the exercise of Terror against the resistance of the fighting masses, by means of imperialist expansion—and above all by means of war against the Soviet Union."

The President: "I call the deputy to order."

Rozek: The increase of the sum total of the budget expenditure by over 2 per cent in comparison with last year, to the sum of 2.5 milliard zloty, signifies a heavier burden of taxation, an augmented robbery of the broad masses, in order that the growing expenditure for the apparatus of state force and for the war preparations may be covered.

The President: "I call the deputy to order."

Rozek: Therefore the government has provided its executive organs with powers unknown even in the other capitalist countries, enabling the taxpayer to be robbed of the last penny in his pocket, of his last crust of bread, at any hour of the day or night. This applies especially, of course, to the poor in town and country.

It is a characteristic fact that whilst the bourgeois press, and even the government press, lend their columns to statements on the necessity of reducing the 2.5 milliard budget, and whilst the government club of the B.B. (non-party bloc. Ed.) speaks quite openly of further cuts in the salaries of the state employees, at the same time the press reports that the "decisive factor"—that is to say, Marshall Pilsudski—declares the military budget (822,700,000 zloty) to be "sacro-

sant". If we add the sums for military purposes which are contained in the estimates for other ministries, we find that the military expenditure contained in the budget amounts to more than 50 per cent of the total. In the eyes of the bourgeoisie the sum allotted for the police (202,500,000 zloty) is equally inviolable, as also that for courts of justice and prisons (99,460,000 zloty). The total sums demanded for the maintenance of the state apparatus of force, and of the apparatus for preparing imperialist war, amount to almost three quarters of the total fascist budget. This means a further development of the system of Terror, and a further application of this system in the preparations for war against the Soviet Union and for civil war.

The President, ringing his bell: "I call the deputy to order."

Rozek: The warlike methods of fascist Terror find peculiar expression in the fact that the courts martial have become permanent institutions. The incomplete data furnished by the daily press show that in the present year 172 persons have been brought before special courts, 128 of these persons being sentenced to death. The majority of death sentences have been passed on the occupied territory of the West Ukraine and West White Russia, and on the territory which will form the military base for the coming war against the Soviet Union. The new code of penal law, too, is distinctly warlike in character. The paragraph dealing with "offences against the protection and interests of the state" during war imposes the severest penalties, even the death penalty, for any attempt to resist or struggle against imperialist massacres.

The police apparatus is being further developed. Whilst more and more state employees and railway workers are being discharged, at the same time (as recently reported in the daily press) the apparatus of force is engaging new hundreds and thousands of confidential agents. Workers and peasants are being beaten, tortured, and even murdered, at the police stations, to an ever increasing and frightful extent.

On 30th August of this year Joseph Kaliss, 19 years of age, was arrested in an unemployed soup kitchen at Mikolov (Upper Silesia). His "crime" consisted of the remark: "Pilsudski can eat this soup himself." In the same night Kaliss was tortured to death at the police station, and then hung to obliterate the traces. The body was not given to the family for burial, but secretly buried during the night. A police-guard was set over the grave. In the second half of August of this year, the factory worker Anton Ligenza, Kromolov, district Zawiercie, was brutally tortured at the police station for being a member of the Communist Party. He was hung up in chains, he was beaten on the soles of his feet, his fingers were jammed in the doors, water was poured into his nose. Two of his ribs were broken and his head wounded in three places. I could enumerate many such cases.

The budget provides over one hundred millions for the juridical service and prison Terror. The fascist regime in the prisons has created conditions throwing the bloody regime of tsarist days completely in the shade. The number of hunger strikes and suicides among the political prisoners is increasing. On 4th July of this year the prisoner Voytiuk, a member of the White Russian Hromada, committed suicide in prison. A few weeks later the political prisoner Piotrovsky hanged himself in the same prison (A voice: "What a pity that you did not hang yourself!")—I shall not let you provoke me. In Ravitsch the White Russian deputy Krynczyk went mad.

We declare that the "amnesty" so loudly advertised by the fascists has had for its sole object the release of small offenders, in order to make more room for the political prisoners. In the names of the millions of workers and peasants, we bring forward our demand here, and shall continue to fight determinedly for the fulfilment of this demand—the release of all political prisoners.

Now to the situation in which the Sejm is about to impose fresh burdens on the masses. The fascist government has entered on a period of intensified financial crisis. The budget deficit already amounts to hundreds of millions. The money in circulation has dropped to less than one milliard zloty, and yet there is a steady decline in the securities covering the note issue. On the other hand the amount of worthless small change in circulation is growing daily. In a word—a concealed inflation is threatening. The immediate prospects for Poland's exports and trade balance are perfectly catastrophic, and the Polish currency is involved in this catastrophe. Coal exports to Scandinavia and livestock exports to England have become doubtful. The export of agricultural products to Germany, Austria, etc. is falling off steadily. The

hopes of foreign loans, recently referred to by the minister of finance, Savatzki, have been disappointed all along the line; we only need to remember that the "allied" French bankers have not yet issued for subscription the second instalment of the railway loan for continuing the building of the Upper Silesian—Gdynia railway. An open inflation, no longer to be checked, threatens in the immediate future.

The economic crisis has led to the complete paralysis of all economic life. The data issued by the statistics offices are able to leave out of account a quarter of a million unemployed, but they cannot conceal the fact of the growing economic crisis. According to the statements of the Institute for Economic Research, the index figures of production declined in September by a further 3 per cent as compared with August: from 54.7 to 52.2. The report issued by the state agricultural bank describes the aggravation of the crisis in September as follows:

"... Since the middle of September there has been a considerable decline on all the exchanges. The difficulties hampering agriculture have not lessened, and the prices of agricultural products have continued to fall. In coal mining and iron production the output is less than last month. The output of mineral oil too has fallen off considerably. The export of zinc and lead has declined, and the prices of these metals have fallen again. Great difficulties have been encountered by the metal and machine-building industries, the wood industry, the mineral and chemical industries. The autumn season has brought no essential improvement in the trade turnover of the home markets—the situation continues to be difficult. In foreign trade, the goods turnover has declined in consequence of the shrinkage of the value of imports."

The crisis in the rural districts is clearly proved by the disparity in the relative prices of industrial and agricultural products. According to the reports of the G.U.S. (an agricultural organ), the difference increased from 14.3 points in July of this year to 21.1 in September—a 50 per cent increase in the disparity within three months! The price-reduction swindle carried on by the pro governmental "non-party bloc" with the aid of the Polish Socialist Party and the People's Party, in the name of a cartel for the regulation of prices, aims in reality at raising prices, and paves the way for and promotes further cuts in the salaries and pensions of the state and municipal employees, railwaymen, pensioners, etc. At the same time it aids the continued and increased attacks on the workers' wages.

Unemployment and starvation increase faster than the index figures of fascist production decline. Every day more and more factory chimneys cease to smoke, blast furnaces are extinguished, mines laid idle. Every day fresh thousands of proletarians are thrown into the street. The number of unemployed in the big and medium industries is calculated by even the bourgeois national democratic press at 500,000. Besides the completely unemployed, of whom only a small fraction receive a starvation dole, the army of short time workers, working only 4, 3, or 2 days a week, is increasing daily. In July there was a proportion of 36 per cent short time workers, today one half of the industrial workers still employed are on part time. The wages of the semi-employed miners in the Dombrova coalfield, and of the textile workers in Lodz, do not amount to even 40 zloty a month.

An idea of the crisis in the rural districts, with their burden of taxation, fees for market stalls, usurious debts, etc., may be gained from an article in the "Illustrovanni Kurjer Codziny" of 14th October of this year, which reports as follows on conditions in the country in Polesia:

"... The lack of land, and the poverty, make the situation even worse now that there is an entire cessation of earnings in the forestry and timber trades. The peasants can no longer afford to buy petroleum, salt, or sugar, and have taken to burning pine torches. They have forgotten the existence of matches. There are children in the schools who have never seen sugar."

I must observe that the fascist writer of these lines concludes his article by calling for increased terrorist methods against the masses of the peasantry in Polesia. In the rural districts unemployment has long since become a catastrophe.

This misery and starvation, this slow death for thousands and millions of workers and peasants, is still not enough to satisfy the bourgeoisie and its fascist governments. The working masses are exposed to the unceasing fresh attacks of the capitalists. In every branch of industry the offensive con-

tinues against wages and piecework rates, which have already been reduced by one half; against working conditions, against payments in kind, holidays, and collective agreements. The government is at the head of this offensive, preparing the way for fresh cuts in the salaries of the state and municipal employees, railwaymen, etc., and advancing to a general attack on social insurance. With its minister of labour, General Hubicki, as spokesman, the government declared on the eve of the opening of the Sejm that it will "consistently carry out its programme for reducing, at the expense of the social institutions, the expenditure burdening production."

This means a renewed attack on the social achievements. On March 16th the working class already replied to one such attack by a general strike.

On behalf of the working masses, we declare that the working class of the whole of Poland will reply with a general strike to any attempt at worsening or abolishing the social institutions, and will take the leadership of this strike into its own hands, in a resolute united front against the fascist dictatorship and its social fascist agents, following the heroic example set by the workers of Zywiec and Cracow on 16th March.

In spite of the concentration of all counter-revolutionary forces, in spite of the intensified terrorist methods employed by the bourgeoisie, the masses of the workers and peasants are advancing with increasing militancy against the attacks of capital and of the large landowners, and are passing forward from defence to aggressive action against the strongholds of the bourgeoisie and the fascist dictatorship.

The wave of fresh mass strikes is sweeping over the whole of Poland, led by the communist vanguard of the proletariat against the united forces of the factory owners, the police, the army, and the trade union officials. We only need remember the strikes in Lodz and in the Dombrova basin, the strike of the Silesian glass workers, the strike of the transport workers and seamen at Gdynia, the strikes of the municipal employees and workers in Warsaw and Lemberg, the strike of the oil workers, the agricultural labourers' strike on 18th April, and the innumerable other strikes of the agricultural workers during the harvest season. Today fresh actions are maturing in the industries, fresh mass strikes of the workers are approaching.

The number of cases is increasing in which the unemployed appropriate the necessities of which capital has robbed them: food, coals, etc. On 19th October the workers at Bielszowce, Upper Silesia, went in a body to the fields belonging to the estates, and after a struggle with the police they succeeded in carrying off 200 hundredweight of potatoes.

The radicalisation of the peasantry is proceeding rapidly, and is throwing fascism into a panic. We see peasants rising in united determination against the taxes and the fees for market stalls, we see forests being cut down, grain confiscated. Special emphasis must be laid on the peasant risings in the Lesko and Kamieniec-Koszyrski districts, which have assumed at the same time the character of a national war of liberation against the Polish conquerors.

The fascists of every shade are unitedly opposing the growing agrarian revolution. The social democratic "Robotnik" raised the alarm, on 16th October, with regard to the "change of feeling in the country", and recommended its party to exert every effort, in order to ensure that:

"the rising wave of discontent among the peasantry"—I quote literally—"may not assume forms undesirable and detrimental for socialism (that is, for the Polish S.P.) and for the country" (that is, for the fascist government). (Disturbance on the benches of the Polish Socialist Party.)

After the last assembly of the Voyvodes, the "Kurjer Polski" (a paper supporting financial reform) stated on 20th October of this year that "at the present juncture the Voyevodes and municipal authorities should devote their attention chiefly to the rural sector" (that is to say, against the peasantry). This is the customary state of affairs: Wherever the ground begins to get too hot beneath the feet of the bourgeoisie and the fascists, the Polish S.P. and the police hasten to their aid.

The broad masses, even those who have hitherto been politically passive, are turning their backs on capitalism, and are looking to the workers' and peasants' government as the sole means of escape. In the face of the awakening consciousness of the millions of the people, even the strongest and most cunningly developed apparatus of violence is powerless.

Fascism cannot incarcerate millions of workers and peasants in its jails. For this it needs the aid of the trade unions, of the expert skill in political deception possessed by the social fascist and national fascist leaders. The leaders of the Polish Socialist Party, of the "Bund", and of the Land League, are now entrusted with the task of screening the fascist dictatorship on the inner front. (Disturbance on the benches of the Socialist Party and the Land League). For you, gentlemen of the Left, there is no longer any possibility of manoeuvring with any amount of "oppositional" and "revolutionary" phrases; these will no longer help you to retain your influence over the masses and to hold them back from the actual uncompromising and militant struggle against the capitalist state of society and the fascist dictatorship.

The acuter the class struggle, the more cunning the manoeuvres of the social fascist leaders. Where they fail to throttle the strike struggle, they place themselves at its head, that they may be able to disrupt and betray it at the decisive moment, that they may place it in the hands of the fascist arbitrator, or give their sanction to further reductions in wages—a reduction which they subsequently falsify into a "victory" of the Polish S.P. This was the case in the oil workers' strike.

The masses believe less and less in the phrases and assurances of the leaders of the Polish S.P. and the Land League, when these tell them that the way out of the crisis is that of "democracy". "Democracy", this worn out and transparent screen of the bourgeoisie and large landowners, serves no longer to conceal what really lies behind it, and no longer misleads anybody. The workers and peasants have ceased to believe your assurances that your "Worker and Peasant government" is going to carry out the "reorganisation of the system", for they remember very well how this "people's government" saved the rule of the bourgeoisie in 1918, and then voluntarily placed the power in its hands. They remember very well that in 1926 your "coalition government" was a government of the capitalist offensive, and smoothed the path for the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski. And therefore they will upset your calculations.

The masses recognise that every further hour of the rule of capital and fascism signifies the intensification of their want and misery; no lying campaign conducted by the open fascists and social fascists, can destroy the sympathy of the masses for the Soviet Union, or conceal from them the truth about the achievements attained in Soviet Russia.

The working masses know that the heroic Russian proletariat, which celebrates to-day the fifteenth anniversary of its victory, which leads the liberated nations of the Soviet Union, and which defies the greed of the imperialists, and of their allies in Soviet Russia itself—they know that this proletariat is developing the productive forces of its country at an unprecedented rate, has liquidated unemployment, has introduced the most up-to-date technics, and is raising its cultural level by building up socialism and laying the foundations of a socialist and classless state of society. (Disturbance, shouts.)

In view of the economic catastrophe brought about by fascist rule in Poland, in view of the wholesale mortality of the workers and peasants, in view of the forests of gallows, of the brutal Terror, of the gathering avalanche of military burdens, and of the spectre of war against the Soviet Union—in view of all this the struggle for the revolutionary, the only possible solution of the crisis for the masses, the struggle for the overthrow of the government of starvation, of Terror, and war, the struggle for the workers' and peasants' government, has become a question of life and death for the working class, for the peasant masses, and for the whole of the toiling population. (Disturbance.)

The workers' and peasants' government . . . this means the abolition of unemployment by means of the socialisation of industry and of all the means of production; this means the transference of the land to the peasants without compensation; this means the free right of self determination . . .

The President: I call the deputy to order for the last time, and shall prohibit him from speaking further if it is necessary to call him to order again.

Rozek: . . . for all nationalities, emancipating them from the yoke of Polish imperialism. (Tremendous disturbance.)

The struggle for this government is the path to the Polish "October" . . .

The President: I prohibit you from speaking further. Please leave the tribune. (Deputy Rozek leaves the tribune.)

The Trial of the Left P.P.S. in Lodz.

By St. B.

For some days past there has been taking place in Lodz a trial of 36 members of the Left P.P.S. Some years ago a number of labour organisations, thoroughly disgusted with the social fascist policy of the P.P.S., split away from the Polish social democrats and founded the Left P.P.S. The Party, which adopted the standpoint of the Marxist class struggle, soon spread over the whole of Poland and thousands of workers entered its ranks. The fascist Pilsudski government quickly realised the danger threatening its existence from this legal revolutionary party. The social fascist leaders of the Right P.P.S. hastened to the aid of the government by denouncing the Left P.P.S. as a legal cover for the Communist Party of Poland. Thus when the second Party Conference of the Left P.P.S. met at Lodz, in February 1931, the party was dissolved and all participants in the conference, numbering more than 300, were arrested.

The Pilsudski government, pursuing a policy aiming at the physical extermination of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, sent the arrested participants in the party conference to various prisons, kept them there for nearly two years, and tortured them in a bestial manner. A part of them, 36 conference delegates, have now been brought before the Court in Lodz.

The whole indictment is based upon the evidence of police agents and of a provocateur. The police agents maintain that they overheard the whole proceedings of the party conference through the ventilators in the attic over the hall. They maintain that the speakers referred to their alliance with the C.P. of Poland, praised the Soviet Union (a thing, which as is known, constitutes one of the greatest crimes in Poland), dealt with the fight against fascism and in general developed an insurrectionary programme hostile to the State.

The agents quoted as evidence long passages from speeches which they allegedly heard from the attic, and which are couched in similar language to Communist resolutions and articles. But when the accused and their defenders put questions to these agents who are supposedly so familiar with Marxist and Communist literature, it turned out that "Kautsky was some Hungarian", that the sympathetic statements regarding the Soviet Union consisted in the fact that the speakers repeatedly mentioned the word "tractator" which is "a sort of plough", that the connection with the Communists consisted in the fact that "the III. International had repeatedly been sung", that the word "contact" was always mentioned, which as is known, is a Communist word which the witnesses do not understand but which they have always heard used by Communists.

The Public Prosecutor likewise failed in regard to the provocateur. It was originally intended that the depositions of a certain Novaczyk, made in the preliminary examination, should only be read out, because the witness, a former member of the Left P.P.S., was allegedly "not to be found". These depositions were drawn up in such a manner as to prove the connection of the Left P.P.S. with the Communists. But during the proceedings the missing witness suddenly appeared in Court and declared that he had made his statements only under the pressure of the police agents, who have given him money and provided him with a revolver in order to protect himself against the vengeance of the workers; had promised him a position in the civil service and to change his name. Novaczyk withdrew all his statements and declared that he knew nothing about any connection of the Left P.P.S. with the C.P. of Poland and of illegal work of the former. When he left the Court the Public Prosecutor ordered his arrest.

The trial has not yet ended, but the whole indictment has collapsed. This, however, does not mean that the accused will be acquitted. Pilsudski justice has more than once proved that it is not to be deterred from its criminal work by such "trifles". In spite of the exposure of the police agents and spies, sentences of 8 to 10 years imprisonment are likely to be pronounced. But the hangmen of the Polish proletariat are making a mistake if they believe they will be able to postpone the hour of doom by means of savage sentences, by gallows, by dissolving and suppressing the workers and peasants organisations. The condemned revolutionaries in Poland will not pine in the prisons for ten years. Polish fascism has not been granted such a reprieve.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Academicians and Workers.

(Letter from Leningrad.)

By D. Saslavsky.

The large hall in the House of Culture of the Vyborg district is full of people and light. Slogans printed on red material speak of the aims and tasks of today's gathering. The words: "Science" and "Labour" are repeated in various combinations.

The orchestra is playing, there is loud applause at the appearance of venerable elderly gray-haired people who take their seats at the tables on the platform covered with red cloth. There are dozens of them, some in old fashioned clothes, as they were worn in pre-revolutionary Russia: long frock coats, waist-coats and watch chains.

They are the academicians. All of them are very learned people, some with a world reputation. Among them are representatives of various branches of science, mostly natural science—physics, chemistry, geology, biology, astronomy, botany. Every one of them is an institute in himself. Everyone has to his credit long years of scientific work, the publication of dozens of works, important discoveries.

The academicians sit at the tables on the platform. The hall is filled with workers. It is the meeting of two worlds, which, prior to the proletarian revolution, could never and nowhere meet, which do not meet anywhere in the capitalist countries.

The **Academy of Science** has existed in the old Russia almost 200 years. It was by its nature a Court institution. Relatives of the Tsar were its presidents; the Academy of Science was open only to savants who were loyal to the Tsar and capitalism. There were prominent savants in Tsarist Russia, such as **Mendeleyev** and **Mechnikov**. Their fame spread throughout the world like rays of light. Mendeleyev's works created an epoch in chemistry, and his "periodical system" is known to every chemist, even to beginners. But there was no access for Mendeleyev to the Russian Academy of Science. He was kept out of it by learned narrow-mindedness which only thought of distinctions and decorations.

Not a single prominent progressive writer has been a member of the Academy prior to the revolution. On the eve of 1905 **Maxim Gorki** was elected to the Academy, he was already famed then. Tsar Nicholas II ordered him to be expelled as a revolutionist, and the learned academicians carried out the order like obedient lackeys.

There were prominent savants also among the old academicians. But they regarded themselves as the generals of science, they did not want to have anything in common with the toiling masses and plumed themselves on their social standing. In science, they represented the most reactionary institution. It is not for nothing that the term "academism" has been given the meaning of scientific reaction, backwardness, routine and fustiness. In the highest repute were literary and so-called humanitarian sciences, especially sciences on antiquity—archaeology, ancient literatures, history of ancient times, etc. Natural sciences were of less repute, and much less space was allotted to them.

It is an Academy of Science of this kind which the **October Revolution** inherited. The working class ruthlessly destroyed all the old nests of the nobility, the monarchy first of all. But the Academy of Sciences was treated very cautiously by the workers. Even if political enemies had their seat there, these enemies possessed a weapon, necessary to the proletariat: superior knowledge.

The working class knows the value of science. It respects theory. In the factory, the worker has become accustomed to the idea that productive processes are founded on phenomena which must be studied. The majority of the old academicians hated and feared the proletarian revolution, but the workers, having assumed power, did their utmost to protect the Academy of Science. In the civil war years, in the midst of hunger and devastation, the working class endeavored to create favourable conditions for the work of the academicians.

Only a small number of the old academicians went immediately with the workers, giving them willingly of their knowledge and helping them to build a new country. Some of them took refuge abroad, and even now carry on there a frenzied campaign against the Soviet Union. They shout throughout the world that science is destroyed in the Soviet Union, that the working class is unable to create its own scientific forces, and keeps the old learned intelligentsia in a state of slavery. This slander is of the same value as that about "forced labour" in the Soviet country. But, of course, the working class finds it most difficult to create its own highly scientific cadres. One can educate in ten years one's own engineers, physicians, and generally speaking, workers of practical professions. But in all branches of knowledge, high theory requires prolonged and deep study. That is why the bourgeoisie regarded the Academy of Science as its own stronghold, and academic science as its own monopoly.

But we do not want to go deep into history. We shall sum up immediately the results—they are evident here, in this workers' house of Culture, a palatial edifice in the Vyborg district of Leningrad, famous for its revolutionary role. A few steps from here stands the memorial to **Lenin**, at the Finnish Railway Station. Here Lenin stepped for the first time on Russian soil in 1917. Here was the rallying place of the main forces of the October uprising. Here every stone is history. And here, 15 years later, they have met—the academicians and the workers. Most of the people on the platform are old, and most of the people in the hall are young. The president of the Academy, the well known Savant, **Karpinsky**, is considerably over 80 years. His white hair reaches his shoulders. He is a live chip of the Russia of old. And he shouts now with youthful enthusiasm: "We greet you, Vyborg workers; We are glad to meet for our XV. Anniversary among you."

Old workers, delegates from the factories, ascend the platform. They speak of the enormous significance of theoretical science for Communism. They are proud of the fact that the greatest savants of the Soviet Union are with them. After them, academicians address the audience, and speak of the enormous significance of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction for science. These are not only speeches on a special occasion. They are a summary of the work which has been accomplished by the new Soviet Academy of science.

Five or six times a year the academicians meet. They have an exchange of their scientific achievements, they speak about new discoveries. Two of these sessions are generally held in public, at public meetings, with visits to factories, and excursions to the distant borders of the Union. The Academy of Science informs the whole country about its work, and thousands of workers make the acquaintance of the academicians.

The first years of dissociation from and distrust of the proletarian revolution on the part of academicians are a thing of the past. The working class has been able to win over the academicians to its side. Some of them have joined the Communist Party, and the majority march willingly and conscientiously with the working class, while remaining non-Party.

How did the working class win over these people? By its relation to science, first of all. Second, through socialist construction. The savants have been able to see for themselves that socialist industrialisation opens up unlimited possibilities for science, just at the time when science declines everywhere in the capitalist west. Under Tsarism, the Academy of Science was a vegetating landlord estate. Russian science looked up with envy and respect to the rich scientific institutions of the capitalist countries. The Academy itself was in a wretched state. Only about ten badly equipped institutes were attached to the Tsarist academy. Scientific collaborators could be counted only by the dozen.

The Soviet Academy of Science is surrounded by 90 institutes, museums and laboratories of its own, set up under the Soviet regime. It has up to 1,000 scientific collaborators. The magnificence of the equipment is the envy of the institutes of the wealthiest capitalist countries. New scientific cadres have sprung up and half of them consist of workers and peasants. Ex-blacksmiths, shepherds, and tailors successfully master theoretical knowledge. There is, for instance, **Bendetzky**. He is 30 years old; not so long ago he sat in a tailoring workshop and cut out waistcoats. At present he is one of the most intimate assistants of the famous professor of Chemistry, **Kurnakov**. **Azratian**, an Armenian, the son of a worker, a refugee from Armenia during the world imperialist war. His family was murdered by the Turks. He, himself, led a wandering life, was a street Arab and a bootblack in the streets. He is now an aspirant of the Academy of Science for physiology, and his works, translated into German, can be found on the bookshelves of even well known foreign professors. . . . And one can give many such examples.

Reports follow exports. To-day the academicians are the guests of the Vyborg workers, tomorrow they will be received by the workers of the "Red Putilovetz". The audience becomes familiarised with many fields of knowledge. These are not popular lectures. The Academy of Science is not an evening university. The latest achievements of science, the most important scientific problems become common property. Here are, for example, the reports of one of the sessions: academician **Baikov**—"How to obtain Iron direct from Ore". The young savant **Fraenkel**—"The Theory of Metals". Academician **Komarov**—"The New in the Teaching about the Form in Plants". Of course, not everything is understood by the hearers. But through intercourse with working class audiences, the academicians learn to explain the most difficult questions in language accessible to all. Academicians part company with the special "learned" complicated language which is not at all required for genuine science, and serves in capitalist countries only the purpose of erecting insurmountable barriers between the learned caste and the workers.

Theory is closely connected with productive practice. Acquaintance and direct connection with socialist construction has enormously enriched science. Having come out of their previous academic isolation into the real life and struggle, the savants have met with new problems. When summing up the results of the achievements of the last 15 years, the academicians gave testimony to the enormous, incomparable growth of Soviet science.

Hence, this atmosphere of joyfulness and energy at the jubilee session. Hence, the enthusiasm with which the address of the academicians to the savants of all countries was received. Facts have shown irrefutably that in the country of proletarian dictatorship science is guaranteed full growth, development and constant enrichment. And this is but natural, because for the first time in the world a social order is created which is founded not on blind collision between private ownership instincts and interests, not on frenzied competition and robbery, but on the organisation of all the productive forces which are planned out and accurately calculated, so as to get mastery over nature in the interests of all workers. And such organisation demands a scientific relation to the world. Communism drives out blind faith and religion that is obscuring the mind. It opens wide the doors to limitless and fearless knowledge, it gradually abolishes the contradiction between physical and mental labour, and makes science a general requirement.

At the festive session of the Soviet Academy of Science, in conjunction with the workers of the revolutionary city, the outlines of this glorious were already visible to the observer.

Modern Homes for Workers, but in Moscow.

Moscow, 16th November 1932.

During the November celebrations in Moscow no less than 54,160 persons in Moscow received new homes in blocks of houses newly built for workers families. Apart from these working class houses, 169 factory and industrial buildings, 64 school buildings hospitals and children's homes, and 10 big working class restaurants were opened.

New Work—New Life.

By W.

(Special Correspondent of the "Inprecorr".)

II.

Two Conversations about the Housing Question.

"Are you really satisfied with everything?"—I asked a worker in the rolling mill of the cable factory.

"You see"—he says to me—"if a bourgeois penny-a-liner asked me this, I would hesitate to talk about our cares and difficulties. This is our affair, and does not concern him at all. But we have nothing to conceal from our foreign class comrades. There are various matters which do not please us. Many of us are still badly housed (I, personally, was certainly given last year a flat in a new building). There are also considerable difficulties with regard to supplies. The unsatisfactory traffic conditions also cut down our leisure time by several hours a month."

"And what can you do against this? The social democratic and national socialist press says that you have no right to strike."

"As to the right, we can strike as much as we like. But we would be lunatics to strike against ourselves, against our state, against our factory. Have you ever seen the owner of a factory who would organise a strike against his own enterprise? And we are the owners here. And what for should we strike? Despite all difficulties, our position improves from year to year."

"We alone are responsible for overcoming the difficulties"—I was subsequently told by a worker in the cable department. "The quicker and the better we develop our socialist industry and our collective agriculture, the sooner will our difficulties be overcome. Do you perhaps imagine that it is a small matter to engage in a single year 3,000,000 new workers and, while raising their production capacity to the utmost, to provide them immediately with decent housing accommodation, food and clothes?"

What are the workers doing to overcome the difficulties? It was superfluous to speak about the traffic question. It is common knowledge that the tramway and motor bus traffic has enormously developed in the last years, but the town and its industry developed even more rapidly. But in my peregrinations I could see in various places that the construction of the **Moscow underground railway** is making headway. It will bring about in the very near future a regular revolution in the Moscow traffic. I was particularly anxious to talk to women about the food difficulties. Therefore, I asked this time information about the housing question, and was given the following explanation:

The factory itself is already building new flats for 1500 families (the factory, including the associated cable factory No. 1, employs altogether 5000 workers and employees). They are not luxurious dwellings, but certainly rooms of which the workers of the cable factory could not even dream at the time, when on the present "Road of Enthusiasts", outside the factory gates, the revolutionaries condemned to exile, were driven by the Tsarist police with knouts, and the butt end of rifles. A workers family with two children has a light, two roomed flat, or shares with another family a four roomed flat with a separate kitchen and bathroom. "Formerly there was a saying in Moscow, thousand flats and one bathroom, but in our days it must be, thousand flats and a thousand bathrooms", said to me the cable worker, **Maier**, who a little while ago was able to move with his family from his old dark room into one of the newly built two roomed flats. Even his former dwelling was not the kind of barrack in which he had to live prior to the war—a dozen workers in one room sleeping on straw sacks. He told me that many married workers lived in similar conditions, for the wife was usually in domestic service, and her mistress did not allow her to visit her husband more than once a month.

"After the revolution we were given accommodation in the ten and twelve room flats of the gentry. But believe me, there was not much pleasure for six to ten families to live even in a very large flat where all the arrangements were meant for one family"—I was told by another worker.

The new flats being put up by the factory, together with the houses that are in the course of construction, will be able to provide one half of the factory workers with housing accommodation, the others will have to wait a little longer, but their natural impatience is made more bearable when they see that new workers dwellings are constantly built not only

by the factory, but above all by the municipality and the Soviet State, and also by their own proletarian building societies, and they can already make a shrewd guess at the time when they, too, will have their own "Cultural Flat" with a bathroom. And this applies to the whole Soviet Union. Between 1928 and 1931, 3,000,000,000 roubles were spent for the construction of workers dwellings, and the same amount in 1932 alone.

It is interesting how the means for this large scale construction of dwellings are raised. In this "Land without democracy", the piece of ground is placed at the disposal of the workers **free of charge**. The building expenses of the cable factory for the erection of these houses are met from three sources: from the "funds for the amelioration of the living conditions of the workers", called in its abbreviated form "Fub", to which every enterprise has to contribute part of its clear profit (generally 20%); from long-term credits of the municipal bank at small interest, and from the $\frac{3}{4}$ million roubles premium which the workers of the cable factory received from the trust for highly efficient work in the so-called "special quarter" (October to December 1930).

Rent in the new houses is naturally higher than in the old, for it must cover not only the cost of the upkeep, but also the amortisation of part of the building costs. It can nevertheless be considerably cheaper than it would be in a capitalist country under similar conditions. Here the profit of the house-owner does not enter into the calculations. The share of the building costs in the rent is also correspondingly smaller than under capitalist conditions 1. by the value of the ground which is a very big item under capitalism, especially in large towns; 2. by the sum received from "Fub" and 3. by the $\frac{3}{4}$ million premium. There remains only the amortisation of the municipal bank credit: its distribution is such that the share of the occupier of a two roomed flat is 400 roubles, payable in monthly instalments of 11 roubles.

In addition, there is the contribution to the expenses connected with the upkeep of the houses, that is, the actual rent which is calculated not only according to the size of the flat, but also according to the wages earned. The man on whose authority I give this information earns 250 roubles a month and pays for his two roomed flat (apart from the amortisation of the building costs) 22 roubles rent, that is, less than 9% of his wage.

III.

The Family in the Enterprises.

On the basis of my experience in Germany I expected that the difficulties which still exist with regard to the food supply would have a depressing effect above all on the **women**. I found quite the contrary. There are still many grumblers to be found among the men, while the women in the enterprises are for the most part contented and in some cases even show a higher degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and a better understanding of the difficulties which still exist than the men.

This is surprising, but easy to understand when we think what the revolution has meant for the working women. While the workers feel themselves masters of the country and victors of the revolution, the working women—at least the older ones who lived through conditions as they existed before the revolution—feel this doubly, for they were freed by the revolution from a two-fold oppression—capitalist and sexual.

But it is not as if the struggle for equality with man were already superfluous. It goes without saying that in the legislation and in the policy of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government all the demands for which the socialists in all countries have been continually fighting, are being effectively carried out. "Equal pay for equal work" is a principle which is accepted as a matter of course in all Soviet undertakings. The legal position of women in the family, in the enterprises and in the government is absolutely equal to that of men. When a woman gets married—just one small example—not only is she not compelled to adopt the name of the man if she does not wish to, but it is also possible to have the man adopt the name of the woman. Equality of women with men is guaranteed even to such minute details.

But the women must still carry on many struggles against the vestiges of man's prejudice, and find in these struggles complete support from the proletarian state and proletarian public opinion. We are not speaking here of the woman of the Soviet Orient, whose struggles for her freedom, against the veil and against the arbitrary domination of father and husband constitute a special chapter of revolutionary heroism. Here in the **cable factory** there were cases such as the following:

In the rolling mill there are machines which are run by two workers each, and the payment for tending these machines is estimated for the two workers jointly. The men here refused to work with the women. They claimed that the women work less and thus cut down the pay. The men fought for this stand in a determined manner. No agitation, no appeal to the principles of Communism or to Party and Government resolutions was of any avail.

At this point I interrupted the worker who was describing this case to me and asked how many workers in the rolling mill were arrested, fined or banished without trial on this account. I was given a blank look. I pulled out of my pocket a copy of the **Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung"** of October 23rd and translated the following part of **Otto Bauer's** leading article:

"When I see how every Russian worker, peasant and employee who dares to express an opinion objectionable to the government, can be immediately arrested without court procedure and subjected to the severest penalty then I feel: "I can't stomach this!"

"Kakoy Durak!" (What a fool), the workers cried, and I had to read the above quotation over again for their benefit.

In this case it was a question of open opposition against the unanimous stand of the management as well as the factory committee and the Party nucleus. What was the reaction?

It is not by commands or barrack methods that the Communist Party carries through its policy, not even when the fundamental issue involved is so clear as it is in the above case. The Party carries through its policy by means of political and ideological guidance, convincing the masses on the basis of practice.

The workers are told: "Alright, you don't want to have it this way. But perhaps you will let us make an experiment which will not cost you anything. Men who agree to this will let their wives or their daughters practice on their machines. If the earnings are less, the loss will "remain in the family", and this is the way it was actually done. The women who worked in the enterprise were either employed for the first time or were transferred to the rolling mill from less skilled jobs which therefore brought in less pay, so that even when they worked slower while they were practicing, they managed after a fashion to keep up their earnings. They were taught by their husbands, their fathers or their brothers, and within a few weeks the astonishing fact came to light that the earnings not only were not less, but in many cases were still more than when two men were working together.

Unemployment? The only idea that the workers in the Soviet Union have of unemployment is what they get from the foreign news in the papers. Their problem is how to provide enough labour power for the increasing demands of production and for the huge new factories.

While on the other side of the revolutionary border the married women who have been employed in production and in offices are being chased back to their kitchens, on this side of the border there is an **influx of women into the enterprises** and into social work, such as has never been known. How the income of a family increases two or three times or even four times over, and how the life of a family can be raised to a much higher level if its members have the same working interests and the same cares and joys in work, how much freer the individual becomes when he can look after himself and only has himself to look after—these things do not have to be told the working men and women in the capitalist countries.

The collective agreement between the cable factory and the workers contains the following point: in the hiring of new workers—and the hiring of new workers is just as common an occurrence in this factory as dismissals in a capitalist enterprise—the following factors are to be taken into account: first of all whether he is a member of the respective trade union, and secondly whether any members of his family are employed in the factory. Applicants not fulfilling these conditions are considered last. Owing to the fact that all trade union members are employed, and seek employment only in case of a change of work or something similar to it, there are a large number of families employed in our factory: sometimes in different departments and sometimes in the same department. It is nothing unusual in the Soviet Union to find a father, mother, son, daughter, son-in-law and daughter-in-law employed in the same factory. The result is that during the past year, while wages have risen 20 per cent in general, the average earning per family has increased by 60 per cent.

The Fight for Proletarian Working Discipline.

Moscow, November 17, 1932.

The "Pravda", in its article on the decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and of the Council of People's Commissars regarding a better working discipline, states that great achievements have to be recorded in the fight for the self-discipline of the working class. The most advanced proletarian, the enthusiastic worker in socialist production, has become the central figure in our factories and works. He does not leave his work place without a valid reason. He feels himself closely connected with the production process and takes over joint responsibility for the fulfilment of the production plan of the undertaking. Socialist competition, which embraces millions of the best workers and shock brigaders, has transformed work into a matter of honour.

Since the overthrow of the century-old capitalist slavery the working class of our country has been adding heroic pages to its history. It was the working class which created Magnitogorsk, Kuznetzk, Dnieprostroy and the gigantic auto, tractor, electric and chemical industries. It is the working class which is fulfilling the Five-Year Plan in four years and setting itself still greater tasks: to establish the classless socialist society in the second Five-Year Plan.

But the composition of the working class is not uniform. Alongside of the advanced workers, there are in our factories many young workers who have never seen a capitalist factory and are quite unfamiliar with capitalist oppression. They cannot immediately accustom themselves to the socialist forms of work. There are also in our factories workers who formerly were small shopkeepers, poor peasants and middle peasants, who are wholly on the side of the Soviet Power, but are not yet on such a high level that they are concerned for each ton of iron ore, steel, coal or every pud of corn. These workers must be educated in the spirit of care for the social property and the careful treatment of factory equipment, of raw material and manufactured goods. They must become conscious of the decisive importance of the increase of intensive labour for the victory of the new social order.

To believe that all this can be achieved without Bolshevik organisation of the masses and without a strict discipline in the production process means to ignore reality, means leaving socialist construction to opportunist laissez-faire and the bourgeois-anarchist elements. Lenin at all times warned against this by emphasising that "for Socialism the greatest difficulty exists in securing working discipline". Without increasing working discipline and without overcoming unjustified absence from work we shall not be able to solve the grandiose tasks of the second Five-Year Plan.

The "Pravda" cites a number of practical examples of absenteeism by workers, and states that in the factories controlled by the Commissariat for heavy industry (taking August as a basis) the yearly average of days absent per worker is 0.78. After enumerating the cases of absenteeism in the hard-coal mining industry and in the metal industry the author of the article continues:

"Absenteeism means the loss of thousands of tons of metal and coal and articles of daily use, which the State most urgently needs and which are worth hundreds of millions of roubles. Those workers who absent themselves from work disorganise the production process and have aroused the justified indignation of the best workers. It not infrequently happens that the absence of one or another worker has had the effect of lowering the income of an honest worker in another branch of industry. In addition, the slackers and idlers have hitherto received their ration-cards for food and industrial goods, as well as their factory dwellings. The new decision of the Government, as well as the directives drawn up by the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Party regarding the extension of the authority of the factory management, put an end to this practice.

The carrying out of the decisions of the Party and of the government raises the fight for working discipline in the socialist factories to a higher level. It secures the growth of our production and thereby an improvement in the material and cultural living conditions of the toilers of the Soviet Union. These decisions supplement our labour legislation. They provide the possibility of carrying out the principle of paying

everybody according to his work and controlling the quantity of work performed by and the claims of every worker.

We have the best labour laws in the whole world. The Soviet law restricts the working day to 6, 7 and 8 hours (according to the character of the work) and guarantees to every worker a day of rest. Nowhere in the world has medical care for the workers and the labour protection of the women and the young workers been organised as in our country. Every year millions of toilers recuperate in the sanatorias and convalescent homes. The growth of our economy is accompanied by a parallel improvement in the cultural and material conditions of life of the toilers, whilst in the capitalist countries unemployment, misery and starvation of the toilers prevail. The most important productive force of society, the working class, is being destroyed by capitalism. On the other hand we have created all the preconditions for the uninterrupted raising of the cultural and material level of the working class and of the toilers.

We are therefore entitled to conduct with the greatest energy the fight against idlers and slackers who disorganise the production process and damage the interests of the whole working class.

SOCIAL FASCISM

Shameful Deception by the Swedish Social Democracy in the Amnesty Question.

By S. m.

The annual conference of the Saw-Mill Workers' union, which is at present meeting in Sundsvall, has at the behest of the social democratic union executive rejected by 164 votes to 32 a resolution in support of the amnesty for political prisoners introduced by the Communist fraction. In giving their reasons for rejecting the motion the union executive stated that "behind the amnesty campaign there lies hidden the desire of the Communists to make difficulties for the social democratic government in its democratic work on behalf of the working class".

This attitude of the social democratic majority of the congress in no way reflects the feeling of the broad masses. Already last Spring, when the Liberal Government was still in power, about 300,000 people at various meetings endorsed the slogan of the Communist Party for a general political amnesty. Since the social democratic government came into office the demand for a political amnesty has considerably increased. Hundreds of meetings of various organisations, including numerous trade unions under social democratic leadership, as well as the trades council in Göteborg with a membership of 50,000, the West-Sweden district of social democratic Youth League and others have pronounced unanimously in favour of the Communist demand.

This fact completely refutes the assertion of the trade union bureaucracy of the Saw-Mill Workers' union that the amnesty campaign is only a Communist manoeuvre. The "Labour Government" could easily frustrate the "manoeuvre" of the Communists by granting an amnesty to the political prisoners, whereby they would at the same time serve the "interests of the working class by democratic means".

During the election campaign the social democracy, for demagogic reasons, made a complete political amnesty one of the planks in their platform. After coming into office they moderated this demand, but in order to appease the masses they prepared a partial amnesty, and the party press held out the prospect of a speedy release of the Communists who have been sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment following the bloodbath in Odalen. Even the government organ declared that the district secretary of the Communist Party, **Axel Nordström**, who had been sentenced to 2½ years' imprisonment, could not be made responsible for the shooting by the military and that he was "a victim of unfortunate circumstances".

But the big capitalist masters of the "Labour Government" are opposed to any political amnesty because they fear that this would strengthen and promote the revolutionary movement, and they therefore brought pressure to bear on their social democratic lackeys. The social democracy changed their tone overnight. The Prime Minister **Hansson** declared in a public speech "that fresh evidence had come

to hand proving the guilt of the Communist provocateurs', and that out of regard for the safety of the State no political amnesty could be granted.

Owing to this contradiction between promise and performance the social democratic functionaries find themselves in a very awkward position at public meetings when they wish to defend their government. When they succeed in getting the Communist motion turned down, then the Communists immediately move the approval of the speech which the present Prime Minister Hansson delivered as leader of the social democratic party at the big election demonstration of the Stockholm social democracy on 1st July last, at which he demanded in the name of his party a complete political amnesty from the Liberal Government.

Thus it has happened that at numerous mass meetings, on the motion of the Communists and against the votes of the social democratic functionaries, the carrying out of the social democratic election promise is demanded.

It is only in very rare cases that the social democrats have succeeded in getting resolutions against the amnesty passed, as against the countless Communist, social democratic and syndicalist meetings which have pronounced in favour of unconditional amnesty. Among the rare cases in which a motion for complete amnesty was rejected is that of the annual conference of the Saw-Mill Workers already mentioned, which consists for the most part of social democratic functionaries and does not express the will of the rank and file.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of the Working Population of Italy.

5. The Situation of the Land Workers under the Fascist Regime.

By Masi.

The numerical importance of the agricultural wage earners in Italy is seen from the fact that out of a total of 3,594,000 families, forming a population of 37,679,000, 1,821,000 families, comprising in all 8,378,000 persons, consist of land-workers (from the census of 1921). The number of persons engaged in agriculture as labourers amounts to 3,962,000, which represents 38 per cent. of the population engaged in agriculture and 15 per cent. of the total working population. What changes have taken place among the agricultural workers between 1921 and the present time, i. e. during the whole period of fascist rule?

The answer is quickly given: the number of agricultural labourers has increased mainly as a result of the impoverishment of broad sections of the poor and middle peasants. What is the present number of the agricultural labourers? One can approximately estimate their number, including the women and young workers, at something over 4½ million.

The land workers of Italy are of special importance both from the social and political point of view, as they possess fighting traditions. They are concentrated in Valpadana, Apulia and Sicily.

Already before the war the land workers represented the poorest category of the proletariat. They suffered greatly from unemployment, and when in work they received miserable wages. In Valpadana and Apulia the land workers constitute a relatively superfluous population which owing to the feeble development of the productive forces in agriculture and the weakness of Italian industry could not find work anywhere. They could not find a way of escape even by means of emigration, for both the agrarian and the industrial bourgeoisie were opposed to the policy of emigration because they wished to maintain a big reserve army of labourers so as to impose coolie wages on the masses of employed workers and to compel the peasants to accept slavish agreements. The result was that only a relatively small number of peasants emigrated.

Thus it is easily understood that the great mass of the land workers very quickly realised the necessity of organising themselves into defensive unions in order to improve their conditions of living and work. Such a union was the "Federterra", an organisation based on the class struggle and which in the year 1920 had 800,000 members. Italian socialism found its first main support among the land workers.

After the seizure of power by the fascists, all the gains the land workers had won in a struggle extending over 30 years were lost one after another. The fascists commenced by destroying the land workers' co-operative societies and compelling the defence unions to dissolve, after all their premises had been burned down. In order to achieve this end the fascists had to carry out an armed struggle as the land workers sought to defend their achievements with their lives. The land workers were defeated because they were not

equipped, either materially or politically, for this acutest form of the class struggle. After the last resistance had been crushed, the fascists compelled the land workers to join the fascist trade unions. Only those who held the membership card of the fascist trade unions were able to obtain work. The fascists declare that there are now a million land workers who belong to their trade unions. From what we have already said, however, it is perfectly obvious that such figures are devoid of any value.

Under the fascist regime the employment bureau functions not as an organ for defending the interests of the workers but as an organ for suppressing the masses. The land workers describe the fascist employment bureaus as branch offices of the police. The managers of these bureaus are fascist agents who give out jobs according to personal preference or out of political considerations.

Just as the fascists retained the trade unions and the employment bureaus but robbed them of their class content and transformed them in a reactionary sense, so also they maintained the system of collective agreements and extended it by a law to the whole of Italy. The collective agreements are concluded not as a result of negotiations between representatives of the masses of land workers and of the employers, but are arranged in secret between the trade union functionaries and the agrarians. On occasion the demagogic manoeuvres go so far that a question is brought before the Labour Office (another fascist institution) for arbitration, which usually solves the question by splitting the difference between the demands of the employers and the fascist trade unions. If, for example, the employers wish to effect a wage cut of 30 per cent., all they need do is demand a 60 per cent. wage cut. The hours of work are ten in winter and in the summer months from sunrise to sunset.

Wages are paid partly in money and partly in kind. The following data are taken from a fascist publication "Wages in agriculture from 1913 to 1931":

	Cost of Living Index	Average Daily Wages	Index of nominal Wages	Index of real Wages
1913/14	100	2.42	100	100
1919	327.2	10.61	437.0	133.5
1922	500.6	13.08	538.5	107.5
1929	545.5	12.93	532.4	97.6
1931 (1st half yr.)	491.9	10.49	431.8	87.7

The fascists admit that from 1919 to the first half of 1931 the real wages of the land workers declined by 42 per cent., and that in the first half of 1931 real wages were 12.13 points below the 1913/14 level.

It should be further pointed out that the fascist figures are not in accordance with the actual facts. The wages of the land workers are somewhat lower. Let us consider the following figures taken from another official publication, the "Compendio Statistica" for the year 1931:

	Wages per hour	
	Minimum	Maximum
Piedmont	Lire 0.65	Lire 1.40
Lombardy	" 0.63	" 1.10
Emilia	" 0.85	" 1.45
Apulia	" 0.45	" 0.75

The women generally receive only the minimum wage, as do also a great part of the men. As the agrarians always reckon only an eight hour day even if the working day actually lasts 14 hours, the average wages of most of agricultural workers in Piedmont amounts to 5.20 Lira a day, in Lombardy to 5.04 Lira, in Emilia to 6.80 Lira and in Apulia to 3.60 Lira. This was the situation in the first half of 1931. Since then wages have been reduced on an average by not less than 25 per cent., whilst the cost of living has fallen only very slightly. Since the new wage reduction, the index figure of real wages amounts to 65.8 instead of 87.7 and is 34.2 per cent. below the 1914 level.

The wage reductions effected by the agrarian capitalists and kulaks with the aid of the fascist unions and the fascist terror are, however, not the only cause of the misery of the land workers. Another cause is at work, namely, unemployment. In our opinion, the number of unemployed in agriculture amounts to about 2 million.

Organisational Questions

New Elections of the Lower Party Organisations of C.P. of Czechoslovakia.

By O. K. R.

"In the present situation everything depends upon the extent to which the Party and all leading Party bodies from top to bottom succeed in drawing the membership into revolutionary work and in mobilising the impoverished masses. Capable leading bodies do not drop out of the sky, they must be welded in the process of lively political and organisational activity."

This is the motto of the election campaign of the lower Party organisations. To sum up the political significance of the whole campaign in one slogan: "Every Communist must be an active Party worker, a leader of the workers."

During the past year the Party has grown tremendously. From 35,000 members in 1931 it has increased to 72,000 members at the present time. On the whole the activity of the functionaries and the members of the Party is considerably stronger in comparison to former years. New cadres have been drawn in. This also shows that the quality of Party work has changed for the better. It is only thanks to this that the Party has come out on the whole successfully in its struggles (the Carpathian Ukraine, the miners' strike, the movement of the unemployed, the factory elections and the municipal elections). Consequently we observe not only a marked growth in the influence of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia on the masses of workers, but also a steady influx of new members into the Party.

The situation in Czecho-Slovakia, particularly recently, shows that the C.P. is faced with other greater struggles in the near future.

Therefore the Party is confronted not only with the task of utilising organisationally the successes which it has gained so far, but also with the task of strengthening and consolidating the Party organisation for the coming struggles, for only in this way will the Party be able in the future to fulfil its role as leader of the working masses. It is this consciousness which motivated the resolution of the V. Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia and the elections of the leading bodies in the basic organisations of the Party. From this standpoint the elections are not mere organisational measures. They constitute a step of the most clear cut political character, which is of great significance for the further development of the Party and for the further strengthening of its militancy.

In the course of the campaign it became clear how many defects and difficulties still have to be overcome by the Party

Fascism views with great anxiety the large masses of starving and resentful land workers, who exert a constant pressure on the agrarians and kulaks and again hold great street demonstrations against fascism and against the capitalist order.

The new policy of the Italian bourgeoisie towards the land workers can be summed up in the fascist slogan: "Do away with the land workers." The fascists declare that it is necessary to bind the land workers to the soil by means of co-partnership agreements.

It is only necessary for us to state in this connection, that under these agreements the agrarians employ a land worker or a group of land workers the whole year round, and in return pay them not wages but a proportion of the product, usually a third. It is clear that the fascist "co-partnership" agreements differ only in name from feudal serfdom. The fascists are of the opinion that these "co-partners" will be less influenced by the industrial proletariat and the Communist Party than the ordinary land workers. But this is where the fascists make a mistake. The facts show that the revolutionary movement of the land workers is spreading and that the C.P. of Italy is becoming the leader of their struggles.

The struggle against opportunism in practice, and the struggle for the steady and correct application of resolutions and instructions must be carried on permanently, tenaciously, from day to day. There are still cases, and many cases, in which our lower bodies are actually made up of a few individual comrades, while the majority of nucleus members do not participate in practical daily work or if they do it is only half heartedly. There are still many nuclei which meet but rarely, there are leading bodies that do not know how many members they have and nuclei which are entirely passive. Furthermore there are of course Party organisations which have not yet recognised the fact that it is their task to organise the struggles of the workers in all directions, and that the Party must be the leading factor in the activities of the various organisations of workers, above all in the trade unions, cooperatives etc. They have not yet grasped the fact that our Communists, organised in fractions in these organisations must be the leaders of the other workers, in defending all their daily interests. The object of the above mentioned resolution of the V. Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia was to abolish the state of affairs as speedily as possible. How has this resolution been carried out? Measures were taken from the C.C. down to the nuclei—with the collaboration of the members of the C.C.—to carry out this resolution on the basis of concrete instructions.

In order to avoid a mechanical application of the resolution, it was explained to all comrades in the greatest detail. The District Committee attached comrades from the District leaders to various sections. We wish to show here the practical application of the resolution, using the Komotau district organisation as an example.

The section instructors worked in direct contact with the nuclei. They collaborated in the preparation of all meetings of the leadership and of the membership, which were held as political and organisational preparation for the meetings at which the new functionaries were to be elected.

Such meetings were devoted to the activity of the factory and street nuclei and local groups in the rural districts. In this connection practical experiences were brought up from past struggles and activities, above all in economic struggles, in the movement of the unemployed, in the formation of the united front, in the methods of approach to the workers in the reformist organisations and so forth.

A critical analysis of the work carried out so far was based on the questions which were taken up. For example: How has the factory nucleus mobilised the workers—against dismissals and wage cuts and for the demand of the workers? Has the nucleus succeeded through its work in raising the political level of the workers? How has it organised the struggle against imperialist war? What is the nucleus doing in the trade unions, cooperatives, sport and other mass organisations? How do the fractions work? What organs of the united front have been established by the nucleus and how do they function? What contacts exist with the workers of other organisations, particularly the reformist organisations? Is there any systematic contact, and how does the nucleus exercise its ideological influence? How does the leadership function, and how is the work distributed? How many new members have been recruited and how many have been retained? How have the other members been lost and why, and what has the nucleus done to combat fluctuation? How often are meetings held, who comes to them and what are the reasons for others not coming?

These and similar questions were brought up at the meetings and worked out in the carefully prepared reports.

This method was taken up enthusiastically by the comrades in the nuclei. They were glad to have representatives of the leading Party bodies come to their nuclei to help them in their practical work. The circle of comrades who took active part in the improvement of the organisational work grew **even before** the elections themselves, and the interest of comrades who had hitherto been passive was roused to greater activity.

At the election meeting itself the above mentioned report of the old leadership was submitted, and on the basis of the experience gained **proposals were made to improve the work** and a programme of activity was drawn up for the immediate future. Similarly, with the participation of the entire membership, the **composition of the new leadership** was checked up and the elections were conducted after a careful checking of these comrades. Further measures were proposed at the meeting for drawing **all comrades into active work**, and for assigning definite functions to all.

In order to illustrate the results of these efforts we give a number of examples, some from the Komotau district and some from other districts.

A pit nucleus in a coal mine. The nucleus is numerically small but politically strong. Out of 29 members 20 have definite functions. A nucleus leader has to be elected. A young miner is candidate. The comrades check up on him: How did you work in the mines strike? What did you do in the campaign? His answers were satisfactory. After it was pointed out to him that he must rid himself of his passivity which he had shown recently, he was elected and all comrades promised to support him to the extent of their ability. This nucleus is one which does not function badly. After the miners' strike it recruited 160 new members for the Red trade union. One comrade alone recruited 29 members. **The nucleus itself, however, did not increase in membership.** It was decided to recruit 10 new members for the nucleus where our positions were weakest.

A second case. A local group. The twenty members who live in the locality are all present (the rest, who make up the majority of the membership are away on work outside the locality). The chief topic of discussion is the united front. Out of the 20 comrades present 17 were given definite functions. All promised to carry out their work conscientiously.

A third case. Also a local group. In spite of the fact that it has a majority on the pit council of the coal mine and in spite of the fact that there are 300 voters in the locality **the nucleus at all times has only 14 members.** Why? Because the nucleus has cut itself off from the workers. Only two comrades have carried on work, while the rest were passive. The nucleus lags behind the activity of the masses. This situation has brought forth the sharpest criticism. The new leadership must overcome the passivity and isolation from the masses.

A fourth case, which illustrates **the work of our nucleus in the cooperatives:** the nucleus leadership started work in the cooperatives. It became the leading force in the revolu-

tionary work carried on in the local consumers' cooperative, which has 248 members. Last year a fraction was formed. At the beginning of the activity of the fraction the cooperative included 26 Communists, 47 Social Democrats, 6 Czech National Socialists, the other members being for the most part indifferent. One of the comrades out of the 5 who composed the fraction committee is at the same time a member of the nucleus committee. Through him the nucleus maintains continual contact with the fraction. The result of our work is that today three quarters of the members of the cooperative are under our influence. Furthermore, they participate in the meetings, the sales turnover is increasing, a red trade union opposition group has been formed of 46 members, and the members participate in all proletarian activities and struggles.

A functionary of a shop nucleus writes in connection with the elections: The election of a new committee meant lively activity in our shop nucleus. We picked out the most vital daily demands in the shop and started activity to put them through. And when we became convinced that it was a difficult matter without a strong Red trade union, we started work in this direction and today we have three times as many members in the red trade union as formerly and—in contrast to former times—these members work actively.

We have brought up a few cases which serve as concrete examples of the favourable side of our work. The situation in the other nuclei is not nearly as good. These cases were given in the Party press to serve as examples to the comrades of how to improve the work of nuclei which functioned badly. The campaign did not, of course, limit itself to the organisational situation, but took up questions of the press, of the work among the peasants, etc. Thus we have the example of the distribution of the "Slovacko", which greatly increased its circulation.

The above examples should help the nuclei to apply the C.C. Resolution correctly. **Comrade Bewer**, in the "Kommunistische Internationale" (No. 25/26 Sept. 20, 1932) is right in his criticism of part of the instructions of the C.C. for these elections, for example, when he says that we "must inform **not only the Party members but also the non-party masses about our work**". Equally serious attention must be paid to the objections brought up by Comrade Bewer with regard to the **cadres and the new leading bodies**, and his statement that **the preparations for the elections and the elections themselves, as well as composition of the future leading bodies, must not be allowed to remain solely in the hands of the old leadership.** (As to the question of linking up legal, semi-legal and illegal methods, I gather that precautions are to be taken in this connection outside the scope of the instructions at hand. Author's Note). It must be noted that in the course of the campaign the Party constantly supplemented the instructions by issuing **additional instructions.**

The most important thing is the **extent to which the activity of the membership increased during the campaign.** We can see from the "Bolshevik" (No. 8 of the Czech. Edition and No. 8-9 of the German Edition) how the higher leading bodies organised the campaign. But from this we cannot tell to what extent the **rank and file** of the membership participated in the campaign, what proposals were made for improving the work, how many and what kind of proposals and suggestions came from the rank and file and to what extent they were utilised in the course of the campaign. There is still much to be said with regard to this side of the campaign, which merits the attention of the entire Party and calls for a checking up by the leading bodies of the Party all the way to the Central Committee.

The extent to which this is carried out in the nuclei will be determined at the **national organisational conference** which will take place in the near future, and will subject the results of this work to a critical examination. At this National Organisational Conference all material on the practical carrying out of the campaign will be collected, so that the experiences and new methods of work can be transferred to all lower Party organisations as a help in their further work. It will also show whether or not this campaign has really meant a step forward in the Bolshevisation of the Party.